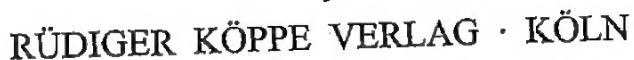


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Jesus said »I am the light, which is upon all of them. I am the
universe. The universe came forth from me and the universe
reached to me. Split (a piece of) wood and I am there. Lift a
stone and you will find me there.« (Gospel of Thomas, Logion
77)

To the memory of Martin Honcoop

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Martin Honcoop, whose untimely death leaves me with great sorrow. It also teaches me that there is no borrowed time and that as long as we live we can always make a difference.

Introduction

This book offers a comprehensive grammar of Sahidic Coptic, the main reference dialect of Coptic Egyptian. Coptic Egyptian (not to be confused with Egyptian Arabic) is the vernacular of late-antique and medieval Christian Egypt (from about the third to the eleventh century CE) and represents the final developmental stage of Ancient Egyptian. With its rich literary sources, Coptic is an ancient language of great cultural importance. It also provides an interesting case of the emergence of a language through intensive contact (Egyptian-Greek) in a bilingual speech community. For this reason, the study of the Coptic language is of central interest for scientific disciplines as diverse as Egyptology, Ancient History, comparative religion, and various fields of linguistics (e.g. comparative Afroasiatic linguistics, language typology, historical syntax). This study therefore has a dual purpose: on the one hand, it serves as a teaching grammar for the language learner by providing an introduction to Sahidic Coptic. On the other hand, it contains the synthesis of extensive research on Coptic clause structure, which makes it a suitable reference tool for philologists and linguists alike.

This introduction sets the stage for the following description of Sahidic grammar by supplying some background information on the language, its historical development and its literary documentation. It

also provides an orientation to the overall organisation of the book, its theoretical background, its data sources and its methodology.

0.1 The Coptic language

The modern term Coptic derives from Middle Arabic *qubṭī*, itself a corruption of the Greek adjective (*ai*)*gypt(ios)* 'Egyptian'. It designates both the members of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt as well as the indigenous language, which is now extinct. Ancient speakers of Coptic Egyptian called themselves *nə-rəm-n-kême* 'the people (*rəm*) of Egypt' (*kême* lit. the black country) and used the derived abstract noun *tə-mənt-rəm-n-kême* 'what belongs to the people of Egypt' to refer to their language (Crum 1939:110a).

0.1.1 Classification

Coptic is the last descendant of the Ancient Egyptian language, which is the oldest attested language of the Afroasiatic phylum. The earliest Ancient Egyptian records date back to the third millennium BCE. According to the main working hypothesis in Afroasiatic linguistics, the family tree divides into six branches: Ancient Egyptian, Semitic (e.g. Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic), Berber, Cushitic (e.g. Somali, Oromo), Chadic (e.g. Hausa) and Omotic (e.g. Maale). Ancient Egyptian is the only autonomous branch of Afroasiatic that is represented by a single language.

In the course of more than four thousand years of uninterrupted language history, Ancient Egyptian went through several stages. In Loprieno's (1995) model of Egyptian diachrony, this development comprises two macrostadia with distinct typological characteristics. On the one hand, there is Earlier Egyptian, which includes Old Egyptian in the third millennium BCE and Middle Egyptian (ca. 2000-1750 BCE). On the other hand, there is Later Egyptian, which consists of Late Egyptian (ca. 1500-800 BCE), Demotic (800 BCE-200 CE) and Coptic (200-1400 CE). In this model, grammatical features shared by Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic are accounted for in terms of language continuity. The major typological differences between Coptic and its Pre-Coptic Egyptian predecessors are, however, not equally well explained as instances of normal generation-to-generation transmission

of a language with only small degrees of structural change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9-10). In recent work (Reikhtges 2001, 2004b), I propose to trace the 'non-Egyptian' features of Coptic grammar to linguistic change through intensive language contact. From this perspective, Coptic emerged from widespread bilingualism within a speech community, with Greek as the politically and culturally predominant language. Greek superstratum influence manifests itself not only in the relexification of the native word stock, but also in restructuring of Egyptian syntax according to a Greek model. The Hellenization of Egyptian syntax is manifest in the typological shift from a rigid to a free word order language in which discourse structure and sentence form are closely related. Coptic Egyptian can therefore be classified a bilingual language variety with two parent languages, Egyptian and Greek.

0.1.2 Language history

Coptic Egyptian is actually a dialect cluster with at least six regional varieties, two of which gained supra-regional importance: Sahidic Coptic (from Arabic *'as-Ṣa'īd* 'Upper Egypt'), and Bohairic Coptic (from Arabic *'al-buhairā*, a province south-west of Alexandria), the vernacular of the Delta and Lower Egypt. The homeland of Sahidic Coptic was probably not located in the Theban area, but rather in the region of antique Shmun/Hermopolis (modern El-Ashmunein), from where it spread southwards (Layton 2000:2 §4).

Sahidic is renowned as the classical dialect of Coptic Egyptian for its early records and its rich literature. It was probably the first Egyptian vernacular into which the Scriptures were translated. A Sahidic version of the Scriptures was completed about 350 CE, but it might have had antecedents dating back to the third century CE (Shisha-Halevy 1991a:195, Orlandi 1998:121). The earliest biblical manuscripts display some spelling variation and the sporadic occurrences of other dialect forms. By the sixth century, its orthography was fully standardized. Sahidic served as the literary *lingua franca* throughout Egypt during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods. Sahidic literary manuscripts were collected and copied in the monasteries of the Fayyūm, Sohāg, Esna, and Edfu from the ninth to the eleventh century, when Coptic was on the retreat as a literary language.

Prior to the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641 CE, Sahidic was the predominant literary dialect of Coptic. Its hegemony was broken by Bohairic from the eighth and ninth century onwards. By the eleventh century Bohairic had replaced Sahidic as the official church language and became the sole representative of Coptic Egyptian, which survived as the liturgical language of the present-day Coptic Orthodox Church.

In the course of the Islamisation and Arabization of Egypt in the early Middle Ages, Coptic was replaced by Arabic in all public sectors. By the eleventh century Coptic no longer existed as a spoken Egyptian vernacular, but continued to be used as an ecclesiastical language. The appearance of Coptic grammars, glossaries and text editions in Arabic in the thirteenth century signal revived cultural awareness and interest in the ancient vernacular (Vycichl 1991), but also reveals the rather fragmented knowledge of the language. As of yet, attempts to revitalize the language have not shown lasting results. A deeper understanding of the classical dialect and other Coptic varieties is a precondition for such endeavours to be successful.

0.1.3 Coptic literature

The term Coptic literature covers the entire literary production written in Coptic Egyptian and thus includes original works in Coptic as well as translations from Greek. Where a Greek source is missing, the distinction between original and translated literature becomes a moot point. The originality of some work can generally not be determined on the basis of linguistic criteria alone. The frequency of Greek loan words in a Coptic text is, for instance, not indicative of its original or translated character, as already pointed out by Lefort (1950:66-7). Since the Coptic Bible translations played a crucial role in the development of the literary language, the syntactic or stylistic features of a text do not always provide a clue for its provenance. The homogeneity of the language material suggests that both translated and original literature were written in a highly conventionalised literary variety, that of *Standard Sahidic*.

The predominantly religious character of most Coptic literature can be directly related to the socio-cultural environment from which it emerged and the communicative purpose it was used for. At the roots of the literary production lies the translation of the Greek Bible into

Coptic Egyptian.¹ Its historical context is the Christianisation of Egypt in the third and fourth century CE, although the first Sahidic biblical manuscripts date from the second half of the third century. Spreading from the capital Alexandria to the metropolises of Lower Egypt, the new religion was particularly successful among the upper and middle classes of the urban population. These classes had become alienated from the traditional Egyptian religion of the countryside, but were also opposed to the official culture of the foreign societal top (Orlandi 1998:118-21). Christianity provided the ideological superstructure for a newly defined cultural and ethnic identity. For the translation of its sacred books, the early Christian Church resorted to a standardized form of the urban Egyptian-Greek variety of its target group. Significantly, this language policy was taken over by the competing Gnostic and Manichean circles, which approached the same target group. For both religious movements, translated literature served as a vehicle for the proliferation of new ideologies.

The writings of Pachomius (around 290-346 CE) and his successors represent the first examples of an original production. The main focus is on monasticism: while the rules and catechism are straightforward, many of the other works are replete with Bible quotations and remain very obscure. Pachomian literature had an essentially prescriptive and educational character without much consideration for style or rhetoric. In this respect, it differs radically from the extensive works of Apa Shenoute, the abbot of the White Monastery near Sohāg (ca. 350-466 CE), which spans a broad range of topics including moral instruction, Bible exegesis, polemics against the retreating pagan culture, and theological controversy with Origenist and Gnostic heresy. In integrating Greek literary conventions and styles into theological discourse, Shenoute's oeuvre represents a turning point in the historical development of Coptic literature.

In the wake of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, a permanent schism occurred between the orthodox churches of Constantinople and Egypt, the latter remaining monophysite (i.e. adhering to the dogma that in the person of Jesus there is a single divine nature). The literary production of this period was mainly apologetic and directed towards

1. The Old Coptic magical texts represent a remnant of pagan culture. See Satzinger (1991) for relevant discussion of the orthography and linguistic features of these texts.

an internal and monastic audience.

The reorganisation and solidification of the Coptic Church under Bishop Damian (569-605 CE) was an important stimulus for a revived literary production that continued in the first century after the Arab conquest. Coptic orthodox literature of this time is no longer restricted to the monastic environment and reveals a desire for producing original works in Coptic. According to Orlandi (1986:75), the literary works have a pronounced nationalistic character, aiming "to put Egypt in the foreground, in terms of both its good and its bad achievements".

The compilation of homiletic and hagiographic literature in the eighth and ninth centuries had a propagandistic purpose: to create a feeling of ethnic solidarity among the Christian minority and to strengthen their faith in the tradition of the national church. The decline of Coptic literature in the following two centuries is closely connected to the death of Coptic as a spoken language. In the Egyptian Middle Ages, Christianity was concentrated in the few functional monasteries left where literary works continued to be copied and rearranged according to their specific use within the community.

To conclude, Coptic literature, both original and translated, has a very narrow focus, being largely restricted to the domain of religion and spirituality. Its primary purpose was an ideological one, communicating the set of beliefs, ideals and norms, as well as the horizons of expectations of Coptic orthodoxy. The literary production is therefore embedded in a "discourse of persuasion", intended to maintain authority and power in the hands of the dominant institutions of the Christian Church. At the same time it functioned as the vehicle of cultural and ethnic identity of the Christian minority in Egypt.

0.2 About this grammar

0.2.1 Aims and scope

This comprehensive grammar provides an up-to-date treatment of the structure of Sahidic Coptic that is accessible to a broad linguistic and Egyptological readership. It is a data-oriented and strictly synchronic study of the language system. In terms of organisation, it follows the classical model of reference grammars with chapters on phonology, morphology, tense-aspect-mood marking, and clause structure.

Designed as an introductory grammar, it comprises a large amount of didactic material, which is inspired on modern language teaching. In presenting new analyses for several areas of Sahidic grammar (the deictic system, verb conjugation, clause structure), this book will also be of interest for the Coptological and linguistic specialist.

0.2.2 Theoretical background

The idea of a combined teaching and reference grammar is not new: it goes back at least to Georg Steindorff's *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (A teaching grammar of Coptic), Chicago: 1951. This grammar continues a longstanding research tradition on Coptic linguistics (see Till 1961, 1966; Polotsky 1944, 1987 and 1990; Shisha-Halevy 1986; Layton 2000 for representative studies). In bringing together Coptic philology, descriptive linguistics, and syntactic theory, it adds an innovative element to that research tradition. Many of the analyses advanced in this study are inspired by recent work in Afroasiatic linguistics (see Holes 1995, Benmamoun 2000 for Arabic dialects, Shlonsky 1997 for Modern Hebrew, Newman 2000 and Jaguar 2001 for Hausa, and Stroemer 1995 for Oromo). Throughout the later production stages of this grammar, I regularly consulted Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum's *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, Cambridge 2002 as a model.

To address the interdisciplinary interest of Egyptologists, Coptologists, and linguists, the Coptic language facts are presented in a non-technical fashion. Yet, despite its empirical focus, this grammar owes a lot to current theorizing in the area of comparative syntax. My own background in the generative Principle-and-Parameters framework and the more recent Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1981, 1995) provided the necessary analytical tools and theoretical insights for the syntactic part of this grammar. My ideas about the syntax-discourse interface were focused by recent advances in functional linguistics and pragmatic theory (e.g. Prince 1978, 1981; Givón 1984 and 1990; Dik 1989; Lambrecht 1996). I leave it to the reader to decide whether this admittedly eclectic approach has resulted in a coherent picture of the language system of Sahidic Coptic.

0.2.3 Data sources

The grammatical description of Sahidic Coptic is based on extensive corpus-linguistic research on language material which so far has not been studied from a linguistic perspective. Most examples in this grammar have been taken from apocryphal, monastic, homiletic, and hagiographic literature. These literarily and historically important texts constitute a corpus of sufficient size and variation to provide a representative view of the grammatical options of Sahidic Coptic. Due to the primarily narrative character of the texts, it is possible to determine contextual variables with great precision. Since the focus of the present study is on the function of linguistic structures in narrative discourse, Scriptural Sahidic and Shenoute's literary corpus are almost entirely excluded from the present investigation.²

0.2.4 Research methods

This grammar aims at an optimal integration of language description and crosslinguistic generalization, gained in the formal, functional-cognitive and typological study of language. To achieve this goal, linguistic and philological methods have been applied side by side. The language facts are presented in theory-neutral analytic terms, as is common practice in typological and comparative research. Most of the traditional terminology has been retained, although it is at times misleading or not entirely adequate. Modern linguistic terms are introduced in sufficient detail in each unit. In addition, there is an elaborate grammatical index at the end of the book. The translation of all Coptic examples provides all lexical and grammatical information in parentheses. In a transcribed example like *ar'i ušar'e eroi* [axi ouʃaxe epo] 'Say (*ar'i*) [axi] a word (*u-šar'e*) [ou-ʃaxe] to me (*ero-i*) [epo-i]' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), all lexical items and grammatical formatives (separated by hyphenation) can be traced back in the Sahidic Coptic and Greek glossaries (see Loprieno 1995 for a similar mode of data presentation).

2. I consider the corpus of the *Pistis Sophia*, whose language shows a close resemblance to the Scriptural idiom as a reliable source of information for standard Sahidic. Despite its complicated manuscript tradition, extensive use has been made of corpus of texts related to the *Vita of Saint Pachômios*.

0.2.4 Preview

The book consists of twelve units besides this introduction, which together provide a complete description of Sahidic Coptic grammar. Each unit discusses a separate grammatical topic and is accompanied by a list of key terms and a series of exercises. To provide an orientation to the organisation of the book, I present a summary of the contents of each unit:

UNIT 1 deals with Sahidic orthography and phonology with particular attention for the correspondence between sounds and letters. For dead languages like Coptic Egyptian, it is often difficult to gain relevant information on suprasegmental phonology (syllable structure, consonant clusters, accentuation). This unit reviews the available evidence for Sahidic prosodic structure. Another topic concerns the lexical transfer of borrowings from Greek into Coptic.

The first part of the grammar (units 2-5) explores the nominal domain. UNIT 2 starts with the morphology of simple nouns and pronouns. Coptic has an impoverished noun derivation with the prenominal determiner functioning as the morphological exponent of grammatical number and gender. This contrasts with an elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinction correlates with a distinct pronominal form. Moreover, there are three sets of pronouns (free pronouns, bound pronouns, and clitics), which display a high degree of allomorphic variation.

UNIT 3 is about phrasal syntax. Coptic makes productive use of a range of patterns to create complex noun phrases from simple nouns. This unit surveys the most common types of nominal compounds, adjectival modification, possessive noun phrases, noun coordination and prepositional phrases, which have an essentially nominal syntax.

UNIT 4 takes a closer look at the rich deictic and quantificational system of Sahidic Coptic. Most demonstratives assume different forms depending on whether they function as prenominal determiners or pronouns. The description of the deictic system focuses on the discourse functions of the various demonstrative pronouns and articles. The remainder of this unit discusses the syntax and the semantics of question words and quantificational expressions.

UNIT 5 is concerned with nominal sentences, so called because a noun phrase is used as the main predicate. Nominal sentences have a transparent syntax, consisting of two or three (pro)nominal

expressions; yet they denote a variety of predicative relationships (class membership, identification, property assignment, and so forth).

With more than twenty different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods, the verbal-inflectional system represents one of the most complex areas of Sahidic grammar. The descriptive analysis of the tense-aspect-mood system in the second part (units 6-9) thus constitutes the core of the book. UNIT 6 is concerned with the formation of verbal stems from semantically and phonologically underspecified lexical items (so-called roots). Coptic stem formation encodes two dimensions of verbal meaning: one dimension is situation aspect or "Aktionsart", which concerns the contrast between events, activities and processes on the one hand, and mental or physical states and conditions on the other. The other dimension is objective case, which refers to the morphological expression of the relationship between the verb and its direct object. Coptic verb stems are not inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. All this information is encoded in a conjugation base, which occurs independently of the verb as a free functional morpheme.

UNIT 7 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of such tense-aspect-mood markers. The main focus of this unit is on the absolute tense system with particular attention for the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past, and future tenses. Such time-indicating morphemes come in pairs of triplets, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood.

UNIT 8 continues the investigation of the Sahidic conjugation system by exploring relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses, as the name suggests, relate some event with respect to another event rather than the present moment. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood. These basic moods express the speaker's attitude or belief concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur.

UNIT 9 examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed in the preceding two units. The negative conjugation system shows a variety of patterns by means of which negative polarity is expressed. Such negative markers may negate an entire clause, but may also be more limited in scope,

negating only a single clausal constituent.

The focus of the third part (units 10-12) is on Sahidic clause structure, with particular attention for the relation between information structure and sentence form. This part is theoretically more advanced; it re-examines many clausal patterns of Sahidic Coptic in the light of recent advances in syntactic typology. UNIT 10 is concerned with word order. Coptic Egyptian may be described as a discourse-configurational language in which topic and focus prominence involves a departure from the canonical subject-verb-object (S-V-O) ordering. Not all word order alternations are morphologically fully productive. Coptic has retained verb-initial V-S(-O) order in existential and possessive sentences.

The topic of UNIT 11 is relative clause formation. Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types: postnominal relative clauses that modify a preceding noun phrase and free relative clauses that function as definite noun phrases themselves. Another topic of this section concerns nominal cleft sentences, in which an initial focus constituent is equated with a relative clause.

The concluding chapter of this grammar (UNIT 12) is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses, which function as dependent constituents within some larger construction. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses that belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase, and adjunct clauses that belong to its periphery. Of particular relevance are topics like clausal coherence and switch reference (i.e. the contrast between same-subject and different-subject clauses), sequences of tenses, and indirect speech-acts (reported speech, indirect questions and commands).

Unit 1

Sounds and spelling

This Unit addresses two interrelated topics: one concerns the Copto-Greek alphabet, i.e. the notation system in which Coptic texts have been codified, and the other concerns its sound system, or phonology. Section 1.1 discusses the main aspects of Coptic orthography, while section 1.2 presents several types of evidence for the pronunciation of a particular letter or grapheme. There is not always a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes, since some phonemes may be expressed by more than one grapheme and, vice versa, some graphemes may have more than one phonological interpretation. Section 1.3 is about suprasegmental phonology, i.e. the phonological structure beyond the individual sounds or phonemes, with particular attention for vowel length, syllable structure, and stress placement.

Section 1.4 addresses the question of language contact and linguistic borrowing. The Coptic word stock has a considerable Greek component. The transfer of Greek lexical material was not confined to content words, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, but also involved a considerable amount of function words, such as sentence conjunctions, discourse markers, manner and time adverbials, and even some prepositions. The variant spelling of Copto-Greek loan words not only reflects ongoing sound changes in the source language Koine Greek, but also the absence of certain phonological oppositions in the borrowing language Coptic Egyptian.

1.1 The Coptic writing system

Coptic, like many other ancient languages of literature, has been passed down to us through large corpora of texts. These texts were written down in a highly standardised notational system of alphabetic signs representing the different sounds of the Coptic language. The origin of the Coptic writing system lies in occasional Greek transcriptions of native words in Egyptian texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the first three centuries CE, the use of such transcriptions became increasingly common and entire corpora of texts with a predominantly magical character were written down in a Greek-derived alphabet. The Christianisation of the country in the fourth century CE constituted a turning point: the abandonment of the pagan literary tradition and culture manifested itself in the replacement of hieroglyphic writing and Demotic, its cursive variant, by Greek script. The Copto-Greek alphabet will be introduced in section 1.1.1. Besides the alphabetic letters, Coptic writing makes use of a few special signs or diacritics, which will be briefly discussed in section 1.1.2. Section 1.1.3 completes this review of Coptic orthography with a list of the most common abbreviated spellings of so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), e.g. ⲭⲥ for ⲭⲟⲥⲓⲥ 'Lord'.

1.1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

In its present form, the Copto-Greek alphabet consists of thirty-two letters, twenty-four of which are taken from Greek and eight from Demotic writing. The Demotic-based letters are ⲱ, Ⲳ, ⲳ, Ⲵ, ⲵ, Ⲷ, ⲷ, Ⲹ. With the exception of the letter Ⲹ, these signs represent phonemes that were absent in Greek, but which are part of the Coptic-Egyptian sound system. Table 1 below presents the alphabetic signs of the Copto-Greek alphabet, the conventional transcription and the Greek and modern (Bohairic Coptic) name of each letter.

LETTER	CONVENTIONAL TRANSCRIPTION	GREEK AND BOHAIRIC NAME OF THE LETTER
Ⲁ	a	Alpha
Ⲃ	b	Beta/Vita
Ⲅ	g	Gamma
Ⲇ	d	Delta/Dalda
Ⲉ	e	Epsilon/Eje
Ⲋ	z	Zeta/Zita
Ⲍ	ē	Eta/Ita
Ⲏ	th	Theta/Thita
Ⲑ or ⲑ	i, y	iota/iuta
Ⲓ	k	Kappa/Kabba
Ⲕ	l	Lamda/Lawla
Ⲗ	m	Mü/Mi
Ⲙ	n	Nü/Ni
Ⲛ	ks, x	Xi/Eksi
Ⲝ	o	Omikron/Ow
Ⲟ	p	Pi/Bi
Ⲡ	r	Rho/Row
Ⲣ	s	Sigma/Sima
Ⲥ	t	Tau
ⲟϥ or ⲡ	u, w	Ypsilon/He
Ⲝ	ph	Phi
Ⲟ	kh, ch	Chi/Ki
Ⲟ	ps	Psi/Ebsi
Ⲟ	ō	Omega/Aw
Ⲟ	š, sh	Shai
Ⲟ	f	Fai
Ⲟ	kh (Bohairic only)	Khai
Ⲟ	h	Hori
Ⲟ	kh (Akhmîmic only)	No name recorded
Ⲟ	č, t ^h	Djandja
Ⲟ	k ^j	Shima/Itshima
Ⲟ	ti	Ti

TABLE 1.1 The Copto-Greek alphabet

There is no uniform transcription system for Coptic letters. The various transcription conventions applied in Coptic reference works not only reflect different research traditions, but also different scholarly views on the phonological interpretation of particular alphabetic signs. A more detailed discussion on grapheme-phoneme correspondences will be postponed to the next section. For now, it suffices to note that the letters of the Copto-Greek alphabet fall into three different classes, depending of whether they represent one or two phonemes:

a) Monophonemic letters

The by far largest group of alphabetic signs are monophonemic letters, which are characterized by a one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes: λ , β , Γ , Δ , ϵ , ζ , η , ι , κ , λ , μ , ν , \omicron , π , ρ , ς , τ , Υ , ω , ϖ , χ , ψ , ϕ , σ .

b) Biphonemic letters

The Coptic-Greek alphabet contains a number of biphonemic letters, which represent a sequence of two adjacent phonemes: ϕ ($\pi + \zeta$), θ ($\tau + \zeta$), χ ($\kappa + \zeta$), ξ ($\kappa + \varsigma$), ψ ($\pi + \varsigma$), \dagger ($\tau + \iota$), \times ($\tau + \omega$).

- The Greek-based letters ϕ and θ do not only appear in Greek loan words to reflect the aspirated stops ϕ /p^h/ and θ /t^h/, but are also regularly employed in native Copto-Egyptian words, whenever a sequence of π /τ and ζ occurs at a morpheme boundary, e.g. $\phi\epsilon$ 'the manner' (< τ- 'the (sing. fem.)' + $\zeta\epsilon$ 'manner').
- The Demotic-based letter \dagger constitutes an isolated example of syllabic orthography and expresses an entire syllable /ti/ rather than a sequence of two phonemes, e.g. $\dagger\mu\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ (AP Chaîne no. 210, p. 57:27) vs. $\dagger\mu\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ 'punishment' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:8).
- The Demotic-based letter \times is only marginally attested as a biphonemic grapheme, which renders a sequence of τ and ω , e.g. $\times\tau\tau\omicron$ 'cause to exist' (< τ- (causative prefix) + $\omega\tau\tau\omicron$ 'to exist').

c) Digraphs

The Copto-Greek alphabet has two digraphs (i.e. pairs of letters, which represent a single phoneme) $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\Upsilon$, which may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal interpretation /y w/ (see below, section 1.3.1.2). The digraph $\zeta\rho$ that represents an aspirated alveolar liquid /r^h/ in word-initial position seems to be restricted to Greek and Latin loan words, e.g. $\zeta\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'Roman' (Eud. 42:24) (< $\rho\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ /r^hɔ:majos/). (see below, section 1.4.2).

1.1.2 Diacritics and interpunction

The orthographical system of Sahidic Coptic is enriched with several non-alphabetical signs or diacritics, which provide an extra clue for the pronunciation of the word in question.

- The most important diacritic is the so-called superlinear stroke (i.e. a line above a consonantal letter, e.g. $\bar{\nu}$), whose main function is to indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/ (see below, section 1.3.1.3).
- The function of the diaeresis (two points above the digraph $\epsilon\iota$) is not entirely clear. There is, however, some evidence that the diaeresis represents a diphthong (i.e. a combination of two vocalic segments) /ej/ or a hiatus (i.e. a sequence of two separate vowels) /eɪ/.
- The circumflex (a curved line above the digraph $\epsilon\iota$), on the other hand, seems to indicate a purely vocalic pronunciation /i:/ or /i/.

Since Coptic manuscripts show a high degree of variation in the use of diacritics, the examples quoted in this grammar will be presented without diacritic marks. Editors of Coptic manuscripts make use of Greek interpunction, where the semicolon (;) is used as a question mark and the colon (:) represents a full stop. Other text editions adopt the original interpunction as found in the manuscript.

1.1.3 *Nomina sacra*

In Coptic manuscripts, so-called *nomina sacra* (lat. "sacred names"), i.e. certain important biblical names and concepts are not fully spelled out, but appear in an abbreviated form, which is indicated by a horizontal line. A list of some common *nomina sacra* is presented in table 1.2.

NOMEN SACRUM	ABBREVIATED SPELLING	GLOSS
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ	ΙϞ	Jesus
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ	ΧϞ	Christ
ΧΘΕΙΣ	ΧϞ	Lord
σωτηρ	ϞHP	Saviour
ΘΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ	ΘΙΛΗΜ (var. ΘΙΕΛΗΜ)	Jerusalem
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ	ΠΝΑ	Spirit
σταυρος	ϞΡϞ	cross
Δαυειδ	ΔΑΔ	David

TABLE 1.2 Abbreviated writings of *nomina sacra*

1.2 Segmental phonology

This section discusses the main aspects of Coptic segmental phonology. It presents an inventory of the different sounds of the language as well as their distinctive phonological features. For dead languages like Coptic, which has no native speakers to consult, it is generally difficult to detect the sound behind a particular letter. Moreover, there is the problem of identity between the Greek-based letters of the Coptic alphabet and the corresponding sign in Greek. Since the vast majority of Coptic sounds are rendered by Greek letters, one may plausibly assume that there was a great deal of overlap between the phonologies of both languages. Yet, there is not always a simple, one-to-one correspondence between the phonological value associated with a particular letter in Greek and in Coptic.

Finally, there are a number of Greek-based signs that are by and large restricted to lexical and grammatical borrowings. Their marginal status suggests that these are best regarded as loan phonemes, i.e. phonemes

that have been adopted from a foreign stock, but have never been fully integrated into the native phoneme inventory.

1.2.1 Consonantal phonemes

The following description of the Coptic phoneme inventory makes use of a minimum of linguistic terminology and symbols, which can be looked up in any introductory textbook to phonology. For the sake of convenience, I will introduce the most important analytic concepts and customary categorizations of speech sounds at the beginning of each section.

1.2.1.1 Features of consonants

Phonemes are not the minimal units of articulated speech, but rather have an internal structure, which is composed of distinctive phonological features. The phonological features of consonants can be described alongside two dimensions. One dimension is the manner of articulation, which concerns the constriction of the airflow, and the other is the place of articulation, which concerns the regions of the vocal apparatus where a particular sound is made. In the manner dimension, there is a basic distinction between voiced sounds, which are produced with vibration of the vocal cords, and voiceless sounds, which lack this vibration. The relative degree of constriction imposed by the lips and the tongue on the airflow in the mouth distinguishes the following classes of consonants:

- Stops like /p/ in *pile*, which are produced by a complete interruption of the airflow.
- Fricatives like /f/ in *file*, where the airflow is constricted to form a turbulence, but is not fully interrupted.
- Affricates like /tʃ/ in German *Zelle* 'cell', which occupy an intermediate position between stops and fricatives: like stops, they are produced by an initial closure, but differently from stops, the initial closure of affricates is released gradually, so that it ends like a fricative.
- Liquids like /r/ and /l/, which, unlike fricatives, are characterized by a non-turbulent airflow.
- Nasals like /n/ in *Nile*, which are produced by a lowering of the velum (the back portion of the roof of the mouth).

In the place dimension, one can distinguish more than eleven different points of articulation. Languages make a selection of which points of articulation they utilize for the expression of different consonantal phonemes. The most important place of articulation features for the description of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory are the following ones:

- Labials like /b/ in *bit*, which are articulated by the lips. Labial consonants can be further subdivided into bilabials and labiodentals. In the former, the constriction of the airflow is made by the two lips; in the latter, it is produced by an approximation of the lower lip and the upper teeth, such as /v/ in *voice*.
- Coronals like /t/ in *tea*, which are produced by the front portion of the tongue. Coronal sounds can be subdivided into dentals, dental-alveolars and alveopalatals: dentals like /θ/ in *thin* and dental-alveolars like /s/ in *sun* constrict the tongue blade at the back of the upper teeth.
- Alveopalatals like /č/ in *chin* and /š/ in *shun*, on the other hand, are produced with a constriction farther back, at the point where the roof of the mouth starts to approach the soft palate.
- Velars like /g/ in *good*, which are produced by the tongue body.
- Laryngeals like /h/ in *house* have the vocal cords as articulators.

1.2.1.2 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

An important source for Coptic phonology are variant spellings of one and the same lexical item, which suggest that two sounds had roughly the same pronunciation. The distinctiveness of two sounds, on the other hand, can be established on the basis of minimal phonological pairs, i.e. pairs of words with distinct meanings that differ only by one sound.

This section takes a closer look at the phonological interpretation of consonantal graphemes in Sahidic Coptic. (The full stop indicates a syllable boundary and the colon represents vowel length).

Β should be phonologically interpreted as a labio-dental

voiced fricative /v/ rather than a bilabial stop /b/, as in the traditional classroom pronunciation. The beta (vita) **Β** contrasts with the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ represented by the letter fai **ϣ**, which appears from minimal pairs like **ΒΑΙ** /vaj/ 'thunder' and **ϣΑΙ** /faj/ 'carrying'. In literary Sahidic, the frequent variation between **Β** and **ϣ** in pre- and postvocalic position (e.g. **ϣΩ** ~ **ΒΩ** 'hair', **ΖΩΒ** ~ **ΖΩϣ** 'thing') indicates that the voiced-voiceless opposition of bilabial fricatives was partially neutralized.

- Ϣ, ϣ** indicate the voiceless dental /s/ and voiceless alveopalatal fricative /š/, e.g. **ϢΑϣϣ** /sa:šəf/ 'seven'.
- Μ, Ν** represent the bilabial and dental nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively, e.g. **ΜΑ** /ma:/ 'place' and **ΝΑ** /na:/ 'to have mercy'.
- Λ, Ρ** express the dental/alveolar liquids /l/ and /r/, which are two distinctive phonemes in Sahidic Coptic, as evident from minimal pairs like **ΛΟ** /lo:/ 'to stop' vs. **ΡΟ** /ro:/ 'mouth'.
- ϢΙ, ϣΥ** represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, which typically occur prevocally at the beginning of a word (e.g. **ϢΙΩΤ** /yot/ 'father', **ϣΥΟΠ** /wop/ 'to be holy'), or intervocally in a vowel-glide-vowel sequence (e.g. **ΤΟΙΕ** /to:ye/ 'part', **ΖΙΟΥΕ** /hi:we/ 'to beat'). The glides /y/ and /w/ have /i/ and /u/ as vocalic counterparts, which are indicated by the same alphabetic letters (see below, section 1.2.2.2).

Δ, Γ, Ζ represent the voiced dental /d/ and velar /g/ stops and the voiced dental fricative /z/, respectively. They are loan phonemes, which are by and large restricted to Greek borrowings. There is some evidence that the digraph ΝΓ represents a word-final velar nasal, e.g. ΜΟΥΝΓ /muŋ/ for ΜΟΥΝΚ 'to make, form', ΑΝΓ /aŋ/ 'I'. The graphic variation between Ζ and Σ, e.g. ΑΝΖΗΣ vs. ΑΝΧΗΣ 'school', reflects the absence of a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives /z/ and /s/.

Χ represents an alveo-palatal voiceless affricate /tʃ/.

Its single-segment status is evident from the selection of the definite article: the short forms π- (singular masculine), τ- (singular feminine), ν- (plural) are selected, when the following words starts with one consonant, while the corresponding long forms πε-, τε-, νε- precede words beginning with a cluster of two or more consonants (see section 2.2.1.1 of Unit 2 for a more detailed discussion). Words with an initial χ select the short form of the definite article, showing that it is treated as a single consonant, e.g. τ-ΧΑΛΗ /t-tʃa.me/ 'the calm'.

Ϝ marks a voiceless palatalised velar stop /kʲ/, as in English *cute* /kʲu:t/ (e.g. ϜΙΝΕ /kʲi:ne/ 'to find'). It may vary with the velar voiceless stop κ /k/, e.g. ΚΕ vs. ϜΕ 'other'.

Ϛ expresses a voiceless glottal fricative /h/. It disappears from the phonological representation in intervocalic position, e.g. ΝΑΗΤ /na.et/ 'merciful' (< ΝΑ /na:/ 'to have mercy' + ϚΗΤ /het/ 'heart'). The letter hori (Ϛ) is also used to render Greek aspiration.

The phoneme chart in table 1.3 below gives an overview of the approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION	PLACE OF ARTICULATION					
	bilabial	labio- dental	dental/ alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	π /p/		τ /t/		κ /k/	Ϛ /ʔ/
voiced stops			Δ /d/		Γ /g/	
palatalised stops					σ /kʲ/	
voiceless fricatives		ϕ /f/	ς /s/	ϣ /ʃ/		Ϛ /h/
voiced fricatives		β /v/	ζ /z/			
voiceless affricates				χ /tʃ/		
nasals	μ /m/		ν /n/		ŋ /ŋ/	
liquids			λ /l/	ρ /r/		
glides	ωγ /w/			ει /y/		

TABLE 1.3 Sahidic consonantal phonemes

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is a sound that is produced by a complete but brief contraction of the vocal cords. In English, it appears in words that begin with a vowel, e.g. *Ida* /ʔay.da/. Although the glottal stop /ʔ/ has no separate letter in the Copto-Greek alphabet, it is nevertheless part of the Sahidic consonantal phoneme inventory. The presence of a word-internal glottal stop is rendered by a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes in Sahidic Coptic, e.g. ΜΗΗΩΕ /mεʔε.ʃe/ 'crowd' (see below, section 1.3.1.4).

1.2.2 Vocalic phonemes

Vowels mainly differ from consonants by a less radical degree of constriction of the airflow imposed by the lips and tongue. The phonological features of vowels are described in terms of the rounding of the lips and the exact position of the tongue. Vowels may be front or back. Front vowels are pronounced with the middle of the tongue raised to the highest part of the palate and back vowels with the back of the tongue raised towards the back of the palate. According to the degree of raising, a further distinction is made

between high, higher-mid, lower-mid and low vowels. (The mid-position serves as some kind of neutral reference point, which roughly corresponds to the location of the tongue body during the articulation of the vowel /e/ in English *bed*). Another distinction is between rounded and unrounded vowels, depending on whether the vowel in question is produced with rounded, protruded lips or not.

1.2.2.1 Vowel quality and quantity in Greek and Sahidic Coptic

The Copto-Greek alphabet has seven vocalic graphemes α (ε) ϵ η \omicron ω OY , all of which were adopted from Greek. In addition, there is the superlinear stroke ($\bar{\alpha}$), which may indicate a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/. Although the distinction of long and short vowels was phonemic in Classical (Attic) Greek, vowel length was expressed orthographically only in those cases where long and short vowels differed not only in quantity but also in quality: ε /e/ corresponds to η /ɛ:/, and ο /o/ corresponds to ω /ɔ:/.

In most Coptic grammars, it is tacitly assumed that the corresponding letters of the Coptic-Greek alphabet ε, η and ο, ω indicate a contrast in quantity though not in quality. There is, in fact, little evidence for this assumption. To begin with, distinctive vowel length was already being lost in Egyptian Koine (i.e. the variety of Greek spoken in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman period) by the mid-second century BCE. It is therefore hard to see how vowel quantity could have been re-introduced into the Copto-Greek alphabet by the time it replaced Demotic writing, unless it was part of the Egyptian phonological system.

This does not seem to be the case, however, since vowel length in Sahidic Coptic is entirely predictable from prosodic features, such as syllable structure and stress and is not orthographically expressed. The distribution of long and short vowels is roughly as follows. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

- Stressed closed syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a consonant) contain short vowels, e.g. $\kappa\omega\tau$ /k'ɔt/ 'to build'.
- Stressed open syllables (i.e. syllables terminating in a vowel) have long vowels instead, e.g. the $\kappa\omega$ in $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ /k'ɔ:te/ 'to turn'.

- Unstressed open syllables, on the other hand, have short vowels, e.g. the $\kappa\epsilon$ /ke/ in $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omega\lambda$ /ke.l'ɔl/ 'pitcher, jar'.

Given that Sahidic vowel length is determined by syllable structure and stress placement, it seems more likely that the pairs of vowel graphemes (ε, η) and (ο, ω) express a difference in vowel height, i.e. quality rather than one in quantity: ε /e/ vs. η /ɛ:/, ω /ɔ/ vs. ο /o/.

1.2.2.2 Sahidic vocalic phonemes

The following notes elaborate on the phonological status of the various Sahidic vowel graphemes:

- α represents the low unrounded back vowel /ɑ/, much like the *a* in German *Mann* /man/ 'man', e.g. $\alpha\tau\eta\epsilon$ /as.pe/ 'language'.
- \omicron represents mid-high back rounded vowel /o/; its approximate pronunciation is the *o* in German *Ober* /o:bɐ/ 'waiter', e.g. $\text{OY}\epsilon$ /ov.he/ 'tooth'.
- ω represents the mid-low back rounded vowel /ɔ/ and is pronounced like the *o* in English *not* /nɒt/, e.g. $\omega\eta\epsilon$ /ɔ:nh/ 'to live'.
- OY marks a back, high rounded vowel /u/, and resembles the *u* in English *pull* /pul/, e.g. $\text{OY}\chi\alpha$ /u:t^sai/ 'to become healthy'.
- (ε) expresses the high unrounded front vowel /i/, when it has a vocalic interpretation and was pronounced like the *ee* in English *bee* /bi:/. In Sahidic orthography, this vowel is generally rendered as a digraph $\epsilon\iota$ in word-initial position, while its monographic variant ι is more common in word-final position, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ /i:ne/ 'to bring' vs. $\chi\iota$ /t^si:/ 'to take'. In word-medial position, $\epsilon\iota$ alternates with ι , e.g. $\eta\text{OY}\epsilon\iota\tau$ /mɔjt/ 'way' vs. $\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon$ /shii.me/ 'woman'.
- η represents the lower-mid unrounded front counterpart /ɛ/ of ε and comes close in pronunciation to German *ä* in *hält* /helt/ 'holds', e.g. $\eta(\epsilon)\iota$ /ɛj/ 'house'.

ε marks the higher-mid unrounded front vowel /e/, much like the *e* in English *very* /veri/, e.g. ⲉⲃⲟⲩ /e.vot/ 'month'. It functions as the default vowel of the Sahidic Coptic vowel system, i.e. a vowel that is used as a placeholder in certain prosodic positions, but lacks any contrastive function of its own. As a default vowel, ε may alternate with schwa /ə/, e.g. ⲧⲣⲉⲓⲥ /tref/ vs. ⲧⲣⲉ̄ⲓⲥ /trəf/ 'to cause him to do something'.

The behaviour of the default vowel is particularly clear in verbal stems. The characteristic vowel of the verbal stem is preserved when there is no adjacent direct object, e.g. ⲉⲱⲧⲙ /sotəm/ 'to hear'. However, if a nominal object is attached to the verb, the stem vowel is replaced by the default vowel ε, e.g. ⲉⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ /setəm.nai/ 'to hear (ⲉⲱⲧⲙ) these (ⲛⲁⲓ)'.

Υ As a separate letter (i.e. not as part of the digraph ⲟϣ), it is generally restricted to Greek loan words. This suggests that γ functions as a loan phoneme and probably represented the high front rounded vowel /y/-like German *ü* in *fünf* /fünf/ 'five', e.g. ⲫⲓⲕⲏ /hü.le/ 'firewood, matter'.

In literary Sahidic, however, γ frequently varies with η and ε in both native and loan words, e.g. ⲉϣⲕⲉ (AP, Chaîne no. 211, 60:23) for Egyptian ⲉⲃⲕⲉ /bei.ke/ 'wage', ⲉϣϣⲏⲁ (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:6) for Greek ⲱⲕⲏⲙⲁ /sk^hei.ma/ 'monkish garment'.

The approximate pronunciation of the Sahidic consonantal graphemes is summarized in table 1.4. (Vowel lengthening is indicated by colon):

	FRONT, UNROUNDED	CENTRAL, UNROUNDED	BACK, ROUNDED
HIGH	(ε)ⲓ /i/ /i:/		ⲟϣ /u/ /u:/
HIGHER-MID	ε /e/ /e:/	/ə/	ⲟ /o/ /o:/
LOWER-MID	η /ɛ/ /ɛ:/		ⲱ /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
LOW		ⲁ /a/ /a:/	

TABLE 1.4 Sahidic vowel phonemes

1.2.2.3 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The phonemic contrast in vowel quality is positionally restricted, since certain vowels may only appear in the nucleus position of stressed syllables only, cf. table 1.5.

STRESSED SYLLABLES	UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES
(ε)ⲓ /i/ /i:/	ⲟϣ /u/ /u:/ (ε)ⲓ /i/
ε /e/ /e:/	ⲟ /o/ /o:/ ε /e/ /ə/
η /ɛ/ /ɛ:/	ⲱ /ɔ/ /ɔ:/
ⲁ /a/ /a:/	ⲁ /a/

TABLE 1.5 The distribution of Sahidic vowel phonemes

The distributional behaviour of Sahidic vowel phonemes is regulated by the following constraints:

- The vowels η /ɛ/, ⲟ /o/ and ⲱ /ɔ/ are restricted to stressed syllables.
- The vowels ⲁ /a/ and (ε)ⲓ /i/ are positionally variable; i.e. they may occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables. In the latter context, the unstressed vowel is always short.
- Schwas /ə/ (reduced vowels) never receive stress. The vowel ε /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ε /e/ in the same phonological domain.

The contrast in vowel height between the front unrounded vowels ε /e/ and η /ɛ/ and the back rounded vowels ⲟϣ /u/, ⲟ /o/ and ⲱ /ɔ/ is utilized in various apophonic patterns (i.e. changes in the vocalism of a word for morphological purposes):

- Gender and number marking, e.g. ⲡⲡⲟ 'king' ~ ⲡⲡⲱ 'queen', ⲡⲉ (singular) ~ ⲡⲏⲣⲉ (plural) 'heaven'
- The pronominal paradigm of prepositions, e.g. ⲉⲡⲟ 'to you (woman)' ~ ⲉⲡⲱⲧⲏ 'to you (plural)'
- The possessive demonstratives, e.g. ⲡⲱⲧⲓ 'his one' (singular masculine) ~ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲓ 'his ones' (plural).

1.3 Suprasegmental phonology

The focus of this section is on suprasegmental phonology, i.e. aspects of phonological structure that are to some extent independent of the feature content of individual phonological segments. Section 1.3.1 deals with Coptic syllable structure and syllabification. This leads to section 1.3.2, which is about the assignment of stress. Section 1.3.3 looks at some aspects of Coptic allomorphy, i.e. alternations in the phonological shape of morphemes.

1.3.1 Syllable structure and syllabification

Syllables are the minimal units of prosodic organization. As far as their internal structure is concerned, the syllable has traditionally been regarded as containing an obligatory nucleus preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda. The nucleus and the coda form an additional subconstituent, known as the rhyme in linguistic literature. In a syllable like *gif* /gɪf/ in English *gifted* /gɪf.tɪd/, for instance, the /g/ constitutes the syllabic onset, the /ɪ/ the nucleus and the /f/ the coda. The constituents of the traditional syllable are depicted in figure 1.1.

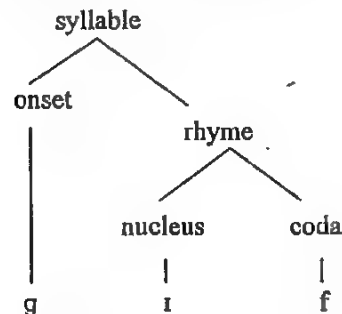


FIGURE 1.1 The internal structure of syllables

1.3.1.1 Syllable types and consonant clusters

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a rich inventory of different types of syllables. It ranges from so-called degenerate syllables, i.e. syllables consisting of a syllabic nucleus only, which may be followed by a consonantal coda, e.g. the vowel *η* /ɛ/ in bisyllabic words like *ηπε*

/ɛ:.pe/ 'number' or *ηπ* /ɛ:.p/ 'to be counted to', to relatively complex structures like *σωουγ* /k'ouʃ/ in *σαρσσωουγ* /sa.ra.k'ouʃ/ 'hare', where a closed syllable has a diphthong as its vocalic nucleus. Despite this variety, it is possible to make out four main syllabic patterns, which are exemplified in table 1.6 below. (Capital C stands for consonant and capital V for vowel. A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots):

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	VOWEL LENGTH	STRESS PATTERN	EXAMPLES
closed syllables (CVC)	short vowel (V)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>φαα</i> /ʃ'af/ in <i>φαατε</i> /ʃ'af.te/ 'enemy' vs. unstressed <i>ΤΑΝ</i> /tan/ in <i>ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤ</i> /tan.h'ut/ 'to rely on'
open syllables with short V's (CV)	short vowel (V)	always unstressed	unstressed <i>χε</i> /t'e/ in <i>φαχε</i> /ʃa:t'e/ 'word' or <i>σα</i> /sa/ in <i>σαη</i> /sa.v'e:/ 'wise' (fem.)
open syllables with lengthened V's (CV:)	long vowel (V:)	always stressed	stressed <i>ω</i> /s'ou/ in <i>ωτη</i> /s'ou.təm/ 'to hear' or <i>ηη</i> /v'e:/ in <i>σαη</i> /sa.v'e:/ 'wise' (fem.)
degenerate syllables (V, V:, VC)	short or long vowel (V, V:)	stressed or unstressed	stressed <i>ου</i> /u/ in <i>ουτα</i> /u:.ta/ 'fruit' and <i>α</i> /as/ in <i>απε</i> /as.pe/ 'language' vs. unstressed <i>α</i> /a/ in <i>ανα</i> /a.n'aʃ/ 'oath'

TABLE 1.6 A typology of Sahidic Coptic syllable structures

The onset of the syllable may contain extra phonological material to form a consonant cluster up to three consonants, e.g. the *σρ-* /sk'r/ in *σρατ* /sk'raht/ 'to rest'. It appears that consonant clusters are not allowed in coda position. Instead, clusters of two consonants are broken up by a schwa /ə/, thus *ηρη* /ɛ:.rəp/ and not /ɛ:.rp/.

1.3.1.2 The glide-vowel alternation

Coptic makes a systematic distinction between vowels and consonants. The digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ, however, may have either a vocalic or a consonantal interpretation. The non-distinctiveness between the high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the corresponding glides /y/ and /w/ in Coptic writing is not accidental, but indicates that these phonemes share the same phonological features: the glides /y/ and /w/ are the consonantal variants of the vowels /i/ and /u/. The consonantal or vocalic realization of (ε)ⲓ and οϣ is not random, but predictable from their position within the syllable:

- (i) In the onset position, when the digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are followed by a vowel grapheme, they have a consonantal interpretation and represent the glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, e.g. ⲉⲓⲱⲧ /y'ɔʊ/ 'father' and οϣⲟⲛ /w'ɔp/ 'to be holy'.
- (ii) If, on the other hand, (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are preceded by a word-initial consonant, they function as syllabic nuclei and represent the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, e.g. ⲡⲓ /r'i/ 'cell' and ⲛⲟϣⲉ /n'uʊ/ 'gold'. Sahidic Coptic has degenerate syllables that consist of a syllabic nucleus only. In this context, the digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ are consistently interpreted as vowels, e.g. οϣⲧⲁⲓ /u:tah/ 'fruit'.
- (iii) The digraphs (ε)ⲓ and οϣ may also represent the second part of a diphthong, i.e. a sequence of two vowels in the nucleus position of the syllable, which may but need not share phonological features in common. Sahidic Coptic has a rich inventory of such diphthongs, as we can see in table 1.7 below. (Diphthongs are transcribed with an inverted breve /aj/, /au/).
- (iv) A sequence of three adjacent vowels is a phonologically unstable pattern, which is generally avoided. In Sahidic, a triplet of three different vowels gives rise to a vowel-glide-vowel sequence, where the intermediate vowel surfaces as the corresponding glide, e.g. ⲓⲟϣⲉ /h'i.we/ 'to beat', ϣⲟⲉⲓⲟϣⲉ /t'o.je/ 'stalk', ⲧⲟⲓⲉ /t'o.ye/ 'part', ⲧⲁⲓⲟ /ta.yo/ 'to honour'.

	VOWEL + (ε)ⲓ /i/	VOWEL + (ο)ϣ /u/
ⲁ	ⲁⲉⲓ, ⲁⲓ /aj/, e.g. ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ /sajn/ 'physician'	ⲁϣ /au/, e.g. ⲛⲁϣ /naʊ/ 'to see'
ⲉ	ⲉⲉⲓ, ⲉⲓ /ej/, e.g. ⲡⲉⲓ- /pej/ 'this'	ⲉϣ /eu/, e.g. ⲡⲉϣ- /peʊ/ 'their'
ⲙ	ⲙⲉⲓ, ⲙⲓ /ej/, e.g. ⲙⲓ (var. ⲙⲉⲓ) /ej/ 'house'	ⲙϣ /eu/, e.g. ⲥⲛⲙϣ /sneʊ/ 'brothers'
ⲟ	ⲟⲉⲓ, ⲟⲓ /oj/, e.g. ⲟⲉⲓⲕ /ojk/ 'bread'	ⲟⲟϣ /ɔʊ/ e.g. ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲃⲟⲟϣ /sa.ra.kʰɔʊ/ 'hare'

TABLE 1.7 Sahidic diphthongs

1.3.1.3 The superlinear stroke

Languages that employ an alphabetic notation system for the written expression of sounds indicate suprasegmental features (if at all) by means of a limited set of diacritics marks. In Coptic, the most important diacritic is the superlinear stroke (̄), which provides us with some insight into Coptic syllabification, i.e. the assignment of syllable structure to a string of consonants and vowels. As briefly noted in section 1.1.2 above, the superlinear stroke indicates the presence of a reduced vowel or *schwa* /ə/ in the nucleus position of a syllable immediately before the coda consonant. The *schwa* sounds like the colourless vocalic segments in English *elephant* /eləfənt/. As a marker of a reduced syllabic nucleus, the superlinear stroke is never used in combination with vowels, but found with all consonants. In this function, it may vary with the default vowel ε /e/ in word-initial, -medial, and -final position. (In the translation of the Coptic examples, morpheme boundaries are indicated by hyphens).

Examples: (word-initial) ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲣϣⲟⲛ /en.ar.khɔ:n/ (for ⲛⲁⲣϣⲟⲛ /ən.ar.khɔ:n/ 'the magistrate (lit. the man (ⲡⲣⲟⲙⲉ) being (ⲉⲛ-) magistrate (ⲁⲣϣⲟⲛ)' (BHom 261:15), ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟϣⲕⲱⲗⲁⲓ /em.pa.tu.kɔ:ləh/ (for ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲟϣⲕⲱⲗⲁⲓ /əm.p.tu.kɔ:ləh/) 'before they summon (the congregation) (ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲧ-ⲟϣ-ⲕⲱⲗⲁⲓ)' (praec. Pach. 90), ⲡⲓⲓⲣⲁⲛ /pɛf.ran/ (for ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ /pɛf.ran/) 'his (ⲡⲓⲓ-) name (ⲣⲁⲛ)' (Onnophr. 205:8); (medial) ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲧϣⲣⲟⲥ /af.er.martiros/ (for ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲣⲧϣⲣⲟⲥ /af.ər.martiros/) 'he (Apa Mena) became (ⲁ-ⲓⲉⲣ) a martyr (ⲙⲁⲣⲧϣⲣⲟⲥ)' (Mena, Mir. 6a:12), ⲛⲉϣⲉⲛ

/ne.wen/ (for $\text{ne}\gamma\bar{\text{n}}$ /ne.wən/) '(there) was ($\text{ne}-(\text{o})\gamma\bar{\text{en}}$)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30), (final) $\text{na}\bar{\text{z}}\text{pen}$ /nah.ren/ (for $\text{na}\bar{\text{z}}\text{p}\bar{\text{n}}$ /nah.rən/) 'in front of' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:14).

The *schwa* can even be reduced to such an extent that it is no longer audible. The acoustic effect of this phonological process is a syllabic consonant, i.e. a consonant that constitutes the most sonorant part of the syllable and hence, fills the nucleus slot. An example of a syllabic consonant in English would be the /n/ in *even* /i:.vən/ or the /l/ in *bottle* /bɒtl/. In Sahidic Coptic, only the sonorants m , n , p , l , r /m n r l v/ can function as syllabic consonants; their nucleus functions may but need not be indicated by the superlinear stroke, e.g. $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{t}$ /tɛt/ 'fish', $\text{q}\bar{\text{n}}\text{t}$ /fɛt/ 'worm', $\text{z}\bar{\text{f}}\text{x}$ /hmɛt/ 'vinegar'.

1.3.1.4 Vowel gemination

A rather striking feature of Sahidic orthography is the double writing or gemination of vowel graphemes, which gives rise to a sequence of two identical vowel graphemes like aa , ee , hh , oo , ww in words like $\text{maax}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'ear', $\text{meey}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'to think', $\text{mnhw}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'crowd', xoone 'evil', $\text{xawm}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'book'. There is reason to assume that vowel gemination does not express a lengthened vowel, which are not rendered orthographically, but rather indicates an intervocalic glottal stop /ʔ/. V²V. Vowel gemination represents a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop, a process that has come to be known as vowel breaking. The phonological interpretation of words like $\text{mnhw}\bar{\text{e}}$ or $\text{xawm}\bar{\text{e}}$ would therefore be /mɛ²e.ʃe/ and /t²ɔ².me/, respectively. Since only long vowels can be broken, Sahidic vowel breaking is limited to stressed, open syllables.

1.3.1.5 Consonant gemination

In Sahidic Coptic, quantity or length in duration is not only a property of vowels, but may apply to consonants as well. Unlike vowel length, however, which is determined by prosodic features, the opposition between plain and geminate consonants is phonologically distinctive, which appears from minimal pairs like po /tɔ:/ 'mouth' vs. $\text{p}\bar{\text{p}}\text{o}$ /ɛr.tɔ:/ 'king', mo /mo/ 'give!' (Imperative singular masculine) vs. fmo /ɛm.mɔ:/ 'in' (the pronominal form of the locative preposition n/m 'in'). Lengthened consonants typically span a syllable break and fill the

coda and onset position of two adjacent syllables. In Sahidic Coptic, geminate consonants are subject to severe positional restrictions: the syllable preceding the geminate must be unstressed and contain a phonologically reduced nucleus, while the syllable following the geminate must be stressed and contain a lengthened vowel. The presence of the schwa /ə/ in the unstressed syllable is orthographically expressed by a superlinear stroke on the first consonant of the geminate, e.g. $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{lw}$ /hə.l.ʔɔ:/ 'old woman', $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{so}$ /tə.v.ʔɔ:/ 'to purify', $\text{b}\bar{\text{p}}\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}$ /və.r.ʔe:/ 'to be young'.

1.3.2 Word stress

Word stress is a relatively abstract phonological category, which, unlike length, has no uniform phonetic correlate. Stress is manifest in different suprasegmental features, such as increased duration and loudness, heightened pitch, and, sometimes, subtle differences in vowel and consonant quality. Recall that the vowels h /e/, o /o/, and w /ɔ/ occur only in stressed syllables (section 1.2.2.3) and that geminate consonants bridge the gap between a phonologically reduced, unstressed syllable and a stressed open syllable (section 1.3.1.5).

1.3.2.1 Basic properties of the Sahidic stress system

Sahidic Coptic is a language with a binary stress distinction, i.e. syllables are either stressed or unstressed. Moreover, stress assignment is non-recursive, which means that there is at most one main stress per word, independent of its length. The internal structure of the syllable determines where stress falls. More specifically, the part of the phonological material that is relevant for stress marking is the syllabic rhyme (i.e. the vocalic nucleus and the consonantal coda), while the internal complexity of the consonantal onset is not.

Sahidic syllables fall into two classes, depending on the number of segments contained in the rhyme. On the one hand, there are so-called light syllables, whose rhyme contains only a plain vowel, e.g. the ne /ne/ in $\text{te}\bar{\text{z}}\text{ne}$ /tɛh.ne/ 'forehead'. On the other hand, there are heavy syllables, whose rhyme is made up of at least two segments, which may be (i) a short vowel and a consonantal coda, e.g. the on /on/ in con /sɔn/ 'brother', or (ii) a lengthened or 'broken' vowel, e.g. the w /ɔ:/ in $\text{c}\bar{\text{w}}\text{ne}$ /sɔ:.ne/ 'sister' or the ee /e²e/ in $\text{meey}\bar{\text{e}}$ /m'e²e.we/ 'to think'.

1.3.2.2 Stress rules

Sahidic stress assignment may be characterized as a quantitative-sensitive system, where heavy syllables must be stressed. The following rules govern the distribution of Sahidic word stress virtually without exception:

- (i) When a word has two or more syllables of different prosodic weight, stress always lodges on the heavy syllable, e.g. $\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ /š'af.te/ 'enemy', $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ /n'u:.te/ 'god', $\alpha\eta\alpha\psi$ /a.n'aš/ 'oath', $\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ /a.m'ah.te/ 'to prevail'.
- (ii) When a word has two or more syllables of the same prosodic weight, stress falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g. $\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$ /aj.ai/ 'to increase', $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\zeta$ /ke.l'en.keh/ 'elbow'.
- (iii) Phonologically reduced syllables can never receive stress assignment, if the preceding or following syllable has a full vowel, e.g. $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ /mən.tr'e/ 'testimony', $\eta\alpha\zeta\pi\eta$ /n'ah.rən/ 'in front of'.
- (iv) The vowel ϵ /e/ is stressed only if there is a schwa /ə/ or another ϵ /e/ in the same phonological domain, e.g. $\kappa\eta\eta\epsilon$ /kən.n'e/ 'to be fat'.
- (v) A number of grammatical elements like prepositions, verbal prefixes or enclitic particles are never stressed, e.g. $\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ /ep.r'ɔ:.me/ 'to-the-man', $\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ /af.r'ai.še/ (PERFECT-he-rejoice) 'he rejoiced', $\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\ \Delta\epsilon$ /ən.t'of-de/ '(as for) him'.

1.3.3 Phonological alternations

In this section, we conclude our review of the prosodic domain with a discussion of the most common phonological processes. Particular attention will be drawn to regular alternations in the phonological form of morphemes at a word- or phrase-internal boundary. Such alternations involve either changes in the phonological features of segments (assimilation) or the disappearance of segments from the phonological representation (deletion). Both sound changes are governed by context-sensitive phonological rules, meaning that sound /x/ becomes sound /y/ (which may be zero) in a particular phonological environment.

N.B. Phonological rules of this kind are expressed as $x \rightarrow y / __ z$, where the input of the rule is stated before and its output after the arrow. The slash / translates as 'in the context of', whereas the accompanying environment dash $__$ is read as 'in front' or 'after' a particular sound or sequence of sounds.

1.3.3.1 Labial assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process in the course of which segments acquire phonological features of surrounding segments to increase their phonetic compatibility and thus facilitate their pronunciation. In Sahidic labial assimilation, the coronal nasal n /n/ is realised as the bilabial nasal m /m/ in the context of an adjacent bilabial stop p /p/ or nasal m /m/:

LABIAL ASSIMILATION

$n \rightarrow m / __ p, m$

Labial assimilation is an obligatory phonological process at the juncture between two morphemes and never applies within a single morpheme, e.g. $\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ - (not $\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ -) 'with' (the form of the preposition $\eta\mu$ used with pronouns). Notice, however, that only one coronal nasal may be assimilated within a word, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\pi\pi\omega\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (< $\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) 'the kings ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\pi\pi\omega\upsilon\gamma$) of ($\eta\text{-}$) (not $\eta\text{-}$) the ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$) Persians' (Eud. 42:18). Particularly common examples of labial assimilation are:

- The linkage marker η - 'of', e.g. $\pi\mu\alpha\ \eta\eta\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ 'the place ($\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$) of ($\eta\text{-}$) the stewards ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\eta\eta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$)' (praec. Pach. 105) vs. $\pi\mu\alpha\ \eta\text{-}\pi\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'the ($\pi\text{-}$) place ($\mu\alpha$) of ($\eta\text{-}$) (the) weeping ($\pi\text{-}\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)
- Prepositions with n as a final consonant: $\eta\eta$, var. $\eta\eta$ 'in, into', e.g. $\eta\eta\ \tau\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$ 'in ($\eta\eta$) the congregation ($\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$)' (praec. Pach. 91) vs. $\eta\eta\ \pi\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'into ($\eta\eta$) the village ($\pi\text{-}\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$)' (praec. Pach. 90), $\lambda\eta\eta$, var. $\lambda\eta\eta$ 'without', e.g. $\lambda\eta\eta\ \tau\omega\psi$ 'without ($\lambda\eta\eta$) order ($\tau\omega\psi$)' (praec. Pach.127) vs. $\lambda\eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$ 'without ($\lambda\eta\eta$) his superintendent ($\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\mu\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\iota$)' (praec. Pach. 106)

- The plural form of the definite article *τῶν* 'the', e.g. *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* 'the bakers' (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) (praec. Pach. 117) vs. *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* *τῶν ἀμφοῦ* 'the dwelling' (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) places (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) of (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) all (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*) the souls (*τῶν ἀμφοῦ*)' (Ac. A&P 198:73).

1.3.3.2 T-deletion

Clusters of two voiceless dental stops /t/ are often simplified:

T-DELETION

t → Ø / __ t

Note that the reduction of a sequence of two *τ*'s to a single one is not restricted to word-final position, as in *ἐντ* (< *ἐντ* + *τ*) 'to bring' (*ἐντ*-) *με* (-*τ*)' (Test. Is. 234:22), but may also occur word-internally, as in *πέτειρε* (read *πέτειρε*) (< *π-ετ-τ-ειρε*) 'what I was doing' (Onnophr. 207:16).

1.3.3.3 Vowel elision

At a morpheme or word boundary, sequences of two or more vowels may be simplified by deleting one vocalic segment. Unlike labial assimilation and *τ*-deletion, vowel elision is an optional phonological process. The deleted vowel may but need not be identical with the neighbouring one, e.g. *πέτῃλαα* (< *π-ετ-τ-η-α-α-α*) 'what I shall do' (Ac. A&P 200:100).

1.4 Greek loan words

The emergence of Coptic is the result of intensive language contact in a bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) speech community. Greek was not only the language of the literate elite, but also the language of the Holy Scriptures and the new religion and hence a language of great cultural importance. The impact of this prestige language on the native vernacular was pervasive. Although no clear statistics are available at present, it is estimated that approximately forty percent of the Coptic vocabulary consists of Greek loan words. The following discussion on language contact phenomena will begin with a typology of Greek loan words, with particular attention for the grammatical constraints on

lexical borrowing: which categories are borrowed and how is foreign lexical material integrated into the native syntax (section 1.4.1). We also take a closer look at the Coptic spelling of Greek loans, which may diverge considerably from the Greek model (section 1.4.2).

1.4.1 A typology of Greek borrowings

The transfer of Greek lexical material into the Coptic vocabulary was not restricted to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives), which have a clear link to Hellenistic and Christian culture (e.g. *ψυχή* 'soul' (< *ψυχή* /psük^hē/), *ἐκκλησία* 'church' (< *ἐκκλησία* /ekkleisia/), *βαπτίζει* 'to baptize' (< *βαπτίζεσθαι* /baptizest^hai/), *μακάριος* 'blessed' (< *μακάριος* /makarios/), but also involved a variety of Greek function words (i.e. grammatical words with no descriptive-lexical content), such as sentence conjunctions (e.g. *ὥστε* 'such that' (< *ὥστε* /ho:ste/), discourse markers (e.g. *ἀε* (< *δέ* /de/), manner and time adverbials (e.g. *κακῶς* (< *κακῶς* /kakōs/) 'badly', *τότε* (< *τότε* /tote/) 'then, at that time'), and even some prepositions (e.g. *κατά* 'according to' (< *κατά* /kata/)). Despite the massive influx of Greek items, paradigmatically organized words like determiners, pronouns, numerals, and tense markers are all drawn from the native stock. To fit into Coptic phrase structure, Greek loan words underwent minor morphological changes in the course of borrowing.

1.4.1.1 Copto-Greek nouns

Greek nouns are commonly borrowed as a whole without any morphological change and, if any, phonological adjustments only. The gender and noun-class marking suffix of the nominative singular form of the Greek model noun is generally preserved, e.g. *ἀριθμός* 'military unit' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20) (< *ἀριθμός* /arit^hmos/ 'number'), *χωρά* 'land' (Camb. 2:29) (< *χωρά* /k^hōra/), *ἐγκώμιον* 'eulogy' (Mena, Enc. 35:a:2-3) (< *ἐγκώμιον* /enkōmion/), *πόλις* 'city' (Hil. 3:20) (< *πόλις* /polis/), *δεσποτής* 'lord, despot' (Hil. 3:20) (< *δεσπότης* /despote:s/). Due to the lack of morphological case marking, Greek nouns are generally borrowed in their nominative singular form, which represents the least marked form of the nominal paradigm.

A number of Greek nouns adopted a more specialized meaning in the course of borrowing, e.g. *τοπιος* 'shrine' (Hil. 5:5) (< *τόπος* /topos/

'place'), *συναξίς* 'the Holy Mass' (Hil. 1:17) (< *σύναξις* /sinaksis/ 'gathering'), *προσφορά* 'Eucharist' (Eud. 72:23) (< *προσφορά* /prosp^hora/ 'bounty, gift'), *πολύτια* 'monastic practice, ascetic labour' (Zen. 199:8) (< *πολιτεία* /politeia/ 'citizenship, government').

1.4.1.2 Copto-Greek adjectives

Coptic has no special word class of adjectives. Greek adjectives are therefore treated as fully fledged nouns, e.g. *μακάριος* *ἀπα ναζροϋ* 'the (π-) blessed (*μακάριος* < *μακάριος* /makarios/) Apa Nahrow' (KHML I 4:7), *νειαφυχον* *χε νοϋτε* 'these lifeless (*νειαφυχον* < *ἄψυχος* /apsik^hos/) (things) called (*χε*) god (*νοϋτε*)' (KHML I 1:2), *ππαια* *μν τκνη* 'the Old (*τ-ππαια* < *παλαιός* /palaios/) and (*μν*) the New (Testament) (*τ-κνη* < *καινός* /kainos/)' (Hil. 1:13), *πζαγιος* *δε* *ἀπα μηνα ουεγενης* *πε εβολ* *ζμ* *πκαζ* *νκμη* 'the holy (*π-ζαγιος*) Apa Mena (was) well-born (*ουεγενης* < *εὐγενής* /eugeneis/) of Egyptian descent (lit. 'from (*εβολ* *ζμ*) the land (*π-καζ*) of Egypt (*ν-κμη*))' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-b:2).

Greek adjectives generally appear with the singular masculine ending -ος /-os/ (-ος), e.g. *οϋρωμε* *νσοφος* 'a wise (*ν-σοφος* < *σοφός* /soph^hos/) man (*οϋρωμε*)' (Teach. Ant. 4), *ζωc* *ρωμε* *νβιωτικός* 'like (*ζωc*) a man (*ρωμε*) of this world (*ν-βιωτικός* < *βιωτικός* /biotikos/)' (Hil. 13:5); exceptions: (singular feminine -α /-a/ -α) *τμακαρια* *ζλλαρια* 'the blessed (*τ-μακαρια* < *μακάριος* /makarios/) Hilaria (*ζλλαρια*)' (Hil. 1:1), (singular neuter -ον /-on/ -ον) *τειεπιθμία* *μπνικόν* (for *πνευματικόν*) 'this spiritual (*ν-πνευματικόν* < *πνευματικός* /pneumatikos/) desire (*τειεπιθμία* < *ἐπιθυμία* /epith^humia/)' (Hil. 1:20), (genitive plural -ων /-ōn/ -ων) *μπνοιτης* (read *ποιητης*) *ναρχαιων* 'the ancient (*ν-αρχαιων* < *ἀρχαῖος* /ark^haios/) poets (*ν-ποιητης* < *ποιητής* /poietes/)' (Hil. 1:18).

The Greek superlative can sometimes be found in epithets preceding or following a proper name, e.g. *πειελαχιστος* *νρρο* *ζηνων* 'this most humble (*πειελαχιστος* < *ἐλάχιστος* /elakhistos/) king (*ν-ρρο*) Zenō (*ζηνων*)' (Hil. 7:21), *πεφμεριτ* *νωτ* *νθεοφιλεστατος* *ἀπα* *τιμοθεος* *παρχιεπισκοπος* 'his beloved (*πεφμεριτ*) father

(*ν-ιωτ*), the archbishop (*π-αρχιεπισκοπος*) Apa Timotheus (*τιμοθεος*), most beloved by God (*ν-θεοφιλεστατος* < *θεοφιλέτατος* /^hteophiletatos/) (Sh. III 13:19-20).

1.4.1.3 Copto-Greek verbs

Copto-Greek verbs generally appear with a morphologically lighter form, with the Greek infinitival endings -ειν /eĩn/ or -εσθαι /est^hai/ stripped off, e.g. *ετει* (for *αιτει*) 'to ask for' (Test. Is. 237:13) (< *αἰτεῖν* /aiteĩn/), *ἀπαντα* 'to encounter' (Test. Is. 237:8) (< *ἀπαντᾶν* /apantan/), *χαριζε* 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< *χαρίζεσθαι* /k^harizest^hai/). Due to their impoverished morphology, Copto-Greek verbs have the appearance of the Greek imperative present active, which is why they have been classified as imperatives in most Coptic grammars. From a syntactic point of view, this analysis is not tenable, since imperativial clause verbs construed with an implicit or explicit second person subject pronoun. It seems therefore more likely that Greek verbs are borrowed into Coptic as "bare" (i.e. uninflected) stems. Occasionally, the full form of the Greek infinitival suffix -εσθαι /est^hai/ is preserved in the Coptic form of the borrowed verb, e.g. *εξηγισθαι* 'to expose, tell at length' (Onnophr. 205:9) (< *ἐξηγεῖσθαι* /eksegeist^hai/).

1.4.1.4 Copto-Greek function words

Greek function words and particles are productively used in Coptic clause-chaining and discourse organisation and are therefore instances of both lexical and grammatical borrowing. Some representative examples of each category are given below:

- Prepositions, which mark relations between entities, e.g. *ζωc* 'like, as' *ως* < /hōis/), *ειμητι* 'except' (< *εἰ μή τι* /eime:ti/). Two frequently used Greek prepositions *κατα* 'according to' (< *κατά* /kata/) and *παρα* 'more than' (< *παρά* /para/) have special forms *καταρο*= and *παπαρο*= before pronouns, which are formed on the analogy of native prepositions like *ε*-, *επο*= 'to, towards'.

- Adverbs of time and manner, e.g. **αληθως** (< ἀληθῶς /aleiˈθɔːs/) 'actually, really', **ετι** (var. **λιτει** (V. Pach. 87:16)) (< ἔτι /eti/) 'yet, still', **κακως** (< κακῶς /kakɔːs/) 'badly', **τοτε** (< τότε /tote/) 'then, at that time'.
- Subordinating conjunctions or complementizers, which introduce a syntactically dependent clause, e.g. **ζωστε** 'such that' (< ὥστε /hoːste/), **μηπως** 'that not' (< μήπως /meːpɔːs/).
- Coordinating conjunctions, which connect two noun phrases or clauses, e.g. **η** 'or' (< ἢ /ei/), **ογδε** 'and not' (< οὐδέ /uːde/).
- Rhetorical conjunctions that express discourse relations like contrast **αλλα** 'but' (< ἀλλά /alla/), an explanation of the preceding discourse **γαρ** 'because, for' (< γάρ /gar/), or a change of topic or beginning of a new narrative unit **δε** (< δέ /de/).

1.4.2 The spelling of Greek loan words

Greek loan words are generally spelled correctly. Deviations from the Greek model are for the most part phonetic spellings, reflecting both ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine and the absence of certain phonological oppositions in Coptic.

a) Variation between γ ~ χ and τ ~ δ

Since Sahidic Coptic lacks a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless dental and velar stops, γ frequently alternates with χ and δ with τ in the Coptic rendering of Greek words:

- (γ ~ χ) **καρπος** (Onnophr. 219:22) ~ **γαρπος** (V. Pach. 87:1) 'fruit' (< καρπός /karpos/), **εργατης** (V. Pach. 210b:3) ~ **αρκατης** (BHom. 263:7) 'worker' (< ἐργάτης /ergateis/), **αγανακτηει** (V. Pach. 67:20-21) ~ **ακανακτηει** (V. Pach. 92:9-10) 'to become angry' (< ἀγανακτεῖν /aganaktein/).
- (δ ~ τ) **παρδεισος** (Abbatōn 237:13) ~ **παρτ̣σως** (V. Pach. 86:23) 'garden (of Eden), Paradise' (< παράδεισος /paradeisos/), **τινωρει** (V. Pach. 159b:29) ~ **δινωρει** (Test. Is. 234:20) 'to

punish' (< τιμωρεῖν /timɔːreɪn/), **διδασζε** (V. Pach. 192:25) ~ **τιτταζε** (V. Pach. 94:22) ~ **δισταζε** (V. Pach. 288:17-18) 'to hesitate' (< διστάζειν /distazein/).

b) Variation between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η

The general graphical interchange between ο ~ ω and ε ~ η reflects not only the absence of phonologically distinctive vowel length in Coptic, but also the impossibility of having the vowels ο /o/, ω /ɔ/, and η /e/ in unstressed syllables.

- (ο ~ ω) **νομος** (V. Pach. 36:2) ~ **νωμος** (V. Pach. 94:15) 'law' (< νομός /nomos/), **διακωνει** (V. Pach. 91:27) ~ **διακονει** (V. Pach. 73a:22) 'to do service, minister' (διακονεῖν /diakonein/), **μονων** (V. Pach. 89:27) ~ **μονον** (V. Pach. 106b:11) 'only' (< μόνον /monon/), **παντος** (V. Pach. 206b:37) ~ **παντωσ** (V. Pach. 29b:27) 'certainly, probably' (< πάντως /pantɔːs/).
- (ε ~ η) **ζερμενεγε** (V. Pach. 251b:9-10) ~ **ζερμηνεγε** (V. Pach. 292:27) 'to translate' (< ἐρμηνεύειν /hermeineuein/), **ζυπερετης** (V. Pach. 218b:12-13) ~ **ζυπηρητης** (V. Pach. 14a:8-9) 'servant' (< ὑπηρετής /hūpeiretɛis/), **ζεθος** (AP Chaîne, no 192, 49:32) 'custom, habit' (< ἔθος /eˈθɔs/), **ζελεν** (V. Pach. 253a:3-4) ~ **ζελεην** (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἑλλην /hellein/).

c) Variation between η, ε, ι and υ

The alternation of υ with η, ι and ε in the spelling of Greek loan words is more likely to stem from the absence of a high, front vowel /i/ in Sahidic Coptic rather than from the final merger of /i/ and /e/ in Modern Greek, which took place as late as the 9th and 10th century AD.

Examples: **διαθκη** (Test. Is. 237:23-24) 'testament' (< διαθήκη /diaṭhekei/ (var. **διαθκη** (Test. Is. 237:14))), **θεςια** (V. Pach. 91:7) 'sacrifice' (< θυσία /ṭḥusia/ (var. **θγσια** (V. Pach. 88:12))), **κληρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:34) ~ **καγρικος** (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:29) 'cleric' (< κληρικός /kleirikos/), **πολγμει** (V. Pach. 212a:1) ~ **πολεμει** (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< πολεμεῖν /polemein/).

d) Variation between ϵ and the superlinear stroke

The sporadic variation between the grapheme ϵ and the superlinear stroke in Greek borrowings reflects the alternation of the default vowel /e/ with schwa /ə/ in closed unstressed syllables.

Examples: $\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ (Hil. 1:22) ~ $\tau\bar{\iota}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ (Onnophr. 223:9-10) 'the (τ- definite article sing.fem.) church' (< ἐκκλησία /ekkleisia/), $\tau\bar{\eta}\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (Onnophr. 221:7) ~ $\theta\epsilon\beta\delta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (τ- + $\tau\epsilon\beta\delta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$) (V. Pach. 239:5) 'week' (< ἑβδομάς /hebdomas/), $\tau\bar{\eta}\lambda\lambda\eta\eta$ (BHom. 263:7) ~ $\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\eta$ (V. Pach. 340:5) 'pagan' (< ἑλλην /hellein/).

e) Variation between $\alpha\iota \sim \epsilon$ and $\iota, \eta \sim \epsilon\iota$

The alternation of ϵ and $\alpha\iota$ as well as ι, η and $\epsilon\iota$ in many borrowed words reflects the final merger of the Classical Greek /e/ and /ai/ to /e/ and /i/, /e/ and /ei/ to /i/ in the Egyptian variety of Koine Greek through a combination of systematic monophthongisation (i.e. the reduction of a diphthong to a simple vowel) and the loss of distinctive vowel length:

- ($\iota, \eta \sim \epsilon\iota$) $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ (Onnophr. 206:14) ~ $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta$ (Op. Pach. et disc. 25:16) 'herd, multitude' (< ἀγέλη /agele/), $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$ (V. Pach. 292:8) ~ $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$ (V. Pach. 106a:21) (< ἐπιθυμία /epit'umia/)
- ($\alpha\iota \sim \epsilon$) $\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\eta$ (AP, Chaîne no. 132, 30:4) 'demon' (< δαίμων /daimon/ (var. $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\eta$ (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:9)), $\epsilon\omega\eta$ 'era' (V. Pach. 86:7) (< αἰών /aion/ (var. $\lambda\iota\omega\eta$ (Eud. 38:23)), $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ (V. Pach. 87:16) (< ἔτι /eti/ 'yet, still' (var. $\epsilon\tau\iota$ (V. Pach. 1:22)), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ (Test. Is. 237:13) 'to request, ask for' (< αἰτεῖν /aitēin/ (var. $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ (V. Pach. 3:13)), $\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ 'pure, unmixed' (Test. Is. 228:14) (< ἀκέραιος /akeraios/).

f) Variation between ϵ, ι and η

The variation between ϵ, ι and η in Copto-Greek words provides good evidence for the full merging of the front vowels /e/, /i/ and /e/ to /i/ in early Byzantine Greek (so-called 'iotacism').

Examples: $\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'eagle' (Onnophr. 211:26-27) ~ $\alpha\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (AP Chaîne no. 192, 49:28) (< αἰτός /aetos/), $\alpha\varsigma\kappa\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 86:24) ~ $\alpha\varsigma\kappa\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 73a:23) 'ascetic' (< ἀσκητής /askeiteis/), $\pi\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Op. Pach. et

discipl. 1:15) ~ $\pi\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Op. Pach. et disc. 23:1) ~ $\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Op. Pach. et discipl. 49:1) 'to try, tempt' (< πειράζειν /peirazein/), $\alpha\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon$ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:31) 'to speak against, contradict' (< ἀντιλέγειν /antilegein/).

g) Greek aspiration

Greek orthography employed a special diacritic (´), the so-called *spiritus asper* (lit. "rough breathing"), to indicate the presence of a word-initial voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, e.g. ὅρος /horos/ 'boundary, landmark'. Despite the loss of the /h/ in Greek by the 4th century AD, the *spiritus asper* is retained in the orthography of Copto-Greek words, where it is generally rendered by the Coptic letter hori 2: $\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'holy' (< ἅγιος /hagios/) (in epithets, e.g. $\pi\tau\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$ $\mu\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'the holy Apa Mena' Mena, Mir. 7a:6-7), $\tau\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Test. Is. 233:28) 'wholly, altogether' (< ὅλως /holos/), (word-internal /h/ in compounds): $\pi\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 85a:25-26) 'choice, preference' (< προαίρεσις /prohairesis/).

The Greek trilled, alveolar liquid /r/ was aspirated at the beginning of a word /r^h/ and, like all aspirated consonants in Greek, voiceless. The so-called *spiritus asper* ('rough breathing') is rendered by the digraph 2P in the Coptic spelling of Greek and Latin borrowings, e.g. $\tau\eta\tau\omega\tau$ (KHML II 31:14) 'speaker, advocate' (< ῥήτωρ /r^hetor/), $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (KHML II 29:17) 'the (πε-) riparius ($\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$) police official in Egypt' (< ῥιπάριος /r^hiparios/ (lat. *riparius*), $\pi\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'the (πε-) Romans ($\tau\tau\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$)' (Eud. 42:23-24) (< ῥωμαῖος /r^hōmaios/). Occasionally, the letter hori (2) is used to render the Greek *spiritus lenis* (lit. "smooth breathing"), e.g. $\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 95:15) ~ $\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 43a:16) 'people, (pagan) nation' (< ἔθνος /et^hnos/), $\tau\eta\kappa\omega\eta$ (Abbatōn 232:10) 'image' (< εἰκών /eikon/), $\tau\epsilon\lambda\tau\iota\tau\epsilon$ (Eud. 42:21) 'to hope' (< ἐλπίζειν /elpizein/), $\tau\eta\tau\iota\omicron\tau\alpha$ (Test. Is. 232:1) 'fruit' (< ὄπωρα /opora/), $\tau\eta\delta\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$ (V. Pach. 59b:12) 'layman, unsophisticated person' (< ἰδιώτης /idioteis/).

Key Terms:

<i>Copto-Greek Alphabet</i>	the notation system in which Coptic sounds are rendered.	§1.1.1
<i>Nomina sacra</i> “holy names”	are Biblical names or concepts that appear in abbreviated form, e.g. <i>īc</i> ‘Jesus’.	§1.1.3
<i>Glide-vowel alternation</i>	The vocalic or consonantal interpretation of the digraphs <i>ei</i> and <i>oy</i> .	§1.3.1.2
<i>Syllable structure</i>	The most sonorant part of the syllable is constituted by the nucleus, which is preceded by an optional consonantal onset and followed by an optional consonantal coda.	§1.3.1.1
<i>Schwa</i>	a reduced vowel /ə/, e.g. <i>2ñ</i> /hən/ ‘in’ (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:14).	§1.3.1.3
<i>Syllabic consonant</i>	a consonant functioning as the syllabic nucleus, e.g. <i>qñt</i> /fɪt/ ‘worm’.	§1.3.1.3
<i>Superlinear stroke</i> (e.g. <i>ñ</i>)	is the most common diacritic in Sahidic orthography, which indicates a reduced vowel (schwa) or a syllabic consonant. In addition, the superlinear stroke has a purely orthographical interpretation and marks <i>nomina sacra</i> .	§1.3.1.3
<i>Vowel gemination</i>	Two vowel graphemes mark an intermediate glottal stop between two identical vowels V ² V, e.g. <i>mnñwe</i> /me ² e.ʃe/ ‘crowd’.	§1.3.1.4
<i>Word stress</i>	is a prosodic means of contrasting more prominent or heavy syllables with less prominent or light ones within a word.	§1.3.2

<i>Labial assimilation</i>	a phonological process, which causes the coronal nasal <i>n</i> /n/ to become the bilabial nasal <i>m</i> /m/ in the context of <i>n</i> /p/ or <i>m</i> /m/.	§1.3.3.1
<i>Lexical borrowing</i>	the adoption of foreign lexical material into the native vocabulary with minor adjustments.	§1.4.1
<i>Spelling of Greek loan words</i>	The differences between the borrowed item and the original Classical Greek source are mainly due to ongoing sound changes in Egyptian Koine.	§1.4.2

How to use Coptic dictionaries

Coptic dictionaries are organized in a different manner than the ones we are used to. Lexical entries are ordered with respect to their consonant structure. A word like *ϣⲭⲛⲓ* ‘to remain over, to leave’ consists of three consonants *ϣ-ⲭ-ⲛ*. Lexical items which have this sequence of consonants in common are ordered with respect to vowels. Thus, when you want to look up some word, first identify its sequence of consonants. You will find the entry *ϣⲭⲛⲓ* on page 618a of Crum, A Coptic Dictionary

Exercises**1.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
 1. The Coptic and the Greek alphabets are identical.
 2. Coptic letters may express more than one sound or phoneme.
 3. The glides (*ei*) and *oy* cannot appear between two vowels.

4. Every Coptic word has to begin with a consonant.
5. Borrowing from Greek is restricted to content words (verbs, nouns, adjectives).

1.2 The Coptic writing system

- A. Read the Coptic translation of the *Lord's Prayer*. Particular attention should be paid to the pronunciation of the superlinear stroke.

⁹ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ̄ ἡΠΗΥΕ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΟΥΟΠ
¹⁰ ΤΕΚΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΑΡΕΣΕΙ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΨ ΜΑΡΕΩΨΠΕ ΝΕΕ
 ΕΤΩΖΝ̄ ΤΠΕ ΝΩΨΠΕ ΟΝ ΖΙΧ̄ ΠΚΑΖ
¹¹ ΠΕΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΝΓ† ἡΜΟQ ΜΑΝ ἡΠΟΟΥ
¹² ΝΓΚΩ ΜΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ἡΝΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΕΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΕΤΝΚΩ
 ΕΒΟΛ ἡΝΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ
¹³ ΝΓΤΜΧΙΤΝ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓΝΑΖΜ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΠΟΟΤΩ
 ἡΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ ΤΩΟΜ Μ̄ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΨΑ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ · ΖΑΜΗΝ

The Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13)

- B. Transliterate the following Coptic words. Use the transcription symbols given in table 1.1 of the main text.

ειωτ	father	ΝΟΥΤΕ	god	†	to give
ψηρε	son	CON	brother	ειρε	to make
ψεερε	daughter	ϣΤΟΟΥ	four	ωω	to remain
χοεic	lord	ΖΒΟΥΡ	left	ζε	to fall

- C. Transliterate those Coptic words below where the superlinear stroke has a phonological interpretation (schwa, syllabic consonant).

Χ̄C	Christ	Π̄ΝΙΚΟΝ	spiritual	CONC̄N̄	to request
Τ̄BT	fish	Ε̄ΡΡΕ	new	Π̄ΝΑ	spirit
CM̄ME	to accuse s.o	Ζ̄ΜΖ̄Μ	to shout	Χ̄C	Lord

- D. Write down the unabbreviated form of the Coptic *nomen sacrum* in those cases where the superlinear stroke has an orthographical interpretation.

1.3 Segmental phonology

- A. Each of the following rows contains a set of phonemes that constitute a natural class of phonological elements, for instance, consonants, except for one element. Eliminate this element in each row and say what kind of natural class we are dealing with.

- (1) α ε ο π
- (2) β τ λ π
- (3) λγ εγ οει ω
- (4) ζ Δ ρ χ

- B. The following list contains words whose spelling diverges in one or two respects from the standard spelling given in Coptic dictionaries. Fill in the standard spelling given in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*.

DIVERGENT SPELLING	GLOSS	STANDARD SPELLING
BNT (Test. Is. 235:1)	worm	
OYEN (Hil. 5:18)	(there) is	
HEI (praec. Pach.123)	house	

1.4 Suprasegmental phonology

- A. Indicate the syllable structure of the following Coptic words through segmentation, e.g. $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'man' $\rightarrow \rho\omega + \mu\epsilon$:

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	SYLLABLE STRUCTURE
$\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$	to do	
$\beta\rho\rho\epsilon$	new	
$\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon$	school	
$\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$	to rule	
$\epsilon\beta\eta\eta$	miserable	

- B. The digraphs $\sigma\gamma$ and $\epsilon\iota$ may have a vocalic /i u/ or a consonantal /j w/ interpretation. Fill in the vocalic or consonantal form of the glide in the phonological transcription of the Coptic examples.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	TRANSCRIPTION
$\eta\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$	god	/n__te/
$\sigma\gamma\omega\mu$	to eat	/__om/
$\mu\sigma\sigma\gamma$	water	/mo__/
$\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$	father	/__ot/

- C. Underline the stressed (heavy) syllable in the following Coptic words

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
$\tau\alpha\mu\sigma$	to inform	$\varpi\sigma\varpi\varpi$	to destroy
$\rho\omega\omega\eta$	coat	$\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon$	to reproach

- D. Determine the correctly spelled Coptic item.

- | | | |
|--|--|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\mu\pi\epsilon$ | <input type="checkbox"/> $\beta\lambda\lambda\mu\pi\epsilon$ | goat |
| <input type="checkbox"/> $\beta\eta\rho\rho\epsilon$ | <input type="checkbox"/> $\beta\rho\rho\epsilon$ | young |
| <input type="checkbox"/> $\mu\epsilon\bar{\eta}$ | <input type="checkbox"/> $\mu\bar{\eta}$ | with |

- E. Explain why the alternative spelling cannot be accurate!
- F. The following list of examples contains words that consist of two or more lexical and grammatical elements. Write down the assimilated form after the arrow.

$N + \mu\alpha$	'the (plural) + place'	\rightarrow __ $\mu\alpha$
$N + \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\sigma$	'blessed'	\rightarrow __ $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\sigma$
$2N + \pi + \mu\alpha$	in + the (sing. masc.) + place	\rightarrow 2 __ $\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$
$N + N + \pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma$	'of + the (plural) + Persians'	\rightarrow __ $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma$

1.5 The Spelling of Greek loan words

- A. Identify the following Greek or Latin names in Coptic spelling.

$\alpha\lambda\delta\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$	$\dagger\mu\sigma\theta\epsilon\sigma$	$\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$
$\beta\iota\kappa\tau\omega\rho$	$\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\sigma$	$\sigma\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta\delta\iota\alpha\eta\sigma$

- B. Look up the following Greek words in Coptic spelling in a Greek dictionary.

$\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$	(praec. Pach. 92)	$\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$	(Test. Is. 237:8)
$\gamma\gamma\alpha\sigma\eta$	(AP, Chaîne no. 210, 57:28)	$\gamma\sigma\mu\sigma\lambda\sigma\gamma\epsilon$	(Onnophr. 221:3)
$\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\sigma$	(V. Pach. 43a:16)	$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\beta\sigma\gamma\eta$	(Onnophr. 217:17)
$\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$	(V. Pach. 148:26-27)	$\gamma\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta$	(V. Pach. 162:14)

Unit 2

Nouns and pronouns

This and the following three units provide an overview of Coptic noun morphology and noun phrase syntax. The focus of this unit is on the main building blocks of the nominal system, which are common nouns and pronouns. Unit 3 is concerned with the internal structure of complex noun phrases and various types of adverbial modifiers. Unit 4 deals with nominal-functional categories, such as demonstrative pronouns and articles, question words, indefinite pronouns, and reflexives. Unit 5 reviews the most common nominal sentence patterns, in which a noun phrase functions as the main predicate of the clause.

The two types of nominal expressions under consideration here, nouns and pronouns, differ from each other with respect to grammatical behaviour and semantic content. Nouns belong to an open class of lexical items designating individuals, entities, objects and locations. Pronouns, on the other hand, belong to a closed class of elements that refer to participants or non-participants in a given speech situation and operates by way of a basic three-part division, where the speaker is referred to by a first person pronoun ("I"), the hearer by a second person singular pronoun ("you") and other participants referred to by third person singular and plural pronouns ("he, she, it, they"). Third person pronouns typically function as anaphora, i.e. elements that provide subsequent reference to discourse entities that have already been introduced. Section 2.1 of this Unit deals with the morphology of common nouns like *pōme* 'man' or *cōme* 'woman' and their grammatical exponents, number and gender. This leads to

section 2.2, in which the three-way contrast between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article (π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the man', $\sigma\gamma$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'a man', $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'man') is discussed. Section 2.3 is concerned with Coptic numerals. Section 2.4 reviews the elaborate pronominal system in which each person, number and gender distinctions correlates with a distinct personal pronoun.

2.1 Noun morphology

Most Coptic nouns simply lack morphologically marked number and gender distinctions. Yet, it is generally possible to derive the number and gender specification of Coptic nouns from the pronominal article or a preceding or following pronoun. There are only a handful of nouns where grammatical number and gender is marked morphologically by alternations in the form of the nominal stem.

2.1.1 Gender

Coptic nouns are specified for either masculine or feminine gender; there is no separate category for neuter gender. In the vast majority of cases, masculine and feminine nouns are not distinguished on a morphological basis. It is, however, always possible to infer the gender specification of a given noun from the form of the prefixed definite article, which encodes gender and number distinctions. Thus, the definite article forms $\pi\epsilon$ - and π - are selected in the context of singular masculine nouns, e.g. π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (sing. masc.) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10), while the forms $\tau\epsilon$ - and τ - are found with feminine nouns, e.g. $\tau\epsilon$ - $\varsigma\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'the (sing. fem.) woman' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21). Grammatical gender can also be detected from a preceding or following pronoun. Take, for instance, an example like $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ ϵ - γ - $\varphi\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'a sick man (lit. a man ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) while (ϵ -) he ($-\gamma$ -) is sick ($\varphi\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (praec. Pach. 93), where the masculine gender of the "bare" noun $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'man' is morphologically expressed on bound third person masculine singular pronoun $-\gamma$ - 'he'.

In a closed class of lexical items, feminine nouns are derived from their masculine counterparts through changes in the vowel pattern (so-called *Ablaut*, see section 1.2.2.3 of Unit 1), sometimes accompanied by a change in syllable structure: CON 'brother' vs. CONE 'sister',

$\varphi\eta\epsilon$ 'son' vs. $\varphi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ 'daughter', $\gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$ 'old man' vs. $\gamma\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'old woman', $\rho\rho\omicron$ 'king' vs. $\rho\rho\omega$ 'queen'. Sometimes these nouns display a redundant marking of the gender specification, e.g. $\text{NEMNTQ } \varphi\eta\epsilon$ $\text{N}200\gamma\text{T NCA } \varphi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ $\text{CENTE NC}2\eta\mu\epsilon$ MMATE 'he had no (NE-MNT-Q) male ($\text{N-}200\gamma\text{T}$) son ($\varphi\eta\epsilon$) except (NCA) two ($\text{N-}200\gamma\text{T}$) female ($\text{N-C}2\eta\mu\epsilon$) daughters ($\varphi\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$) only (MMATE)' (Hil. 2:5).

2.1.2 Number

Coptic has two categories for number, singular and plural. Plural nouns refer to countable entities, which are more than one in number. As with grammatical gender, the number specification of a given noun can be deduced from the form of the definite or indefinite article, as in π - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (singular masculine) man' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10) vs. $\text{NE-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'the (plural) people' (Mena, Mir. 5b:21), $\sigma\gamma$ - $\varsigma\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'a (indefinite singular) woman' (Mena, Mir. 22a:17-18) vs. $\gamma\epsilon\text{N-}2\eta\mu\epsilon$ 'women (indefinite plural)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:3). The morphological distinction between singular and plural nouns is a remnant of Pre-Coptic plural marking and applies only to a limited number of nouns. The singular noun is, as a rule, morphologically unmarked, while the corresponding plural is formed by three different pluralization patterns:

- (i) Addition of the plural marker $-\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ /-owe/ to the right of the nominal stem, e.g. $\text{C}\rho\omega$ (singular) 'teaching' vs. $\text{C}\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ (plural) 'teachings', $\pi\epsilon$ (singular) 'heaven' vs. $\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (plural) 'heaven'.
- (ii) Internal or "broken" plurals, where plurality is expressed by changes in the vowel pattern and syllable structure of the nominal stem, e.g. $\gamma\beta\omicron\text{C}$ (singular) 'garment' vs. $\gamma\beta\omega\omega\text{C}$ (plural) 'garments'.
- (iii) Mixed plurals, which are derived by a combination of the plural marker $-\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ and internal, i.e. "broken" pluralization, e.g. CON (singular) 'brother, monk' vs. $\text{CN}\eta\gamma$ (plural) 'brothers', $\gamma\omega\epsilon$ (singular) 'thing' vs. $\gamma\epsilon\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (plural) 'things', $\chi\omicron\iota$ (singular) 'ship' vs. $\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$ (plural) 'ships' (with loss of the word-final $-\epsilon$).

Some additional examples for each pluralization pattern are given in table 2.1:

PLURALIZATION PATTERN	SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
PLURAL SUFFIX -ΟΥΕ	ΡΗΕΙΗ	ΡΗΕΙΟΥΕ	tear
	ΡΡΟ	ΡΡΩΟΥ	king
	ΤΕΝΗ	ΤΕΝΟΥΕ	cattle
	ΣΠΗ	ΣΠΗΟΥΕ	rip
BROKEN PLURALS	ΣΝΑΖ	ΣΝΑΥΖ	fetter
	ΕΙΩΤ	ΕΙΟΤΕ	father
	ΑΝΑΦ	ΑΝΑΥΦ	oath
	ΖΤΟ	ΖΤΩΡ	horse
	ΖΑΛΗΤ	ΖΑΛΑΤΕ	bird
	ΣΖΙΜΕ	ΣΖΙΟΜΕ	woman
MIXED PLURALS	ΧΘΕΙC	ΧΙΘΟΥΕ	lord
	ΧΛΧΕ	ΧΙΧΕΕΥ(Ε)	enemy
	ΑΜΡΕ	ΑΜΡΗΥ	baker

TABLE 2.1 Irregular plurals

Whenever such irregular plural nouns appear with a determiner, grammatical number is encoded twice: once on the definite or indefinite article and once on the nominal stem itself, e.g. Ν-ΕΧΗΥ 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118), Ν-ΑΜΗΥ 'the shepherds' (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC 'the kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) of the Persians (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC)' (Eud. 42:18).

It is possible for some frequently occurring Greek nouns like ΦΥΧΗ 'soul' and ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ 'letter' to combine with the remnant Egyptian plural suffix -ΟΥΕ, e.g. ΜΜΑ ΝΩΠΠΕ ΝΝΕΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'the dwelling (Ν-ΩΠΠΕ) places (Μ-ΜΑ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), Ν-ΕΠ[ΙC]ΤΟΛΟΟΥΕ 'the letters' (Camb.7:10-11).

2.2 The determiner system

The Coptic determiner system makes a three-way distinction between a definite, an indefinite and a zero article. Each determiner says something about the informational status of the noun phrase it modifies: whether it refers to an already known or familiar discourse entity or rather someone or something mentioned for the first time.

Both the definite and the indefinite article are bound morphemes that form a prosodic unit with the following noun. For this reason, they are not susceptible to stress assignment. The complete paradigm of the Sahidic prenominal articles is shown in table 2.2.

	INDEFINITE ARTICLE	DEFINITE ARTICLE	"BARE" NOUNS
SINGULAR	ΟΥ- /w-/ , /u-/	ΠΕ- /pe-/	Ø
MASCULINE	Υ- /-u/	Π- /pə-/ , /p-/	
SINGULAR	ΟΥ- /w-/ , /u-/	ΤΕ- /te-/	Ø
FEMININE	Υ- /-u/	Τ- /tə-/ , /t-/	
PLURAL	ΖΕΝ- /hen-/	ΝΕ- /ne-/	Ø
	ΖΝ- /hən-/	Ν- /nə-/ , /ən-/ , /n-/	

TABLE 2.2 Prenominal articles

The definite article has three forms, encoding the features [gender] and [number]. The indefinite article, on the other hand, has only two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural. The singular form ΟΥ- is derived from the numeral 'one' ΟΥΑ (masc.), ΟΥΕΙ (fem.), while the corresponding plural ΖΕΝ- represents a phonologically reduced form of the quantifier ΖΟΙΝΕ 'some'. Next to the definite and indefinite article, there are so-called "bare" nouns that lack a determiner altogether. Yet, they receive a specific semantic interpretation. For this reason, one might think of "bare" nouns as being determined by a zero article (indicated as Ø), i.e. an article that has no phonological realization.

2.1.1 Allomorphic variation

As we can see from table 2.2 above, the definite and the indefinite article come in two varieties: full forms and phonologically reduced ones, where the characteristic vowel is reduced or entirely lost. These alternative forms of one and the same morpheme are called allomorphs. The factors underlying the selection of the various allomorphs of the definite and indefinite article will be presented in this section.

2.2.1.1 Full vs. reduced forms of the definite article

The definite articles **πε-** (pe-), **τε-** (te-), **νε-** (ne-), already weak and unstressed, can be further reduced to **π-**, **τ-**, **ν-**, where the latter forms represent different degrees of reduction, namely syllabic pə-, tə-, nə- (ən-) or mono-consonantal p-, t-, n-. The selection of the appropriate allomorph depends on the word-initial segment of the determined noun.

- (i) The mono-consonantal allomorphs **π-** (p-), **τ-** (t-), **ν-** (n-) appear, as a rule, pre-vocally: (sing. masc.) **π-η** 'the house' (praec. et inst. Pach. 33:30), **πε-βοτ** 'the month (π-εβοτ) Hathor' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:8-9), **π-αγγελος** 'the angel' (Test. Is. 230:1), **π-αριεμος** 'the division' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20); (sing. fem.) **τ-εκκλησια** 'the church' (Hil. 2:22), **†ρηνη μπαχοεις** 'the peace (τ-ιρηνη) of my Lord (μ-πα-χοεις)' (Test. Is. 230:10), **ν-αγγελος** (Test. Is. 233:18), (plural) **ν-αμρηγ** 'the bakers' (praec. Pach. 117), **ν-εχηγ** 'the ships' (praec. Pach. 118).
- (ii) The syllabic forms **π-/π-** (pə-), **τ-/τ-** (tə-), **ν-/ν-** (nə-, ən-) (with a reduced vocalic nucleus /ə/) generally appear pre-consonantly: (sing. masc.) **π-νουτε** 'god' (V. Pach. 2:2) (var. **π-νουτε** (Test. Is. 228:11), **π-χοεις** 'the Lord' (V. Pach. 2:4), **π-ρη** 'the sun' (praec. Pach. 103), **π-†με** 'the village' (V. Pach. 1:24); (sing. fem.) **τ-μντερο** 'the kingdom' (Hil. 2:3), **τμалу δε μπνεεε** 'the mother (τ-μалу) of the sailor (μ-π-νεεε)' (Ac. A&P 194:4), **τπαφε ντεγυν** 'half (τ-παφε) the night (ν-τε-γυν)' (Test. Is. 231:30); (plural) **νολх нпноте** 'the hands (ν-ολх) of God (н-п-ноте)' (Test. Is. 231:1), **ν-δικαιος** 'the righteous ones' (Test. Is. 234:26), **ν-ρεε-ε-р-нобе** 'the sinners' (Test. Is. 234:27), (assimilated form **μ-**) **н-пнге** 'heaven' (Test. Is. 233:18).
- (iii) It should be kept in mind that the bi-phonemic graphemes **φ** and **θ** may represent a sequence of two consonants, comprising the reduced singular masculine and feminine forms **π-** (pə-) and **τ-** (tə-) of the definite article and a following noun with a word-initial *hori* 2: (sing. masc.) **φωε** 'the affair' (**π + 2ωε** 'thing, matter') (V. Pach. 1:7) (var.

π-2ωε 'the affair' (Hil. 3:20)), but **π-2αγιος** 'the holy'; (sing. fem.) **θγλη** 'the fire wood' (< **τ-** + **2γλη** 'firewood') (Test. Is. 232:27), **νεε** 'in the manner' (< **ν** 'in' + **τ-** + **2ε** 'manner').

- (iv) The full forms of the definite article **πε-** (pe-), **τε-** (te-), **νε-** (ne-) must be selected in the context of complex onsets, when the determined noun begins with a cluster of two or more consonants: (sing. masc.) **πε-κρο** 'the shore' (Ac. A&P 194:5), **πεκлом нтннтмартγρος** 'the crown (πε-κлом) of the martyrdom (н-т-ннт-мартγρος)' (KHML II 30:22); (sing. fem.) **τεсвω нπεπαλнос** 'the teaching (τε-свω) of this imposter (н-пей-παλнос)' (Ac. A&P 196:36); (plural) **νε-сннγ** 'the brothers (i.e. the monks)' (V. Pach. 95:18), **не-скеγн** 'the tools' (V. Pach. 6:9).
- (v) The bi-phonemic letters **φ**, **θ**, **χ** and **ψ** count as consonant clusters of (**π + 2**), (**τ + 2**), (**κ + 2**) and (**π + с**), respectively, so that the full forms **πε-/τε-/νε-** are selected: (sing. masc.) **πε-φανος** 'the lamp' (Mena, Enc. 43a:24); (sing. fem.) **τεχ[ωρ]α ннемаριωтнс** 'the land (τε-χωρα) of the Marioteans (н-не-μαριωтнс)' (Mena, Mir. 2a:11-12); (plural) **νεχαρισма нталбо** 'the gifts (не-χαρισма) of healing (н-талбо)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:13-14), **не-φγχη** 'the souls' (V. Pach. 1:9), similarly **2р-** (for Greek **ρ**), e.g. **πε-2ρεπαριος** 'the riparius' (KHML II 29:17).

The main distributional patterns considered so far are summarized in table 2.3:

DETERMINED NOUN	ALLOMORPH	EXAMPLE
BEFORE VOWEL [_{noun} V]	π- /p-/ , τ- /t-/ , ν- /n-/	π-εβοτ the month
BEFORE SINGLE CONSONANT [_{noun} C]	π- /pə-/ , τ- /tə-/ , ν- /nə-/	π-νεεε the sailor
BEFORE CONSONANT CLUSTER [_{noun} C ₁ C ₂]	πε-, τε-, νε-	πε-κлом the crown

TABLE 2.3. The distribution of allomorphic forms the definite article

Finally, note that a word-initial glide *oy* exhibits a somewhat ambivalent behaviour with respect to article selection, depending on whether it surfaces as a vowel or a consonant. When followed by a consonant, a word-initial *oy* has a vocalic interpretation and forms a diphthong with the full form of the definite article: *πε* + *oy* → *πεy* /*peu*/, e.g. *τεyωη τηρς* 'the entire (*τηρς*) night (*τε-yωη* < *oyωη* 'night')' (V. Pach. 2:26), *ντεyνωγ* 'now (lit. in (*ν*-) the hour (*τε-yνωγ* < *τε* + *oyνωγ* 'hour'))' (Mena, Mir. 24a:25). If, on the other hand, a word-initial *oy* surfaces as a consonant, namely when it is followed by a vowel, the phonologically reduced allomorphs *π*- (*pə*-), *τ*- (*tə*-), *ν*- (*nə*-) is chosen, e.g. *π-oyoein* 'the light' (Onnophr. 221:34), *ποyωψ μπχοεις* 'the will (*π-oyωψ*) of the Lord (*μ-π-χοεις*)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-21), *ν-oyeein* 'the peasants' (praec. Pach. 108).

2.2.1.2 "Strong" pronunciation of the definite article

In the material discussed so far, the allomorphy between the full and phonologically reduced forms of the definite article was conditioned entirely by phonological factors. Yet, the full forms *πε*-, *τε*-, and *νε*- are sometimes selected without the relevant triggering context. In such cases, the strongly pronounced full form of the definite article seems to place slightly more emphasis on the determined noun than the corresponding short form, e.g. *νε-μαριωτης* 'the Mariôteans' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:12), *νερωμε ντιπολις ρακοτε* 'the people (*νε-ρωμε*) of the city (*ν-τ-πολις*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), *νεβαλ ντενφυχη μν πενσωμα* 'the eyes (*νε-βαλ*) of our soul (*ν-τεν-φυχη*) and (*μν*) our body (*πεν-σωμα*)' (Hil. 1:7). Time-indicating nouns generally appear with the full forms of the definite article, e.g. *ενε πε200y πε μπ2αγιος μαρκος* 'while (*ε*-) it (*πε*) was (*νε*) the day (*πε-200y*) of the holy (*μ-π-2αγιος*) Marcus' (Hil. 3:32).

The strongly pronounced definite article is particularly common in those contexts where the determined noun is accompanied by a relative clause, which provides additional information about the referent of the antecedent noun phrase that it modifies, e.g. *νεαγγελος νταy[ει] νμμαq* 'the angels (*νε-αγγελος*) who had come (*ντ-α-y-ει*) with him (Apa Mena) (*νμμα-q*)' (Mena, Mir. 16b:26-27), *νεψαχε νεββιο νταq2αιcoy ετεπιστολη* 'the humble (*ν-εββιο*) words (*νε-ψαχε*)

that he (Zeno) wrote (*ντ-α-q-2αι-coy*) in the letter (*ε-τ-επιστολη*)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

2.2.1.3 Full and reduced forms of the indefinite article

The allomorphic opposition between full and reduced forms also occurs with the singular and plural forms of the indefinite article:

- (i) The singular form *oy*- forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel: *ε*, *α* + *oy* → *ey*, *ay*, e.g. *ε-y-χοει* 'on (*ε*-) a ship ([*o*]y-χοι)' (praec. Pach. 118), *ε-y-πρεcβyτερος πε* 'while (*ε*-) he (*πε*) (was) a priest ([*o*]y-πρεcβyτερος)' (V. Pach. 138:14), (following the Perfect marker *α*-) *α-y-κοyi νψαχε ψωπε οyτωoy μν νεyερhy* 'a minor ([*o*]y-κοyi) argument (*ν-ψαχε*) came up (*α* ... *ψωπε*) between them (*οyτω-oy*) with (*μν*) one another (*νεy-ερhy*)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).
- (ii) The full form *2εn*- /*hen*-/ and its phonologically reduced allomorph *2n* /*hən*-/ seem to occur in free variation in literary Sahidic, e.g. *2n-ρεq-ωτοpτp* 'excitable people' (Hil. 11:35), *2nκεμντcноуc εnρoμπε* (for *нρoμπε*) 'another twelve (*2n-κε-μнтcноуc*) years (*εn-ρoμπε*)' (Hil. 12:18), *2n-нос нагапн* 'great (*2εn-нос*) charities (*н-агапн*)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:25), *2n-αωη наггелос* 'multitudes (*2n-αωη*) of angels (*н-аггелос*)' (V. Pach. 95:6-7).

2.2.2 Semantic aspects of definite and indefinite-marking

Nouns are linguistic expressions that denote persons, things or abstract concepts. The entity referred to by a given noun is called its 'referent'. The main semantic contribution of definite- and indefinite-marking is to indicate the familiarity or accessibility of that referent. For instance, when talking about *the new principal*, the speaker tacitly assumes that the addressee is familiar with the identity of this individual, which is not the case when talking about *a new principal*. Thus, the definite article *the* provides a clue for the ease with which the referent of the noun phrase in question can be identified or accessed. The following three subsections take a closer look at the meaning and function of definite- and indefinite-marking in Sahidic Coptic, with particular attention for the relation between the accessibility of the referent of a given noun phrase and the selected definite or indefinite article.

2.2.2.1 Definite noun phrases

In Coptic, as in many other languages, the definite article is used to express the idea that the referent of the determined noun phrase is known or familiar to the addressee and hence accessible for recall. The main functions and contextual uses of the definite article are the following:

a) Anaphoric use

The definite article is used when some item introduced earlier is referred to again. Consider the following discourse fragment: (once some people came into the region of Thebes to a (certain) *old monk* (ΟΥ-ΖΛΛΟ) with someone possessed by a demon in their company, so that he (the old monk) may heal him) ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΩΡΩ ΕΡΟQ ΜΜΑΤΕ (...) 'the old monk (Π-ΖΛΛΟ), when they beseeched (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΩ) him (ΕΡΟ-Q) very much (ΜΜΑΤΕ) (....) (AP Chaine, no. 140, 31:10-12). In this example, the definite noun phrase ΠΖΛΛΟ 'the old monk' refers to the main protagonist, who has been introduced for the first time in the opening sequence of the narrative. Roughly the same situation obtains in the next example, where the definite noun phrase ΠΡΡΟ 'the king' (i.e. the Byzantine emperor Zeno) refers to a discourse participant that was mentioned several times in the preceding paragraph: ΠΡΡΟ ΔΕ ΝΕΜΗΤQ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΖΟΥΤ 'the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) had no (ΝΕ-ΜΗ-Τ-Q) male (Ν-ΖΟΥΤ) child (ΨΗΡΕ)' (Hil.2:4-5). Not only individuals but also locations may be referred to anaphorically by means of the definite article. In this case, the definite noun phrase refers to the main location of the narrative plot, e.g. ΜΑΡΟΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC 'let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (Ac. A&P 196:29).

b) General knowledge

When the definite article is used anaphorically, the referent of the determined noun phrase can usually be found in the preceding discourse. The definite article may, however, also be used with reference to the extra-linguistic context. In the latter case, the determined noun is inherently unique denoting someone or something of which there is only one, for instance, Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ 'God' or Π-ΚΟCΜΟC 'the world'. The familiarity or accessibility of the referent of inherently

unique nouns stems from the general knowledge of the world and a shared cultural background. Particularly common are:

- Cosmological phenomena, e.g. Π-ΟΟΖ 'the moon' (Hil. 1:9), Π-ΡΗ 'the sun' (Hil. 1:8), 'heaven' (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) (Abbatôn 231:32),
- Concepts that relate to the religious sphere, e.g. ΠΕ-ΧC 'Christ' (Eud. 42:17), Π-ΧΟΕΙC 'the Lord' (Hil. 2:19), ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ 'the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ)' (Hil. 13:15), Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΥΛΟC 'the devil' (Onnophr. 207:14), Π-ΧΑΧΕ 'the enemy' (Onnophr. 207:24), Τ-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ 'the Church' (Hil. 1:22), Τ-ΠΑΛΙΑ 'the Old (Testament)' (Hil. 1:13),
- Toponyms, e.g. ΘΙΛΗΗ (< Τ-ΖΙΕΡΟCΑΛΗΗ) 'Jerusalem' (Eud. 58:18), Π-ΕΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ 'Byzantium' (Hil. 4:28), Τ-ΠΑCΙΑΤ 'Paeiat' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:14), Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC '(the) Paradise' (Abbatôn 237:13), Π-ΝΟΥΝ 'the Abyss' (Ac. A&P 198:73). There are some noteworthy exceptions which are left undetermined, e.g. ΚΗΕ 'Egypt' (Hil. 5:20), ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'Alexandria' (Hil. 3:26), ΨΗΤ 'Sketis' (Hil. 7:8), ΑΜΗΤΕ 'Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119).
- Time-indicating nouns, e.g. ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ 'day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) and (ΜΗ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)' (Abbatôn 232:11).

c) Generic definites

The definite article may also determine generic noun phrases. Generic noun phrases are those which refer to an entire class of entities or objects, rather than a particular member thereof, e.g. ΑQΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΝΕΘΥΡΙΟΝ (for ΘΗΡΙΟΝ) ΜΗ ΝΧΑΤΒΕ ΜΗ ΝΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ ΜΗ ΝΖΑΛΛ[ΑΤΕ](...) 'he (God) created (Α-Q-ΤΑΜΙΟ) the beasts (ΝΕ-ΘΥΡΙΟΝ) and (ΜΗ) the reptiles (Ν-ΧΑΤΒΕ), the cattle (Ν-ΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ) and (ΜΗ) the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΛΑΤΕ) (...)' (Abbatôn 232:4-5), †ΝΑQΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡQ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC 'I will annihilate (†-ΝΑ-QΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) race (Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of the Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7), CΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'remove yourself (CΑΖΩ-Κ) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν-) the idols (Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13).

Generic noun phrases are often used to express generalizations about a class as a whole, e.g. **ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΗΡΕΦΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ** (for **ΖΗ**) **ΤΕΥΦΥΣΙΣ** 'for (ΕΠΙΔΗ) *women* (ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) (are) by (ΖΕΝ) their nature (ΤΕΥ-ΦΥΣΙΣ) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ΖΗ-ΡΕΦ-ΩΤΟΡΤΡ))' (Hil.11:35-12:1), **ΝΗΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΖΕΘΝΟC ΖΗΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ** (for **ΖΗΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ**) **ΝΕ** 'the gods (Ν-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the pagans (Ν-Ν-ΖΕΘΝΟC) (are) demons (ΖΗ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1). Definite singular noun phrases may receive a kind-referring interpretation, too, for instance in comparisons, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΖΡΟΟΥ Ο ΝΕΕ ΜΠΕΖΡΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) its (the river's) noise (ΠΕΦ-ΖΡΟΟΥ) was (ΕΡΕ ... Ο) in the manner of (ΝΕΕ *the noise* (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΡΟΟΥ) of a thunder-stroke (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΡΟΥΒΑΙ) of (ΝΤΕ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:23-24).

d) Non-specific definites

Definite noun phrases may have a non-specific interpretation, when the speaker has no particular individual in mind, but any arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase, e.g. **ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΝΑΔΩΦΤ ΝCΑ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΕΦΒΗΚ ΝΕΜΤΩ ΝΦΤΜΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (is) *the man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who will watch (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΔΩΦΤ ΝCΑ) his son (ΠΕΦ-ΩΗΡΕ) going (Ε-Φ-ΒΗΚ) to drown (Ν-ΕΜΤΩ) and would not help (Ν-Φ-ΤΜ-ΒΟΗΘΕΙ) him (ΕΡΟ-Φ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), **ΕΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΕΤΟΤΤΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΦΤΕΚΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC (...)** 'to release (Ε-ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ) *the holy ones* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) who had been locked up (ΕΤ-ΟΤΤΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ) *prisons* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΦΤΕΚΟ) in every place (ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ) and (ΑΥΩ) every city (ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙC)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:11-15), **ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΟΥΦ ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΟΥΕΕΙΗ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΑΜΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ** 'no one (ΛΑΛΥ) shall go (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) an enclosure (for sheep) (Ε-ΡΒΕ) who has not been sent (Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΟΥ-Φ), including (ΨΑ ΖΡΑΙ) *the farmers* (Ε-Ν-ΟΥΕΙΗ), with the exception of (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) *the shepherds* (Ν-ΑΜΗΥ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ)' (praec. Pach. 108), **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΛ[Γ]ΟΝΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΕΚΕΟΥΙ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) myself (ΖΩ) will fight (ΤΑ-ΛΟΝΙΖΕ) a little longer (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) with (ΜΗ) *the Jews* (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

e) Vocatives

Vocatives are noun phrases or pronouns used in direct address. In Coptic Egyptian, vocatives are always definite noun phrases, e.g. **ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΦΧΕ ΚΗCΟΥΤΝ ΤΑΖΗ (...)** 'Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC), God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ), if (ΕΦΧΕ) you want to direct (Κ-ΝΑ-CΟΥΤΝ) my way (ΤΑ-ΖΗ) (...)' (Hil. 2:19-20). Sometimes the vocative particle (Ω) 'oh' accompanies the definite noun phrase, e.g. **ΚCΗΜΑΛΑΤ ΝΤΟΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you are blessed (Κ-CΗΜΑΛΑΤ), you (ΝΤΟΚ), oh (Ω) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΝCΕCΩΤΗ ΝCΩ Ω ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝCΑΒΗ** 'and they will listen (Ν-CΕ-CΩΤΗ) to you (ΝCΩ), oh (Ω) wise (Ν-CΑΒΗ) *virgin* (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC)' (Eud. 54:15).

2.2.2.2 Indefinite noun phrases

Whereas in the case of definite noun phrases the speaker assumes that the addressee is familiar with what is being referred to, with indefinite noun phrases, no such familiarity on the part of addressee is presupposed. Rather, the speaker indicates that the referent of the noun phrase is not identifiable to the addressee.

a) Specific indefinites

Indefinite noun phrases fall into two classes, specific and non-specific indefinites. While specific indefinites refer to someone or something familiar to the speaker, non-specific indefinites refer to any arbitrary member of the kind, exemplar or species designated by the head noun. The specific use of indefinite noun phrases is particularly evident in existential-locative sentences, which introduce a new participant on stage and make him available for recall in the subsequent discourse, e.g. **ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ** [ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ] **ΠΕ ΕΥ[ΤΡΟΠΙΟC] ΕΥ[ΡΗΜΑΟ ΕΜΑΤ]Ε ΠΕ** '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) furthermore (ΟΝ) *a man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ), whose name (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Eutropius, who (was) a very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) rich man (Ε-Υ-ΡΗΜΑΟ)' (Mena, Mir., 17a:30-17b:4), **[ΝΕΥ]ΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩ]CΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΟΥCΩΝΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΧΙΑ ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ** 'King (Π-ΠΡΟ) Constantine had (ΝΕ-ΥΝΤΕ) *a virgin* (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) *sister* (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ), whose name (Ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was)

Eudoxia, who had feared (Ε-С-Р ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Γ) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) since (ΧΙΝ) her birth (ΠΕС-ΧΠΟ) (Eud. 50:3-5). In these examples, the indefinite subject is further specified by a relative clause, which provides some background information about the newly introduced participant, such as his or her name, social status or other characteristic properties.

Specific indefinites may, however, have vague reference, where the identity of the protagonist is left unspecified. In this case, the speaker has some particular entity in mind, although its exact identity is either not known to him or not considered to be important for the development of the narrative, e.g. Α ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΩ ΖΗ ΘΗΒΑΙΣ ΨΑ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ (...) 'once some people came into the region of Thebes to a (certain) *old monk* (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) (...) (AP Chaîne no.140, 31:10), Α ΟΥСΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ СΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'some *brother* (ΟΥ-СΟΝ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

b) Non-specific indefinites

When indefinite singular noun phrases receive a non-specific interpretation, they refer to any representative member of the class of entities or objects designated by the head noun, e.g. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΚΑΤΑ СΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΨΑΦΕΙ ΝΘΙ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟС ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (...) 'since (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ) every Saturday (ΚΑΤΑ СΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ) an *angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟС) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) comes (ΨΑ-Φ-ΕΙ) (...) (Onnophr. 221:12-13), ΕРΨΑΝ ΟΥСΟΝ ΔΕ ΨΟΟΘΕQ (...) 'if (ΕРΨΑΝ) a *brother* (ΟΥ-СΟΝ) has wounded himself (ΨΟΟΘΕ-Q) (...) (praec. Pach. 105), ΜΑΡΝΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥРΩМЕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΝΕΙΝΕ ΗΝ ΤΕΝΖΙΚΩΝ 'let us create (ΜΑР-Ν-ΤΑΜΙΟ) a *man* (Ν-ΟΥ-РΩМЕ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) our likeness (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΝΕ) and (ΗΝ) our image (ΤΕΝ-ΖΙΚΩΝ) (Abbatōn 232:9-10). In these examples, the non-specific indefinite is derived from a count noun, i.e. a noun that describes discrete and hence countable entities. The uniqueness of the referent of that noun phrase can be strengthened or focalized by adding to it the restrictive quantifier ΟΥΩΤ 'single, just one', e.g. ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ 'it (is) one son (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) only (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) who belongs (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) (Ac. A&P 194:22), ΕΙΗΝ ΟΥΠΛΥΓΗ (for ΠΛΗΓΗ) ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΗ ΠΕQСΩΜΑ 'while (there) was not (Ε-ΗΝ) a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) wound (ΟΥ-ΠΛΗΓΗ) on (ΖΗ) his body (ΠΕQ-СΩΜΑ) (KHML I 6:5).

Non-specific mass nouns differ in meaning from count nouns in that they indicate an unspecified quantity rather than an individual or object, e.g. ΝΓΓ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΟΥ 'may you give (ΝΓ-Γ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) some *water* (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΟΥ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ) (Eud. 46:13), ΜΑΡΕQΤМЕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΚ 'let him nourish (ΜΑΡΕ-Q-ΤМЕ) a poor (man) (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) with some *bread* (Ν-ΟΥ-ΘΕΙΚ) (Test. Is. 235:26).

Non-specific plural indefinites may have a partitive interpretation and refer to a subset of a concrete group of individuals, whose exact number is not further specified, e.g. ΜΗΝΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΝΕΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΨΕΤ ΜΗΝΤΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝΝCΩ-С), look (ΕΙC), several blind (people) (ΖΝ-ΕΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΤ) (for) charity (ΜΗΝΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), Ε[С2ΜΟOC] ΔΕ [2Ρ]ΑΙ [2Ν ΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΜΗ] ΖΕΝΖΙΟМЕ ΝΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝOC (...) 'one day (2ΡΑΙ 2Ν ΟΥ-ΖΟΟΥ) when she was sitting (Ε-С-ΖΜΟOC) with (ΜΗ) some Christian (Ν-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝOC) women (ΖΕΝ-ΖΙΟМЕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26b:1-4).

c) Generic indefinites

Indefinite plurals admit a generic reading, in which case they refer to a particular class or kind of entities and objects, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΑQΚOCΜΕΙ ΜΠΕCΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ (for CΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ) ΝΖΕNCIOY ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΗ ΖΕNCIOY ΝΖΤΟΟΥΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) he (God) adorned (Α-Q-ΚOCΜΕΙ) the firmament (Μ-ΠΕ-CΤΕΡΕΥΜΑ) with (Ν-) the evening (Ν-ΡΟΥΖΕ) stars (ΖΕΝ-СIOY) and (ΜΗ) the morning (Ν-ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) stars (ΖΕΝ-СIOY) (Hil. 1:10-11), ΝΙМ ΝΤOQ ΠΕΤΝΑCΩР ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΙΨΕ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ 2Ι CΒΩ (...) 'finally (ΝΤOQ) who (ΝΙМ) is (it) that will set out (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-СΩР ΕΒΟΛ) to fight (Ε-ΜΙΨΕ) with (ΜΗ) lions (ΖΕΝ-ΜΟΥΙ) without (ΑΧΝ) plan (ΨΟΧΝΕ) and (2Ι) knowledge (CΒΩ) (...) (Camb. 8:16-18).

d) Indefinite noun phrases used as nominal predicates

In nominal sentences (i.e. sentences without a verb), singular and plural indefinites have no referent at all, but rather fulfill a predicative function. In this function, the indefinite noun phrase indicates a semantic relation of class inclusion, which asserts that the subject referent belongs to a particular group of people, e.g. ΑΝOC ΟΥΨΩC 'I (ΑΝOC) (am) a *shepherd* (ΟΥ-ΨΩC) (AP Chaîne no. 241, 73:30), ΑΝΓ ΟΥРМНΚΗМЕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) an *Egyptian* (ΟΥ-РМН-ΚΗМЕ) (KHML I 3:3).

2.2.2.3 "Bare" nouns

Unlike the definite and indefinite noun phrases considered so far, zero-determined "bare" nouns show a somewhat idiomatic use and appear only in sentence constructions.

a) Specific indefinites

Zero-determined "bare" nouns never admit a specific interpretation, where reference is made to a particular entity or object, the main exception being time-indicating nouns like *ztooye* 'dawn' or *royze* 'evening', e.g. *ntere ztooye de wope* (...) 'when (ntere) dawn (ztooye) had risen (wope) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-11), *xin royze wa ztooye* 'from (xin) sunset (royze) to (wa) dawn (ztooye)' (V. Pach. 2:3).

b) Non-specific indefinites

The non-specific interpretation of "bare" nouns is particularly evident in negative existential sentences, which express the idea that there is not a single instance or exemplar of particular kind, e.g. *mn con mpeima* '(there) is no (mn) brother (con) in (m-) this place (pei-ma)' (Onnophr. 205:19), *mn noyte nca ntok papollwn* '(there) is no (mn) god (noyte) except (nca) you (ntok) Apollōn (p-apollwn)' (KHML II 33:16-17).

Roughly the same negative meaning is conveyed by the prepositions *noyewn* and *axn* 'without' that likewise assert the absence of a particular item or state of affairs and are therefore combined with a "bare" noun, e.g. *noyewn paztoy zi toloomwn* 'without (noyewn) pellis (paztoy) and (zi) telamōn (toloomwn) (two monastic garments)' (praec. Pach. 91), *axn twy* 'without (axn) order (twy)' (praec. Pach. 127), *axn woxne zi cbw* 'without (axn) plan (woxne) and (zi) knowledge (cbw)' (Camb. 8:18).

In affirmative sentences, on the other hand, zero-determined mass nouns indicate an unspecified quantity, e.g. *ayxi wkae eboa* (...) *etbe mooy* 'they cried out (a-y-xi wkae eboa) (...) for (etbe) water (mooy)' (Eud. 46:2-4), *nqyme oyzhke noeik* (...) 'and he shall nourish (n-q-tme) a poor (man) (oy-zhke) with bread (n-oeik) (...)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

c) Generic "bare" nouns

The kind-referring use of "bare" nouns can be observed in comparisons and enumerations, e.g. *aqypei men zwc pome n-biwtikos* 'he (Zeno) grieved (a-q-lypei) like (zwc) a man (pome) of this world (n-biwtikos)' (Hil. 13:5), *tenoy de tenczai noyon nim etwoon zn tenmntppo eite strathalathc eite kwmic eite arxwn e[ite] a[oyz]* (...) 'now (tenoy) we write (ten-czai) to everybody (n-oyon nim) who lives (et-woon) in (zn) our kingdom (ten-mnt-ppo), whether (eite) commander (strathalathc) or (eite) comes (kwmic), whether (eite) ruler (arxwn) or (eite) dux (aoyz) (...)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:28-2b:2).

d) "Bare" nouns used as nominal predicates

"Bare" nouns may assume a predicative function as the complements of the locative-identificational preposition *n-* 'as', e.g. *tnataaq nhtn nwhre zn tamntppo* 'I will place him (t-na-taa-q) for you (nh-tn) as a child (n-whre) in (zn) my kingdom (ta-mntppo)' (Test. Is. 236:1), *aqaan nxoeic exn bom nim* 'he (the Lord) made us (a-q-aan-n) masters (n-xoeic) over every (nim) power (e-bom)' (Ac. A&P 198:70), (this man that you see right now) *eqo nxahe mn peitoywq* 'he was (e-q-o) an enemy (n-xahe) with (mn) his neighbour (peitoywq)' (Test. Is. 234:13). The predicative function can also be observed in the context of light-verb constructions, so called because the verb has little or no semantic content, while its nominal complement constitutes the semantically meaningful predicate, e.g. *p zwb* 'to work (lit. to do (p) thing (zwb))', *t cbw* 'to teach (lit. to give (t) teaching (cbw))', *xi eoooy* 'to be praised (lit. to receive (xi) praise (eoooy))'. A more detailed discussion of this construction type will be offered in Unit 6.

2.3 The numeral system

2.3.1 Cardinal numbers

As we can see from table 2.4 below, Coptic numbers from 'one' to 'ten' have both a masculine and a feminine form, e.g. *cnaγ* (masc.) vs. *cnṯe* (fem.) 'two'. In addition, there is a special form for compound

of two numbers, e.g. ΜΗΤΕΝΟΟΥΣ 'twelve' (< ΜΗΤΕ 'ten' + ΕΝΑΥ 'two'). There is no word for 'zero'.

	MASCULINE FORM	FEMININE FORM	COMPOUND FORM
1	ΟΥΑ	ΟΥΕΙ	-ΟΥΕ(Ι)
2	ΕΝΑΥ	ΕΝΤΕ	-ΕΝΟΟΥΣ(Ε)
3	ΨΟΜΗΤ	ΨΟΜΤΕ	-ΨΟΜΤΕ, ΨΟΜΗΤ, ΨΟΜΤ
4	ΚΤΟΟΥ	ΚΤΟΕ	-ΑΚΤΕ
5	ΠΟΥ	ΠΕ	-ΤΗ
6	ΚΟΟΥ	ΚΟ(Ε)	-ΑΚΕ
7	ΣΑΨΚ	ΣΑΨΚΕ	-ΣΑΨΚ(Ε)
8	ΨΟΜΟΥΝ	ΨΟΜΟΥΝΕ	-ΨΟΜΟΥΝΕ
9	ΦΙΤ (ΦΙΣ)	ΦΙΤΕ	-ΦΙΣ, -ΦΙΤΕ
10	ΜΗΤ	ΜΗΤΕ	ΜΗΤ- (before 1-9)
20	ΧΟΥΩΤ	ΧΟΥΩΤΕ	ΧΟΥΤ- (before 1-9)

TABLE 2.4 Cardinal numbers 1-10

The cardinal numbers from 'thirty' to 'ten thousand' have invariant forms: (30) ΜΑΛΛ, (40) ΖΗΕ, (50) ΤΑΙΟΥ, (60) ΣΕ, (70) ΨΚΕ, (80) ΖΗΕΝΕ, (90) ΠΣΤΑΙΟΥ, (100) ΨΕ, (200) ΨΗΤ, (1000) ΨΟ, (10.000) ΤΕΛ.

2.3.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers by adding the prefix ΜΕΖ- in front of the cardinal number. Ordinal numbers are determined by the singular form of the definite article, e.g. ΤΜΕΖΕΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ 'the second (Τ-ΜΕΖ-ΕΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ)' (Eud. 60:16-17), ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΡΟ 'the third (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΨΟΜΗΤ) gate (Ν-ΡΟ)' (Eud. 38:6), ΠΜΕΖΚΤΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ 'the fourth (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΚΤΟΟΥ) day (Ν-ΖΟΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 209:34), ΠΜΕΖΣΑΨΚ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 'the seventh (Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΑΨΚ) angel (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ)' (Abbatōn 233:9-10).

Special forms exist for the 'first' (sing. masc.) ΨΟΡΠ, (sing. fem.) ΨΟΡΠΕ and the 'last' (sing. masc.) ΖΑΕ, (sing. fem.) ΖΑΗ, (plural) ΖΑΕΕΥ. Thus, consider: ΠΨΟΡΠ ΜΗΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) first (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΗΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:11), ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑΚΑΝΟΣ 'the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) torture (Ν-ΒΑΚΑΝΟΣ)' (Mena,

Enc. 52b:5-7), ΠΖΑΕ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the last (Π-ΖΑΕ) mystery (Μ-ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ)' (Pist. Soph. 1:12), ΘΑΗ ΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'the last (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ) of his repentance (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)' (Pist. Soph. 268:17), Ν-ΖΑΕΕΥ 'the last ones' (Pist. Soph. 199:13).

2.3.3 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions like ΠΟΥ ΝΟΕΙΚ 'five (loaves of) bread' (Onnophr. 218:20) are complex noun phrases consisting of two elements: the numeral ΠΟΥ 'five' and the enumerated item ΟΕΙΚ 'bread'. The syntactic relation between both elements is indicated by the linking element Ν-. See figure 2.1 for further illustration.

NUMERAL	ENUMERATED ITEM	
	LINKAGE MARKER	"BARE" NOUN
ΠΟΥ five	Ν-	ΟΕΙΚ bread

FIGURE 2.1 Numeral constructions

Numeral constructions belong to the class of partitive constructions, describing the partition of a contextually or situationally given set of items. Both the numeral and the enumerated item are normally left undetermined, e.g. ΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΨΟ ΝΕΡΤΟΒ ΝΚΟΥΟ (...) ΜΗ ΚΟΟΥ ΝΨΕ ΝΖΕΚΤΗΚ ΝΝΕΖ 'three (ΨΟΜΗΤ) thousand (Ν-ΨΟ) artabes (a grain measure) (Ν-ΕΡΤΟΒ) of wheat (Ν-ΚΟΥΟ) (...) and (ΜΗ) six (ΚΟΟΥ) hundred (Ν-ΨΕ) pints (Ν-ΖΕΚΤΗΚ) of oil (Ν-ΝΕΖ)' (Hil. 12:14-16), ΨΜΤΨΕΚΕΤΗ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'three hundred sixty five (ΨΜΤ-ΨΕ-ΚΕ-ΤΗ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Eud. 54:6). When the numeral is determined, the singular forms of the definite article must be chosen. This shows that cardinal numbers are grammatically singular nouns, e.g. ΑΝΤΨΟΥΝ ΜΗΚΤΟΟΥ 'the four of us stood up (lit. we stood up (Α-Ν-ΤΨΟΥΝ) as the four (Μ-Π-ΚΤΟΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 220:23), ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΤΕ 'except (ΝΣΑ) the two of them (lit. they (ΝΤΟΟΥ) as the two (Ν-Τ-ΕΝΤΕ)' (Hil. 7:29), ΝΑΠΤΗΜΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the inhabitants of (ΝΑ-) those (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) two (ΕΝΑΥ) villages (Π-ΤΗΜΕ)' (KHML II 52:21-22).

The numeral 'two' (sing. masc.) ΕΝΑΥ, (sing. fem.) ΕΝΤΕ is juxtaposed to the enumerated item, e.g. ΠΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΝΑΥ 'his two (ΕΝΑΥ) eyes (ΠΕΚ-ΒΑΛ)' (Eud. 36:23), ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΝΤΕ ΝΚΖΙΜΕ 'two (ΕΝΤΕ)

daughters (ⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ-ⲓⲙⲉ)' (Hil. 7:28), ⲁⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲓⲛ ⲧⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲕⲁⲛⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ 'it happened (ⲁ-ⲥ-ⲱⲡⲉ) in (ⲓⲛ) the second year (ⲧ-ⲙⲉⲓ-ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲓⲛⲧⲉ) of the government (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲙⲛⲧ-ⲣⲣⲟ) of Gaius Valentinianus (and) Diocletianus' (Mena, Martyr. 1a:13-19).

2.4 The pronominal system

Personal pronouns, as the name suggests, express person deixis and refer to various participants, present or absent, of the speech situation. Reference to grammatical person involves a threefold distinction between first person (reference to the speaker), second person (reference to the addressee) and third person (reference to a some person other than the speaker and the addressee). Grammatical person invariably combines with number. Thus, while first person plural denotes a plurality including the speaker and either the addressee or a third party, second person plural involves a plurality including the addressee and excluding the speaker.

2.4.1 Preliminary characterization

The pronominal system of Coptic Egyptian also encodes grammatical gender, though gender marking is restricted to second and third person singular pronouns. There is a general tendency in languages to employ phonologically or morphologically weak forms in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. In Sahidic Coptic, this weak-strong distinction is manifest in three series of pronominal elements, viz. (i) unstressed bound pronouns, which are incorporated into their host word (verbs, nouns, prepositions and certain types of functional elements) to form a single prosodic constituent, (ii) independent pronouns, which have word-like status, and (iii) pronominal clitics, which share certain properties with fully-fledged words, but lack the prosodic independence usually associated with words. In particular, pronominal clitics cannot stand alone, but have to be attached to a host word.

2.4.2 Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns come in two varieties, prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes precede and suffixes follow their prosodic host and never receive stress. The complete paradigm of bound pronouns is presented in table 2.5 (-Ø stands for a null morpheme, i.e. a morpheme that has no phonological content).

	PREFIX FORM	SUFFIX FORM
1 st sing.	ⲧ-, ⲧⲓ-	-ⲓ, -ⲧ, Ø
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-	-ⲕ
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ-, ⲧⲉⲣ-	-ⲧⲉ, -ⲉ, -Ø
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲙ-	-ⲙ
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲙ-	-ⲙ
1 st pl.	ⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲧⲛ-	-ⲛ
2 nd pl.	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	-ⲧⲛ, -ⲧⲛⲧⲉⲛ
3 rd pl.	ⲙⲉ-	-ⲙⲉ, -ⲙⲟⲩ, -(ⲟ)ⲩ

TABLE 2.5 Bound pronouns

2.4.2.1 Allomorphy

One can distinguish two classes of pronominal allomorphs. On the one hand, there are positional allomorphs, where bound pronouns of one and the same person, number and gender distinction take different forms depending on their syntactic position, e.g. the first person plural prefix ⲧⲉⲛ- and suffix -ⲛ. On the other hand, there are phonologically conditioned allomorphs, cf. table 2.6 below.

1 st PERS. SING.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms $\tau\iota$ - and $\tau\iota$ -, e.g. $\tau\iota$ -οὐδὲν 'I want' (Hil. 3:19), $\tau\iota$ -ἐπιθυμῶ 'I desire' (Hil. 4:27), $\tau\iota$ $\mu\eta\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\eta$ 'I (am) (f-) not (AN) in (2M) this place (ΠΗ-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 144:2)	<p>Suffix -ι</p> <p>after a single vowel (__ V-ι), e.g. $\tau\alpha\zeta\omicron$-ι 'to reach me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:26)</p> <p>Suffix -τ</p> <p>- after a consonant (__ C-τ), e.g. $\varphi\omicron\delta$-τ 'to deprive me' (Onnophr. 206:32)</p> <p>- after a geminated vowel (__ VV-τ), e.g. $\kappa\alpha\alpha$-τ 'to leave me' (Mena, Mir. 29a:3)</p> <p>Null morpheme -Ø</p> <p>$\tau \rightarrow$ -Ø/ __ τ, e.g. $\epsilon\eta\tau$ (< $\epsilon\eta\tau$ + -τ) 'to bring me' (Test. Is. 234:22)</p>
2 nd SING. FEM.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Free variation of the forms $\tau\epsilon$ - and $\tau\epsilon\rho$ -, e.g. $\tau\epsilon$ -νικῶτα 'you sleep' (Eud. 50:23), $\tau\epsilon\rho$ -να-πισῶ 'you will obey' (Mena, Mir. 29b:26)	<p>Monosyllabic suffix -τε</p> <p>after a geminated vowel (__ VV-τε), e.g. $\eta\tau\omicron$ $\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$ 'you (NTO) (woman) yourself ($\zeta\omega\tau$-τε)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:20-21)</p> <p>Vocalic suffix -ε</p> <p>after a consonant (__ C-ε), e.g. $\eta\alpha\zeta\eta$-ε 'to save you (woman)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:17), $\chi\iota\tau$-ε 'to take you (woman)' (Eud. 66:8)</p> <p>Vowel elision: $\alpha, \eta \rightarrow$ -Ø / __ ε, e.g. $\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ (< $\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ + -ε) 'with you' (Mena, Mir. 29b:10), $\eta\epsilon$ (< $\eta\alpha$ + -ε) 'for you' (Eud. 56:12)</p> <p>Vowel elision of the suffix -ε after o or ω:</p> <p>$\epsilon \rightarrow$ -Ø/ o, ω __, e.g. $\eta\omega$ (< $\eta\omega$ + -ε) 'after you' (Eud. 54:15), $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ (< $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ + -ε) 'to you' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22).</p>

2 nd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Bisyllabic prefix $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -, e.g. $\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -πισῶ 'you obey' (Ac. A&P 196:39)	<p>Monosyllabic suffix -τῆ</p> <p>- after a vowel (__ V-τῆ), e.g. $\eta\eta$-τῆ 'for you' (Ac. A&P 206:157), ϵ-τρε-τῆ-βαπτίζε $\eta\eta\omicron$-ν 'in order that you baptize us ($\eta\eta\omicron$-ν)' (Ac. A&P 212:236-237)</p> <p>- triggers the raising of the internal vowel of some prepositions: α /a/ \rightarrow η /e/, \omicron /o/ \rightarrow ω /o/, e.g. $\eta\eta$-τῆ 'for you', $\epsilon\rho\omega$-τῆ 'to you'</p> <p>Bisyllabic suffix -τῆτῆ</p> <p>- after consonants (__ C-τῆτῆ) (no cluster reduction), e.g. $\eta\zeta\eta\tau$-τῆτῆ 'in you' (Zen. 199:26)</p> <p>- after vowels (__ V-τῆτῆ), e.g. $\epsilon\alpha\zeta\epsilon$-τῆτῆ 'remove yourselves' (Eud. 46:23)</p>
3 rd PERS. PL.	
PREFIX	SUFFIX
Variable position pronoun $\epsilon\epsilon$, which appears either a prefix, as in $\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\chi\omega$ 'they speak' (Ac. A&P 208:190), $\epsilon\epsilon$ - $\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ -ν 'they (are) with us' (Eud. 44:18) or as a suffix, e.g. $\chi\omicron\omicron$ - $\epsilon\epsilon$ 'to send them' (praec. Pach. 129)	<p>Suffix -οῦ</p> <p>- surfaces as a vowel after consonant, e.g. $\tau\eta\rho$-οῦ /ter-u/ 'they all' (praec. Pach 103)</p> <p>- surfaces as a glide after the vowels οῦ, ο and ω, e.g. $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron$-οῦ /nanu-w/ 'they are good' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:31), e.g. $\zeta\omega$-οῦ /ho-w/ 'themselves' (Eud. 46:24), $\epsilon\rho\omicron$-οῦ /erc-w/ 'to them' (Eud. 42:20)</p> <p>- diphthong formation after the vowels α, ϵ, η, e.g. $\kappa\alpha\alpha$-γ (< $\kappa\alpha\alpha$ + -οῦ) 'to leave them' (Eud. 40:9), $\eta\epsilon$-γ-$\eta\omicron\omicron\omega\epsilon$ (< $\eta\epsilon$ + -οῦ) 'they marched' (Eud. 44:27)</p> <p>Suffix -κοῦ, e.g. $\alpha\pi\iota$-κοῦ 'make them!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34)</p>

TABLE 2.6 The distribution of pronominal allomorphs

2.4.2.2 Syntactic distribution

Bound pronouns are selected in the context of non-emphatic pronominal reference. They exhibit a broad syntactic distribution.

a) The complementary distribution between nouns and pronouns

Bound pronouns may appear in all nominal positions of verbal and adverbial clauses. Since nouns and pronouns occupy the same syntactic position, the selection of one automatically excludes the selection of the other: (pronominal subject) **αqxοοy μπενειωτ παζωμ** 'he (the abbot) sent (α-q-xοοy) (a message) to our father (μπεν-ειωτ) Pachôm' (V. Pach.144:24), (pronominal direct object) **ε-χοκμε-q** 'to wash him (ε-χοκμε-q)' (praec. Pach. 93), (pronominal indirect object) **αq† ναy νοyμα ετρεyοyωz нzηтq** 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (α-q-†) them (на-γ) a place (н-οy-μα) to stay (ε-τρε-y-οyωz)' (Hil. 5:30), (pronominal object of prepositions) **нzηт-тнyтн** 'in you' (Zen. 199:26), (pronominal possessor) **пнт-к** 'your name' (KHML II 31:15), **пат-q** 'his foot' (praec. Pach. 117), **pω-q** 'his mouth' (Eud. 38:27) (only in a handful of nouns expressing inalienable possession).

b) Reflexive use

A reflexive interpretation is obtained when the sentence subject and the pronominal object refer to the same individual, e.g. **εpψαν οycon δε ψοοδεq** 'if (εpψαν) a brother (οy-con) has wounded himself (ψοοδε-q) (...) (praec. Pach. 105), **таωστ нмои** 'and I strangle (та-ωστ) myself (нмо-и)' (Ac. A&P 202:103).

c) Cross-reference

The universal (ALL) quantifier **тнр-** 'every' and the focus marking emphatic reflexives **zω-** '-self' and **μαyααт-** 'alone' have an obligatory pronominal complement or co-pronoun, which agrees in person, number and gender with a preceding noun or pronoun, e.g. **εβολ zιтн кнме тнрq** 'throughout (εβολ zιтн) all (тнр-q) Egypt (кнме)' (Camb. 9:18), **нток zωωк ψοxне** 'Consider (ψοxне) (for) you (нток) yourself (zωω-к)' (Camb. 9:11-12). We will return to quantificational expressions in Unit 4.

2.4.3 Independent pronouns

Bound and independent pronouns are used in different syntactic environments. A syntactic context that is compatible with one set of pronouns is generally incompatible with the other. Independent pronouns fall into two classes: freestanding pronouns with word-like status and prosodically dependent pronominal clitics. This subdivision gives rise to pairs like **анок** (independent pronoun) vs. **анг** (clitic) 'I'.

2.4.3.1 The "mixed" paradigms of independent pronouns and clitics

Independent pronouns, such as **анок** 'I', are free morphemes, which are written as separate words. Since independent pronouns are prosodic and syntactic constituents in their own right, they are always stressed. This contrasts with the corresponding clitics, which are left unstressed and are phonologically dependent on some host word. As a result, the characteristic vowel **o** /ɔ/ (var. **ω** /o/) of independent pronouns is either replaced by the default vowel **ε** /e/ in the corresponding clitic, as in **нте** /nte/ (< **нто** /nt'ɔ/) 'you (sing. fem.)', or reduced to schwa, as in **нтк** /ən.tək/ (< **нток** /ən.tɔk/) 'you (sing. masc.)', or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, as in **анг** /aŋ/ 'I' (< **анок** /a.n'ɔk/). The morphological paradigms of independent pronouns and pronominal clitics are presented in table 2.7. (A vertical line marks main stress; syllable boundaries are indicated by dots).

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	CLITICS
1 st sing.	анок /a.n'ok/	анг /aŋ/
2 nd sing. masc.	нток /ən.t'ok/	нтк /ən.tək/
2 nd sing. fem.	нто /ən. t'o/	нте /ən.te/
3 rd sing. masc.	нтоq /ən. t'of/	пе /pe/
3 rd sing. fem.	нтоc /ən. t'os/	те /te/
1 st pl.	анон- /a.n' on/	анн /a.nən/, ан /aŋ/
2 nd pl.	нтωтн- /ən.t'ɔ:tən/	нтетн- /ən.te.tən/
3 rd pl.	нтооy /ən.t'ou/	не /ne/

TABLE 2.7 The mixed paradigm of independent pronouns and clitics

The clitic paradigm has gaps in the third person singular and plural, where there are no clitics corresponding to independent pronouns proper. To fill this gap, resort is taken to demonstrative pronouns: *πε* /pe/ 'this one (sing. masc.)' for 'he', *τε* /te/ 'this one (sing. fem.)' for 'she' and *νε* /ne/ 'these ones (pl.)' for 'they'. Since there is absolutely no phonological connection between the derived form (the demonstrative pronoun) and the derivational base (the corresponding independent pronoun), such forms are called suppletive forms. The pronominal clitics of the first and second person singular and plural and the suppletive third person singular and plural pronouns appear on different sides of their phonological host. The former are proclitics that precede and the latter are enclitics that follow the sentence element they are attached to. Thus, compare *αντ ουρωμε ντερζε* 'I (αντ) (am) a man (ουρωμε) like you (lit. of your kind (ντερζε))' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. *ταχα ουπινά πε* 'perhaps (ταχα) he (πε) (is) a ghost (ουπινά)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:7).

2.4.3.2 Syntactic distribution

Independent pronouns indicate emphatic pronominal reference, the main exception being nominal sentence patterns, where they may be used without contrastive purposes.

a) Appositions to bound pronouns

The emphatic use of independent pronouns is particularly clear when they appear as appositions to bound pronouns that cannot be contrastively stressed. Where contrastive emphasis on a bound pronoun is required, the corresponding independent pronoun is used to 'echo' that pronoun, e.g. *ηη ειταηνυ ανοκ εζουε παχοεις* 'am I (ανοκ) then more (εζουε) honoured (ε-ι-ταεινυ) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοεις)' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *κσμανατ ντοκ ω πρωμε ηπνουτε* 'you are blessed (κ-σμανατ), you (ντοκ), oh man (πρωμε) of God (η-π-νουτε)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), *τερζοτε ντο ζητq ηπνουτε* 'you (ντο) fear (τε-ρ-ζοτε ζητ-q) God (η-π-νουτε)' (Eud. 64:23), *εικεροκ ντοκ ω πετογωτ ναψυχον* 'I speak to you (ε-ι-κερο-κ), you (ντοκ), oh lifeless (η-αψυχον) statue (πε-τογωτ)' (KHML I 1:13-14), (with unexpressed second person subject of an imperative clause) *ζμοοκ ντοκ ζν τεκρι* 'sit

(ζμοοκ), you (ντοκ), in (ζν) your cell (τεκ-ρι)!' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

b) Right- and left-dislocated pronouns

Independent pronouns appear as left-dislocated topic constituents in the left periphery of the clause, where they precede the verb and its arguments. The grammatical function (subject, object) of the left-dislocated topic is indicated by a co-referential bound pronoun within the associated clause. Left-dislocated independent pronouns commonly refer to discourse participants that have been out of the focus of attention for a while and are brought back into the discourse situation. Such a shift from one discourse participant to another is signaled by the topic-indicating Greek particle *δε*, e.g. *ντοκ δε λconκc εζραι πεχαc κε* '(as for) her (Eudoxia) (ντοκ δε), she jumped up (lit. she leaped herself (λ-c-onk-c) up (εζραι)) (and) said (πεχα-c) that (κε) (...)' (Eud. 50:17), *ντοq δε νεγνηυ φαροq νοι ζενογα ογα εβολ ζν ντμε* '(as for) him (Pachôm) (ντοq δε), (there) came (νε-γ-νηυ) to him (φαρο-q) a few people (ζενο-γα ογα) from (εβολ ζν) the villages (ν-τμε)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

Right-dislocated free-standing pronouns, by contrast, are generally employed as a discourse-repair device in that they disambiguate the pronominal reference, e.g. *αγμου ζα πειβε ζν τειερημια ντο[ου] ην νεγρωου ην νεγτενοουε* 'they were dying (α-γ-μου) from (ζα) thirst (π-ειβε) in (ζν) this desert (τει-ερημια), they (the Persian troops) (ντοου) together with (ην) their kings (νεγ-ρωου) and (ην) their cattle (νεγ-τνβοουε)' (Eud. 46:25-26).

c) Nominal sentences

Independent pronouns and clitics appear as pronominal subjects in nominal sentences, i.e. sentences with a noun in predicative function. There are two main types of nominal sentence patterns, namely bipartite and tripartite ones. Bipartite nominal sentences consist only of a subject pronoun and a predicate nominal. In this context, the selection of a pronominal clitic represents the unmarked choice, e.g. *αντ ουπινά* 'I (αντ) (am) a ghost (ουπινά)' (Onnophr. 206:19), *ντε ουcζιμε* 'you (ντε) (are) a woman (ουcζιμε)' (Hil. 6:25), *ντετν ζενατωπε* 'you (ντετν) (are) shameless (ζενα-ατ-ωπε)' (Eud. 64:11).

Exercises

2.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
- Coptic makes a three-way distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter gender.
 - There are no "broken" plurals that end in a consonant.
 - Nouns that begin with a single vowel select the mono-consonantal allomorph π- (p-), τ- (t-), ν- (n-) of the definite article.
 - Bound pronouns and independent pronouns are in complementary distribution with one another.

2.2 Noun morphology

- A. Fill in the corresponding masculine or feminine noun in the following table.

MASCULINE NOUN	GLOSS	FEMININE NOUN	GLOSSS
CON	brother		sister
		PPΩ	queen
	man	CZINE	woman
ΩHPε	son		daughter

- B. The following table contains singular nouns that have an irregular plural. Look up the plural form (second column) in the word list and indicate what pluralization pattern we are dealing with, e.g. sing. CNA2, pl. CNAγ2 'fetter' ("broken" plural).

SINGULAR FORM	PLURAL FORM	PLURALIZATION PATTERN	GLOSS
ANAΩ			oath
CBΩ			teaching
XAΧε			enemy
Πε			sky
CON			brother

2.3 The determiner system

- A. Identify the definite and indefinite noun phrases in the following Coptic examples and determine their number and gender specification.
- HPEBOT TΩBE 2N OYEPHNNH NTE ΠNOYTE 'in (H-) the month Tobe in (2N) a piece of (NTE) God' (Hil. 1:4-5)
 - εQTΩN ΠEΠPOTOΠAACMA 2N NδIX MΠNOYTE 'where (is) (ε-Q-TΩN) the first creature (ΠPOTOΠAACMA) by (2N) the hands of (H-) God' (Test. Is. 230:32-231:1)
 - ΠE2PEΠAPIOC ΔE MN NEHATOI AYXI H-ΠMAKAPIOC AΠA ΠTEΛEMH EΠHA ETETE ΠZHΓEMΩN N2HTQ 'the riparius and (MN) the soldiers took (AYXI) the blessed Apa Ptolemaios to (ε-) the place where (ETEPE (that) ... N2HT-Q (inside-it)) the governor (was)' (KHML II 31:6-8) (N.B. H- marks the direct object of the transitive verb XI 'to take')
 - ACZE EYXOI EQNAΩOP EPYPOIC XE CAPAΛHA 'she (Hilaria) found (A-C-ZE) a ship ready to sail (ε-Q-NA-ΩOP) to (ε-) a city called (XE) Saralea (Caesarea?)' (Hil. 3:17-18) (N.B. the preposition ε- 'to, at' marks the direct object of the perception verb ZE 'to find')
- B. Fill in the correct allomorph of the definite article (Πε-, τε-, νε- vs. π-, τ-, ν-) in the blanks. Particular attention should be paid to the gender and number specification of the determined noun.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
—C2IME	the woman	—ΦΥΧΟΟΥΕ	the souls
—ΑΡΗΥ	the bakers	—ΝΕΕQ	the sailor
—CΩNE	the sister	—ΙΟΥΔΑΙ	the Jews
—ΝΟΥΤΕ	God	—ΕΙΩΤ	the father

C. Fill in the correct form of the noun phrase in the following Coptic sentences by choosing one of the two options given in brackets.

- ΝΕΥΕΝ (ΡΩΝΕ/ΟΥΡΩΝΕ) ΔΕ ΟΝ 2Ν (ΤΠΟΛΙC/ΠΟΛΙC) ΡΑΚΟΤΕ 'there was (NE-YEN) furthermore (ON) a man in (2N) the city (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 17a:30-17b:1)
- ΜΝ (ΜΟΡΤ/ΟΥΜΟΡΤ) ΜΜΟC 'there was no (MN) beard on her (ΜΜΟ-C)' (Hil. 6:28)
- ΚΝΗΥ Ε- (ΑΜΝΤΕ/ΤΑΜΝΤΕ) 'you are going (Ε-K-ΝΗΥ) to (Ε-) Hell' (Ac. A&P 202:119)

D. Determine the meaning or reference of the italicized noun phrases in the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two options:

- ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥC2IME ΔΕ ΝCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC 2Ν ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ (...) '(there) was (NE-YEN) a Samaritan (N-CΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC) woman (ΟΥ-C2IME) in (2N) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) (of) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-13)
☐ newly introduced referent ☐ non-specific indefinite
- ΤΕC2IME ΔΕ ΑCΧΟ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΕCΑΕΙΝ 'the (Samaritan) woman (ΤΕ-C2IME) spent (Α-C-ΧΟ ΕΒΟΛ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of money (N-ΧΡΗΜΑ) on the doctors (Ε-ΝΕ-CΑΕΙΝ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:25-28)
☐ reintroduced referent ☐ generic definite

- CA2ΩK ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'withdraw yourself (CA2Ω-K) from (ΕΒΟΛ Ν) the idols (N-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13)
☐ non-specific definite ☐ specific definite

2.4 The numeral system

A. Fill in the missing ordinal or cardinal numbers in the English translation of the Coptic example:

- COY ΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΒΕ 'day (COY) ___ of (N-) the month (Π-ΕΒΟΤ) Tōbe' (Hil. 1:4)
- ΜΝΝCΑ CΑΨQ ΔΕ Ν200Υ 'after (ΜΝΝCΑ) ___ days (N-200Υ)' (Hil. 9:17-18)
- ΑΜΝΤΩΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'about (Α) ___ years (N-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (of age) (Hil. 3:25)
- ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝCΑΛΠΓΞ 'the ___ (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) trumpet (N-CΑΛΠΓΞ)' (Eud. 60:9)

2.5 The pronominal system

A. Bound pronouns have different forms or allomorphs. Fill in the correct form of the bound pronoun in the blanks, e.g. ΝΑ ___ 'to him' → ΝΑQ.

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ΡΑΤ ___	my foot	ΡΑΤ ___	your (woman) foot
___ ΝΗΥ	they are coming	ΡΝΤ ___	your (man) name
ΑΑ ___	to make us	___ CΩΤΗ	we listen
ΕΡΟ ___	to me	Ν2ΗΤ ___	in it (masc.)
2ΡΑ ___	your (woman) face	ΕΡΟ ___	to them

B. Complete the English translation and identify the bound pronoun in the following examples, e.g. ΝΑ-Ν 'to ___' → to us (1st pl.).

COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS	COPTIC ITEM	GLOSS
ⲉⲟⲩⲃ-ⲧ	to kill (ⲉⲟⲩⲃ) __	ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲱⲱ	__ want (ⲟⲩⲱⲱ)
ⲉⲱ-ⲟⲩ	__ selves	ⲧⲉ-ⲡ-ⲉⲟⲩⲉ	__ are (ⲡ) afraid (-ⲉⲟⲩⲉ)
ⲁⲣⲓ-ⲙⲟⲩ	make (ⲁⲣⲓ) __!	ⲛⲙⲙⲉ	with __
ⲧⲁⲉⲱ-ⲧⲛ	to place (ⲧⲁⲉⲱ) __	ⲉⲣⲟ	to __

C. Which Coptic form corresponds to the one given in the English example? Notice that two options may be possible.

'to make me'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲓ
ⲁⲁ- 'to make'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲧ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲁⲁⲕ
'I want'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ 'to want'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ
'you (plural) all'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲧⲛ
ⲧⲙⲣ- 'all'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲛ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲧⲙⲣⲧⲙⲧⲛ
'they stay'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲙⲉⲙⲛ
ⲙⲙⲛ 'to stay'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲉⲙⲉⲙⲛ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲙⲟⲩⲙⲙⲛ
'your (fem.) head'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲱⲉ
ⲭⲱ 'head'	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲉ
	<input type="checkbox"/>	ⲭⲱ

D. Give an explanation why the alternative forms are not accurate.

F. Fill in the correct form of the pronoun in the sentences below.

(1) __ ⲙⲱⲧⲙ 'we listen (ⲙⲱⲧⲙ)' (Eud. 60:23)

- ☐ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ
☐ ⲧⲛ

(2) __ ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'I believe (ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲩⲉ) (it), Lord (ⲡ-ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ)' (Eud. 52:3-4)

- ☐ ⲁⲛⲧ
☐ ⲧ

Unit 3

Phrase structure

This Unit describes the internal syntactic structure of the most common types of complex noun phrases, prepositional phrases and adverbial modifiers in Sahidic Coptic. Complex noun phrases, as the name suggests, consist of two or more nouns in series. Consider, for instance, an example like ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲛ 'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), where the definite noun phrase ⲧ-ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲥ 'the virgin' refers to a specific member of the class of young females, while the modifying nominal ⲁⲉⲛ 'prudent' describes a characteristic property of that individual, namely her intelligence. The main function of the linkage marker ⲛ- is to connect both nominal expressions. Section 3.1 describes the internal syntactic structure of complex noun phrases, with particular attention for the morphological marking of structural relationships.

The syntax and semantics of prepositional phrases is dealt with in section 3.2. The central element of a prepositional phrase is a preposition, which is a function word that indicates a relation between two entities. The simple preposition ⲙ- 'in', for instance, is used to locate some entity at a particular place, e.g. ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲗⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ 'look (ⲉⲓⲥ), Christ (ⲡⲉ-ⲗⲥ) (is) here (lit. in this place (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲙⲁ))' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25). Prepositional phrases share important structural properties with noun phrases. Thus, compound prepositions have an essentially nominal syntax, implying that they are derived by the same phrase structure rules as

complex noun phrases. Finally, section 3.3 takes a closer look at adverbial adjuncts. Coptic adverbs comprise a heterogeneous class of items, ranging from simple deictic adverbials like nmay 'there' to internally complex adverbial phrases like zn oypnenwoti 'all of a sudden' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:17-18).

3.1 Complex noun phrases

This section presents a structural description of complex noun phrase patterns, in which two parameters of phrase structure play a crucial role. The first parameter is concerned with headedness and the second parameter with the morphological marking of syntactic dependencies. The headedness parameter basically says that every syntactic phrase has a single core element, or head, which determines its syntactic category (noun phrase, verb phrase, clause, and so on). The non-head or dependent constituent may be of a different syntactic category than the head and has a less central role. It can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire construction. The second parameter concerns the presence and location of morphological marking that signals a particular syntactic relation. Syntactic relations can be morphologically marked on either the head of a phrase or on the dependent.

3.1.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking in Coptic

In Coptic, complex noun phrase formation involves some head-marked and some dependent-marked patterns. In an example like tpaθenoc ncabn 'the prudent virgin' (Eud. 54:15), the definite noun phrase tpaθenoc 'the virgin' constitutes the head, since it marks the entire phrase as nominal, while the dependent noun cabn 'prudent' supplies additional information about the referent of the head noun, and is syntactically optional. The dependent-marking character of complex noun phrase appears from the location of the linkage marker n- on the modifying noun. An example of the head-marking pattern would be a compound noun like ct-noyqe 'fragrance' (Onnophr. 219:25), where the

head noun ctoi 'scent' is phonologically reduced, while the dependent noun noyqe 'sweet' is left intact, cf. figure 3.1.

	HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
HEAD-MARKED PATTERN	$\text{ct} \uparrow$ (< ctoi) scent	noyqe sweet	
DEPENDENT-MARKED PATTERN		LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
	T-tpaθenoc the virgin	n-	cabn prudent

FIGURE 3.1 Head- and dependent marking in Coptic noun phrases

The head-marking pattern does not seem to be productive in the nominal domain, where it is by and large restricted to lexical compounding, i.e. the creation of new nominal expressions from existing words (section 3.1.2). The dependent-marking pattern, by contrast, is morphologically fully productive and underlies the formation of attributive noun phrases (section 3.1.3) and possessive ones (section 3.1.4). In noun coordination, the connective itself qualifies as the head of the entire construction (section 3.1.6). Since appositional noun phrases are extra-clausal constituents, they fall outside the dichotomy between head-marking and dependent-marking syntax (section 3.1.6).

3.1.2 Nominal compounds

Coptic has a rich system of nominal compounding, which derives new lexical items from the combination of two nouns or a noun and a verb. In having only a single stress, such compounds behave like single words. As a rule, word stress is placed on the second component, which has exactly the same shape as the corresponding independent word, while the first component is left unstressed and consequently phonologically reduced. The unstressed vowel of the head noun is either reduced to schwa /ə/, e.g. ob-xoεit /kʰəv.tʰəjt/ 'olive leaf' (< obwε /kʰəʔəve/ 'leaf' + xoεit /tʰəjt/ 'olive'), or disappears entirely from the phonological representation, the

result being a monophthong (i.e. a single vowel), e.g. $\sigma\tau\text{-}\text{noyqe}$ /sti.n'uife/ 'fragrance' (< $\sigma\tau\text{oi}$ /stoi/ + noyqe /n'uife/ 'sweet').

3.1.2.1 Analytic compounds

On semantic grounds, one can distinguish two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds convey a relatively transparent meaning that can compositionally be derived from the meaning of each component, e.g. $\psi\text{p-}\text{zooyt}$ /ʃər.h'owt/ 'boy' (< $\psi\text{hpε}$ /ʃε:re/ 'child' + zooyt /howt/ 'male'), zoγ-mice /hu.m'i:se/ 'birthday' (< zooy /how/ 'day' + mice /mise/ 'birth'), zpoγ-bai /hru.v'ai/ 'thunder' (< zpooy /hrow/ 'noise' + bai /vaj/ 'sky'), $\psi\text{bp-p zwb}$ /ʃvər.ər.h'ov/ 'co-worker' (< ψbhp /ʃvεr/ 'comrade' + p-zwb /ər.hov/ 'to do (p-) work (zwb)').

3.1.2.2 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds like mnt-εpo 'kingdom' (< ppo 'king'), by contrast, have non-compositional and sometimes idiosyncratic meanings. In such compounds, the phonologically reduced head noun functions in much the same way as the lexical formatives *un-*, *-ful*, and *-ness* in English in compounds like *unlawfulness*. A list of the most common types of synthetic compounds is provided in table 3.1. Most Coptic grammars subsume these compounds under the label "nominal prefixes":

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
AT-	NEGATIVE ADJECTIVE	aεht 'foolish' (< zht 'heart') (V. Pach. 141:2), at-nkotk 'sleepless' (< nkotk 'to sleep') (Onnophr. 208:4)
mnt-	ABSTRACT NOUNS	mnt-noyte 'divinity' (< noyte 'god') (V. Pach. 6:29), mnt-monaxh 'monastic lifestyle' (< monaxoc 'monk') (V. Pach. 141:14), mnt-oγeienin (< oγeienin 'Greek') (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:25)

LEXICAL FORMATIVE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
σIN-	EVENT AND INSTANTIATION NOUNS	σIN-αΠΑΝΤΑ 'encounter' (< αΠΑΝΤΑ 'to meet') (Test. Is. 230:4), σIN-ογωμ 'food' (< ογωμ 'to eat') (V. Pach. 5:2)
PEQ-	AGENTIVE NOUNS	$\text{PEQ-}\text{zwtε}$ 'murderer' (< zwtε 'to kill') (Abbatōn 232:30), PEQ-P-ειοπε 'craftsman' (< P- 'to do' + ειοπε 'craft, art') (praec. Pach. 111)
PM(N)-	NOUNS OF PROFESSION/OCCUPATION	$\text{PMN-}\text{h}$ 'superintendent' (< h 'house') (praec. Pach. 104), PMN-PAN 'dignitary' (< PAN 'name') (praec. Pach. 111)
MAN-	LOCATION NOUNS	$\text{MAN-}\text{ψωπε}$ (< ψωπε 'to reside') 'dwelling place', (Ac. A&P 198:73), MAN-NKOTK 'couch' (< NKOTK 'to sleep') (Eud. 50:5)

TABLE 3.1 Synthetic compounds

Synthetic compounds that contain of two or more formatives in series are commonly attested, e.g. mnt-at-zote (< zote 'fear') 'fearlessness' (V. Pach. 6:13), mnt-pm-paw (< paw 'gentle, mild') 'gentleness' (Eud. 54:27).

- The synthetic formatives PMN and MAN incorporate the linkage marker n- into their morphological structure and thus represent a blend between the head-marked and dependent-marked pattern (see above, figure 3.1).
- The formative peq- may be construed with an entire verb phrase (i.e. the verb and its arguments and adjuncts), the result being a clause-like noun phrase, e.g. $\text{n-peq-nex-ψhpε-koγi επμοoy}$ 'the ones (n-peq) who throw (nex) small children (ψhpε koγi) into the water (ε-π-μοoy) (lit. the-small-children-into-the-water-throwers)' (Ac. A&P 204:143).

3.1.3 Adjectival modification

The previous section has dealt with the head-marking syntax of nominal compounds. This and the following section discuss the dependent-marking pattern of adjectival modification and possessive noun phrases. In the adjectival construction, the modifying noun is connected to the head noun by means of the linkage marker *n-* (or its assimilated form *m-*). While the head noun is compatible with the entire range of Coptic determiners, the *n*-marked modifier must be left undetermined, as seen in: *COLCA* (...) *NCΩMATIKON* 'physical (*n-cōmatikon*) comfort (*COLCA*)' (Hil. 5:23), *OY-ROITE* *NΩNC* 'a linen (*n-ōnc*) garment (*oy-roite*)' (Eud. 50:11-12), *PEIZALO* *MAKARIOC* 'this blessed (*m-makarios*) old man (*pei-zalo*)' (Onnophr. 215:15-16). See figure 3.2 for the dependent-marking syntax of adjectival modification.

HEAD NOUN	DEPENDENT NOUN	
	LINKER	"BARE" NOUN
<i>OY-KOYI</i> a small	<i>n-</i>	<i>COOY2C</i> convent
<i>T-PAPΘENOC</i> the virgin	<i>n-</i>	<i>CABH</i> prudent

FIGURE 3.2 Adjectival modification

The lemma *ωnm* 'small' is only used as a dependent noun and appears in postnominal position without the linking element *n-*, e.g. *π-ωnpε ωnm* 'the little (*ωnm*) child (*π-ωnpε*)' (Ac. A&P 196:48).

3.1.3.1 The nominal character of Coptic "adjectives"

Coptic has no separate word class of "adjectives" used to describe properties of individuals and objects. Thus, property-denoting expressions like *noc* 'big' or *cabe* 'intelligent' cannot be distinguished syntactically from referring expressions like *pōme* 'man', since both types of nominals can be used as the head or the modifier of an adjectival construction. Compare: *n-pōme n-cabe* 'the intelligent (*n-cabe*) people (*n-pōme*)'

(Ac. A&P 206:159-160), *ZEN-PAΛE* *NBPPE* 'new (*n-bppe*) words (*zen-paλe*)' (Hil. 1:18-19) vs. *OY-KOYI* *NCOOY2C* 'a small (*oy-koyi*) convent (*n-cooy2c*)' (V. Pach. 1:13), *ZENNOC* *NΩNH* 'big (*zen-noc*) trees (*n-ōnh*)' (Onnophr. 219:17).

Greek adjectives are usually borrowed in their masculine singular form, e.g. *OY-POME* *NCOPOC* 'a wise (*n-copoc*) man (*oy-pōme*)' (Teach. Ant. 4), *ΠXOEIC* *ΠNOYTE* *MICTOC* *NAIKAIOC* *NKPITHC* *MME* 'oh Lord (*πxoeic*), faithful (*m-mictoc*) righteous (*n-dikaioc*) God (*πnoyte*), true (*m-me*) judge (*n-kpithc*)' (V. Pach. 7:19-20), *ZWC* *POME* *NEIOTIKOC* 'like (*zwc*) a man (*pōme*) of this world (*n-biwtikoc*)' (Hil. 13:5).

3.1.3.2 Types of adjectival modification

The main semantic relationships expressed by the attributively used noun phrases are the following:

a) Property assignment

Coptic has a closed class of property-denoting expressions where grammatical gender is marked through different vocalic endings (sing. masc. *-e*, sing. fem. *-h*): *KAME* vs. *KAMH* 'black', *CABE* vs. *CABH* 'intelligent', *2AE* vs. *2AH* 'final', e.g. *OYKΩ2T* *NCABE* 'an intelligent (*n-cabe*) fire (*oy-kō2t*)' (Test. Is. 234:26) vs. *TPAPΘENOC* *NCABH* 'the wise (*n-cabh*) virgin (*t-papθenoc*)' (Eud. 54:15).

b) Constituency

e.g. *TKLOOAE* *NOYOEIN* 'the cloud (*t-klooaε*) of light (*n-oyoein*)' (Eud. 42:26), *ΠEPH* *NKΩ2T* 'the river (*π-epo*) of fire (*n-kō2t*)' (Test. Is. 234:22), *OYNOC* *MΠHΓH* *M-MOY* 'a big (*oy-noc*) fountain (*m-πhgh*) of water (*m-moy*)' (Eud. 46:18).

c) Class membership or ethnicity

e.g. *NE2IOME* *NXPHTIANOC* 'the Christian (*n-xphtianoc*) women (*ne-2iome*)' (Mena. Mir. 26b:19-20), *Π2ALO* *NACKITHC* 'the ascetic (*n-ackithc*) old man (*π-2alo*)' (V. Pach. 87:7), *OYC2IME* *ΔE*

ΝΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ 'a Samaritan (Ν-ΝΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ) woman (ΟΥ-Σ2ΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:9-11).

3.1.4 Possessive noun phrases

In possessive noun phrases, the head noun always indicates the possessed item and the dependent noun the possessor. In Coptic, the syntactic dependency between the possessed and the possessor noun is indicated by two different linkage markers, namely **Ν-** (or its assimilated form **Μ-**) and **ΝΤΕ**. These linkage markers fulfill similar functions as the preposition *of* in English possessives, e.g. **ΠΡΩΜΕ Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'the man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 141:4-5), **ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'a thing (ΟΥΖΩΒ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 60:24). See figure 3.3 for the dependent-marking syntax of possessive noun phrases.

POSSESSED NOUN (HEAD)	POSSESSOR NOUN (DEPENDENT)	
	LINKER	IN/DEFINITE NOUN PHRASE
Π-ΡΩΜΕ the man	Μ-	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God
ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ a thing	ΝΤΕ	Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ God

FIGURE 3.3 Nominal possession

3.1.4.1 The distribution of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ**

As we can see from table 3.2 below, the selection of the linkage markers **Ν-** and **ΝΤΕ** is largely dependent on the determination of the possessed and the possessor noun. This will be explained below. Abbreviations: NP 'noun phrase', DEM. DET. 'demonstratively determined' (e.g. **ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ** 'this man'), POSS. DET. 'possessively determined' (e.g. **ΤΑ-Σ2ΙΜΕ** 'my wife').

LINKAGE MARKER Ν-		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	"BARE" NOUN	ΗΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ 'as places (Η-ΜΑ) of weeping (Ν-ΡΜΗ)' (Eud. 40:9)
DEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΡΟ 'the letter (Τ-ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ) of the king (Μ-Π-ΡΟ)' (Hil. 10:31)
DEM. DET. NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΝΕΙΨΙ ΝΤΕΙΔΟΤ 'these heights (ΝΕΙ-ΨΙ) of such sort (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΔΟΤ)' (Hil. 9:6)
DEFINITE NP	POSS. DET. NP	ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΝΝΑCΙΟΤΕ 'the faith (Τ-ΠΙCΤΙC) of my fathers (Ν-ΝΑ-CΙΟΤΕ)' (Hil. 11:12)
LINKAGE MARKER ΝΤΕ		
POSSESSED NOUN	POSSESSOR NOUN	EXAMPLES
"BARE" NOUN	DEFINITE NP	ΝΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'with (the) joy (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Holy (ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ)' (KHML I 82:4-5)
INDEFINITE NP	DEFINITE NP	ΖΑΖ ΝΡΕΜΑΟ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΛΙC 'many (ΖΑΖ) rich men (Ν-ΡΕΜΑΟ) of (ΝΤΕ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)' (KHML I 72:1)
INDEFINITE NP	DEM. DET. NP	ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ 'a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) this little (ΨΗΜ) boy (ΠΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (KHML I 73:8-9)
POSS. DET. NP	DEFINITE NP	ΤΕΦΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'his stewardship (ΤΕΦ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 217:23)

TABLE 3.2 The semantic distribution of the markers **Ν-/Μ-** and **ΝΤΕ**

The linkage marker *н-* is selected, when the possessed noun and the possessor noun agree in in/definiteness and consequently display the same type of determiner (including the zero-article of "bare" nouns), e.g. *πηη ηπηνϋτε* 'the house (*π-ηη*) of God (*η-π-ηϋτε*)' (Onnophr. 219:10). If there is a mismatch in definiteness, however, the competing marker *ντε* must be chosen instead. Thus, *ντε*-possessives typically combine an indefinite possessed noun with a definite possessor noun, e.g. *οϋζωβ ντε πνοϋτε* 'a thing (*οϋ-ζωβ*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-ηϋτε*)' (Eud. 60:24). Both linking markers are found in possessive noun phrases where the possessed noun or the possessor noun are determined by the possessive article, e.g. *πραν ηπαχοεic ιc* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*η-πα-χοεic*) Jesus (*ιc*)' (Eud. 46:16-17) vs. *τεqοικονομια ντε πνοϋτε* 'his stewardship (*τεq-οικονομια*) of (*ντε*) God (*π-ηϋτε*)' (Onnophr. 217:23).

The linking marker *ντε* has the pronominal allomorph *ντα-*, which appears in a single context only, namely when an indefinite possessed noun is construed with a pronominal possessor, e.g. *κεco ηπαρεενoc νταc* 'six (*co*) virgins (*η-παρεενoc*) of hers (*ντα-c*) as well (*κε-*)' (Eud. 56:6-7), *οϋτε κελλαϋ νειδoc νταq* 'nor (*οϋτε*) anything else (*κε-λλαϋ*) of his (*ντα-q*) property (*η-ειδoc*)' (praec. Pach. 95).

3.1.4.2 Types of nominal possession

In Coptic, a variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship. Very often, possessive noun phrases merely indicate some kind of connection or relation between two entities or objects.

a) Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession involves possessed items that are intrinsically related to the possessor, such as body parts, names or family relations, e.g. *πζο ηπαγγελοc* 'the face (*π-ζο*) of the angel (*η-π-αγγελοc*)' (Test. Is. 229:6), *πcωμα ηπμακαριoc απα мηηα* 'the body (*π-cωμα*) of the blessed (*η-π-μακαριoc*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:16-18), *πραν ηπαχοεic ιc* 'the name (*π-ραν*) of my Lord (*η-πα-χοεic*) Jesus' (Eud. 46:16-17), *τμαϋ δε ηπνεεq* 'the mother (*τ-μαϋ*) of the sailor

(*η-π-νεεq*)' (Ac. A&P 194:4)), *τψεερε ηπμαιοϋτε ηppo ζηηων* 'the daughter (*τ-ψεερε*) of the God-loving (*η-π-μαιοϋτε*) king (*η-ppo*) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1-2).

b) Alienable possession

Alienable possessions express the notion of ownership proper, e.g. *πμηνεκотк ηπeneиωт ιcαακ* 'the couch (*π-μην-εκотк*) of our father (*η-πην-ειωт*) Isaac' (Test. Is. 236:24), *πενтγдηc* (read *πεπенаγтηc*) *ηπαγλοc* 'Paul's (*η-παγλοc*) robe (*π-ενтγдηc*)' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

c) Proximity, closeness or relatedness

e.g. *πноϋτε ηαπα мηηα* 'the God (*π-ηϋτε*) of Apa Mena (*η-απα мηηα*)' (Mena, Mir. 21a:1-2), *πρωμε δε ηпmanδoeиe* 'the landlord (*π-ρωμε*) of the inn (*η-π-man-δoeиe*)' (Mena, Mir. 27a: 11-13), *тexpиa ηпcωмa* 'the need (*тe-xpиa*) of the body (*η-π-cωмa*)' (V. Pach.4:5).

d) Place and time

The possessor noun may indicate location in place and time, e.g. *нepωмe ηтпoиc paкoтe* 'the people (*ηe-pωмe*) of the city (*η-т-пoиc*) Alexandria' (Mena, Martyrd. 5b:21-22), *тeккaнcиa нψиηт* 'the church (*т-εκкaнcиa*) of Shiêt (*η-ψиηт*)' (Hil. 12:17), *ψa пeзooϋ ηпζaп* 'until (*ψa*) the day (*пe-зooϋ*) of the judgement (*η-π-ζaп*)' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

e) Agent relation

When the possessed noun refers to some event or activity, the possessor may be interpreted as the instigator or agent of that event, e.g. *пpαψe ηпeπнa cтoγaλaв* 'the joy (*π-pαψe*) of (caused by) the Holy (*cтoγaλaв*) Spirit (*η-π-пнeγмa*)' (Eud. 68:12), *пxozx ηпoвze* 'the gnashing (*π-xozx*) of teeth (*η-η-овze*)' (Test. Is. 234:29).

f) Patient relation

The possessor noun may also refer to the undergoer or patient of the event or activity that is described by the possessed noun, e.g. ΠΤΑΛΩΟ ΝΤΨΕΡΕ ΠΠΡΟ 'the healing (Π-ΤΑΛΩΟ) of the king's (Π-ΠΡΟ) daughter (Ν-Τ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 8:19), ΠΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of his (Antoniūs') parents (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (V. Ant. 3:22).

3.1.5 Noun coordination

Noun coordination involves the concatenation of two or more nouns, which form a new syntactic unit. Coptic has a variety of connective devices to combine the individual members or conjuncts of coordinate noun phrases. Coordinate noun phrases consist minimally of three elements: On the one hand, there are at least two noun phrases that are combined with one another; on the other hand, there is a coordinating conjunction that indicates the link between the conjoined noun phrases. Syntactically speaking, the connective device is the head and the conjoined noun phrase the dependent constituent of the coordinate structure. The first conjunct, on the other hand, is adjoined to the left of the entire complex. The tripartite structure of a coordinated noun phrase like ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) and (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12) is schematically represented in figure 3.4.

FIRST CONJUNCT (ADJUNCT)	CONNECTIVE (HEAD)	SECOND CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT)
Τ-ΠΕ heaven	ΜΝ and (lit. 'with')	Π-ΚΑΖ earth

FIGURE 3.4 Noun coordination

The connective may be a preposition like ΜΝ 'with' or a clausal conjunction like ΑΥΩ 'and'. Greek conjunctions are fully integrated into the Coptic system of nominal and clausal coordination. The distributional behaviour and basic meaning of the main Coptic and Greek-based connectors are the following:

1. ΜΝ

The conjunction ΜΝ is actually a comitative preposition, meaning something like '(together) with, in the company of'. It connects various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases, though not "bare" nouns, e.g. ΖΕΝΣΟΠΣ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΡΗΕΙΟΟΥΕ 'entreaties and (ΜΝ) tears' (Eud. 34:8), ΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΨΑΡ 'bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΝ) skin (Π-ΨΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:29), ΝΘΕ ΝΔΔΔ ΜΝ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ ΜΝ ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ ΜΝ ΙΩΣΙΑΣ 'in the manner (ΝΘΕ) of David (Ν-ΔΔΥΕΙΔ) and (ΜΝ) Solomon and (ΜΝ) Ezekias and (ΜΝ) Jōsias' (Hil. 9:28-29), ΝΤΟΦ ΜΝ ΚΕΦΙΛΟΦΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'he (ΝΤΟΦ) and (ΜΝ) another philosopher (ΚΕ-ΦΙΛΟΦΟΣ) called (ΧΕ) Apa Martērion' (Hil. 6:17).

2. ΖΙ

"Bare" nouns are joined together by means of the locative preposition ΖΙ, originally meaning 'on', e.g. ΣΑΡΞ ΖΙ ΣΝΟΦ 'flesh (ΣΑΡΞ) and (ΖΙ) blood (ΣΝΟΦ)' (Onnophr.206:25), ΒΟΤΕ ΖΙ ΑΝΟΜΙΑ 'abomination (ΒΟΤΕ) and (ΖΙ) crime (ΑΝΟΜΙΑ)' (Eud. 40:15), ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΕ ΖΙ ΡΕΦΠΕΖΤΣΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'a lot (ΟΥΜΗΝΨΕ) of murderers (Ν-ΡΕΦΖΩΤΕ) and (ΖΙ) blood-shedders (ΡΕΦ-ΠΕΖΤ-ΣΝΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ)' (Abbatōn 232:30-31).

3. Η

The notion of disjunction is expressed by the Greek conjunction Η 'or', which does not impose any selectional restrictions on the noun phrases it connects, e.g. ΜΗΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΜΜΑΥ Η ΜΑΛΥ 'I do not have (lit. '(there) is not (ΜΝ) with me (ΝΤΑ-Ι)') father (ΕΙΩΤ) or (Η) mother (ΜΑΛΥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22), ΕΠΣΩΟΥΖ Η ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΜ 'to (Ε-) the assembly (Π-ΣΩΟΥΖ) or (Η) to (Ε-) the eating Ν-ΟΥΩΜ) room (Π-ΜΑ)' (praec. Pach. 100).

4. ΑΥΩ

The connective ΑΥΩ 'and' is mainly used as a clausal conjunction, but may also connect two noun phrases, e.g. ΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΨΗΡΕ 'my brothers (ΝΑ-ΣΝΗΥ) and (also) (ΑΥΩ) my children (ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (V. Pach. 88:23-24), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΑΚΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'Eternal God (Π-

νοῦτε) and (ἀγῶ) Father (π-εἰωτ) of my Lord (μ-πα-χοεῖς) Jesus Christ (πε-χc) (Eud. 46:9).

5. οὐδὲ

The Greek conjunction οὐδὲ 'and not' expresses the notions of negation and coordination at the same time, e.g. 2η παιδιῶν οὐδὲ 2η πέτνη 'not' in (2η) this age (παι-λιῶν) and not (οὐδὲ) in (2η) the one to come (π-ετ-νη) (Eud. 38:22-23). The reduplicant οὐδὲ ... οὐδὲ 'neither ... nor' indicates the presence of two alternative invalid or impossible options, e.g. οὐδὲ 2βω οὐδὲ τροφή 'neither (οὐδὲ) clothes (2βω) nor (οὐδὲ) food (τροφή)' (Onnophr. 208:14-15), ἢπε πμοναχος κα τοοτq εβωλ εφωλη οὐδὲ περοου οὐδὲ τεγυη 'the monk (π-μοναχος) did not (ἢπε) desist (lit. to take (κα) away (εβωλ) his hand (τοοτ-q)) from praying (ε-q-ωλη) either (οὐδὲ) day (πε-ροου) or (οὐδὲ) night (τε-γυη)' (AP Chaîne no. 231, 68:20-21).

3.1.6 Appositions

Appositions are noun phrases that have no fixed position in the syntactic structure. They are simply juxtaposed to the head noun they modify. Prosodically weak function words like the Greek discourse particle δε are placed between the antecedent noun or pronoun and the following apposition, e.g. Ἰσαακ δε πατριάρχης 'Isaac, the Patriarch (π-πατριάρχης)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The main contextual uses of appositional phrases are the following:

a) Referent identification

Appositions are typically used to facilitate referent identification. In an example like νεκιντωρε οὐπολις ντε थेβαις 'Nekintôre (i.e. Dendera), a city (οὐ-πολις) of (ντε) the Thebais (θεβαις)' (KHML II 31:24-25), the appositional noun phrase οὐπολις ντε थेβαις 'a city of the Thebais' provides an additional clue to locate the place in question. In a similar vein, appositions can be used to disambiguate pronominal reference, e.g. ντοq δε πενειωτ παζωμο (...) 'he (ντοq), our father (πεν-εἰωτ) Pachôm (...)' (V. Pach. 4:24).

b) Epithetic use

Apart from their referent backtracking function, appositions may have a somewhat more conventionalised use as epithets, e.g. πῶσιος μαρκος πεγαγγελιστης 'the holy (π-ῶσιος) Marcos, the Evangelist (πε-εγγελιστης)' (Hil. 3:32-33), ἀπα πανεω πεπρεσβυτερος 'Ara Pambô, the presbyter (πε-πρεσβυτερος)' (Hil. 5:13), πνουτε ππαντωκρατωρ 'God (π-νουτε). Almighty (π-παντωκρατωρ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

c) Naming

In the context of naming, the particle χε 'called' must be selected when the head noun is an indefinite expression, while the apposition itself is a proper name, e.g. οὐα χε ἀπα παγλος 'one (οὐα) called (χε) Ara Paul' (AP Chaîne no. 230, 68:8), εγπολις χε σαρῶλη 'to a city (ε-γ-πολις) called (χε) Saralêa (i.e. Caesarea)' (Hil. 3:18), κεφιλοσοφος χε ἀπα μαρτηριον 'another philosopher (κε-φιλοσοφος) called (χε) Ara Martêrion' (Hil. 6:17). An exceptional case is ραν 'name', which must always be definite, e.g. πεῖραν χε ἰc 'this name (χε) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:32).

3.2 Simple and complex prepositions

Prepositions are relational elements that locate an entity someplace or with respect to another entity. They never appear in isolation. To express a particular semantic relation, another constituent must accompany a given preposition: this dependent constituent is called the object or complement of that preposition. Coptic prepositions generally have two different context dependent allomorphs, one used with nominal objects, traditionally referred to as the nominal state (nom. st.) and another one used with pronominal objects, called the pronominal state (pron. st.), e.g. (nom. st.) εκημε 'to (ε-) Egypt (κημε)' (KHML I 14:1) vs. (pron. st.) εροq 'to (ερο=) him (-q)' (KHML I 14:12). See figure 3.5 for further

illustration. (The diacritics '˘' and '= ' are conventionally used in Coptic dictionaries to indicate the nominal and pronominal state form of a given preposition).

	PREPOSITION	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
NOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	ε- to	κΗΜΕ Egypt
PRONOMINAL STATE ALLOMORPH	εΡΟ= to	-ϣ him

FIGURE 3.5 The phrase structure of Coptic prepositional phrases

The nominal state form is generally much shorter than the corresponding pronominal state. This difference in prosodic weight is also manifested by different stress patterns. In the nominal state, stress shifts to the noun following the preposition: ε-κΗΜΕ /e.k'e:me/. By contrast, the corresponding pronominal state must be stressed, since the following suffix pronoun is not susceptible to stress assignment: εΡΟ=ϣ /e.r'of/.

3.2.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions are single indivisible function words, which cover a broad range of meaning distinctions, cf. table 3.3 (empty cells indicate the absence of an allomorph).

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ε-	εΡΟ=	to, towards	ΜΝ-	ΜΗΜΑ=	with, and
Ν-	ΝΑ=	for	Ν-	ΜΗΟ=	in, from
ΖΝ-	ΝΖΗΤ=	in, at, on	ϣΑ-	ϣΑΡΟ=	to, towards
ΖΑ-	ΖΑΡΟ=	under, for	ΖΙ-	ΖΙΩΩ=	on
ΛΧΝ-	ΛΧΝΤ=	without	ΟΥΒΕ-	ΟΥΒΗ=	against
ΟΥΤΕ-	ΟΥΤΩ=	between		ΖΗΤ=	before
ΚΑΤΑ-	ΚΑΤΑΡΟ=	according to	ΠΑΡΑ-	ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	more than

TABLE 3.3 The inventory of basic prepositions

N.B. In modern text editions, the nominal state forms of prepositions consisting of a single letter are written together with the following noun, e.g. επερπο 'to the bank (ε-πε-κρο)' (Ac. A&P 194:3). This contrasts with prepositions that consist of two or more letters, which are written as separate words, e.g. ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ 'with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). This orthographical convention is applied throughout this grammar.

3.2.1.1 Allomorphy

The allomorphic opposition between the nominal state and the pronominal state form of basic prepositions exhibits some degree of morpho-phonological irregularity:

- Labial assimilation: the nominal state form of Ν- 'in', ΖΝ 'in, at' and ΛΧΝ- 'without' undergo labial assimilation before the voiceless bilabial stop π /p/ and the voiced labial nasal μ /m/ (see above, section 1.3.3.1 of Unit 1), e.g. ΜΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΠ 'in the place (Μ-Π-ΜΑ) of the oven (Ν-ΤΕ-ΤΡΙΠ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ 'in (ΖΜ) every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ)' (praec. Pach. 129), ΛΧΜ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΖΣ 'without (ΛΧΜ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ)' (praec. Pach. 118). By contrast, the comitative preposition ΜΝ 'with' is never assimilated, e.g. ΜΑΛΕΛΕΛ ΜΝ ΙΑΡΕΘ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΩΧ 'Malelel and (ΜΝ) Jareth and (ΜΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Enôch' (Test. Is. 231:2-3).
- Defective prepositions: several basic prepositions lack either a nominal or pronominal state allomorph. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'before', for example, occurs in the pronominal state only. The prepositions ΖΙ 'at' and ΖΝ 'in', on the other hand, have suppletive forms in the pronominal state, which actually are compound prepositions: ΖΙΩΩ= (< ΖΙ 'on' + ΩΩ= 'back' (lit. 'on the back of')) and ΝΖΗΤ= (< Ν 'in' + ΖΗΤ= 'belly', lit. 'in the belly of'), e.g. †ΖΜ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΖΗΤ 'I (am) in (†ΖΜ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) (is) in me (ΝΖΗΤ < Ν-ΖΗΤ-Τ)' (Abbatôn 231:27-28 [John 14:11]).

The pronominal state forms **καταρ=** and **παραρ=** of the Greek prepositions **κατα-** 'according to' and **παρ-** 'more than' are analogical formations based on the model of simple prepositions, such as **ε-, ερ=** 'to'.

The complete pronominal paradigm of the particularly common prepositions **ερ=** 'to', **μμο=** 'in', **να=** 'to, for', **νμμα=** 'with' is presented in table 3.4. The pronominal state allomorph may undergo additional phonological changes, which are largely dependent on the consonantal or vocalic nature of the following pronoun.

	ερ=	μμο=	να=	νμμα=
1 st sing.	ερ=ι	μμο=ι	να=ι	νμμα=ι
2 nd sing. masc.	ερ=κ	μμο=κ	να=κ	νμμα=κ
2 nd sing. fem.	ερ	μμο	νε	νμμε
3 rd sing. masc.	ερ=ς	μμο=ς	να=ς	νμμα=ς
3 rd sing. fem.	ερ=ς	μμο=ς	να=ς	νμμα=ς
1 st pl.	ερ=ν	μμο=ν	να=ν	νμμα=ν
2 nd pl.	ερω=τν	μμω=τν	νη=τν	νμμη=τν
3 rd pl.	ερ=ογ	μμο=ογ	να=γ	νμμα=γ

TABLE 3.4 The pronominal paradigm of basic prepositions

3.2.1.2 Semantic Functions

Coptic basic prepositions are polysemous expressions, which may adopt more than one meaning and function. Moreover, there is a certain degree of functional overlap between two or more prepositions. The following survey describes the broad semantic spectrum of the most common basic prepositions.

1. nom. st. **ε-**, pron. st. **ερ=**

- a) has a directional meaning and marks the endpoint of a movement, e.g. **αφει ψαρσ εταβενησε** 'he (Pachôm) went (α-φ-ει) to him (ψαρσ-ς) (Apa Dionysos) to Tabenêse (ε-ταβενησε)' (V. Pach. 138:21), **αγαλε επιχοι** 'they went (α-γ-αλε) on the ship (ε-πι-χοι)' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

- b) conveys the opposite semantic value under a separative reading, in which case it indicates temporal or spatial distance from a certain condition or state, e.g. **†τογοχ εψωνε** 'I am cured (†τογοχ) from sickness (ε-ψωνε)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).
- c) may have a restrictive meaning and express the idea that some condition or state holds only partially, e.g. **εψωνε επιζηπαρ** 'I am sick (ε-ψωνε) at my liver (ε-πα-ζηπαρ)' (Onnophr. 208:30), **ψαγρ βαλε επεγβαλ νογωτ** 'they became (ψα-γ-ρ) blind (βαλε) at one (ν-ογωτ) of their eyes (ε-πεγ-βαλ)' (KHML II 53:2-3).
- d) Coptic has no specialized morphological marker for the formal expression of a comparative relationship. Rather, the degree quantifier **ζογο** 'more' indicates the higher degree of the quality referred to by the verbal predicate, while the compared entity or object is syntactically encoded as a directional phrase with **ε-**, e.g. **μη επιταιηγ ανοκ εζογεπαχοε** '(μη) am I (ανοκ) more (ε-ζογ(ο)) honoured (ε-ι-ταιηγ) than my Lord (ε-πα-χοε)' (V. Pach. 2:6-7).
- e) is commonly used to mark the direct object of a perception verb, such as **ναγ** 'to see' and **ζε** 'to find', e.g. **αιναγ εμηα νψωπε ννεφγχοογε τηρογ** 'I saw (α-ι-ναγ) the dwelling (ν-ψωπε) places (ε-η-μηα) of all (τηρ-ογ) souls (ν-νε-φγχοογε)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), **αιζε ερογ ελφογω ερμoy** 'I found (α-ι-ζε) him (ερ-ο-γ) already dead (lit. while he had already become (ε-α-γ-ογω) being dead (ε-γ-ηογ))' (Onnophr. 205:23-24).
- f) Ethical datives are reflexively used prepositions, whose pronominal objects are co-referential with the clausal subject; they highlight the involvement of the subject referent in the situation talked about, e.g. **α ογα ννζαλο ναγ ερογ ζν ογεκτασις (...)** 'one (ογα) of the old men (ν-ν-ζαλο) saw (α ... ναγ) for himself (ερ-ο-γ) in (ζν) a trance (ογ-εκτασις) (...)' (AP Chaine no.180, 43:11).

- g) The nom. st. form *ε-* is grammaticalized as a prepositional complementizer that introduces non-finite infinitival clauses, e.g. *εΙΟΥΘΩ ΕΤΟΥΧΕ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ* 'I want (*ε-ΙΟΥΘΩ*) to cure (*ε-ΤΟΥΧΕ*) my soul (*ΠΑ-ΦΥΧΗ*)' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:1).
- h) Idiomatic uses: *εΡΟΥΖΕ* 'at night', e.g. *ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΖC ΝΕCΟΙΧ* (read *ΝΕCΟΙΧ*) *εΡΟΥΖΕ* (...) 'no one (*ΡΩΜΕ*) shall go (*ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ*) to anoint (*ε-ΤΕΖC*) his hands (*ΝΕC-ΟΙΧ*) at night (*εΡΟΥΖΕ*)' (praec. Pach. 92), *ΕΠΖΑΕ* 'finally', e.g. *ΕΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΤ ΝΑC ΖΩΩC ΝΖΕΝΤΝΖ* (for *ΝΖΕΝΤΝΖ*) (...) 'finally (*ΕΠΖΑΕ*), they gave (*Α-Υ-Τ*) him (*ΝΑ-C*) wings (*Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΤΝΖ*), too (*ΖΩΩ-C*) (...)': (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), *ΕΠΤΗΡC* 'at all', e.g. *ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΕΠΤΗΡC* (...) 'so that (*ΖΩCΤΕ*) I did not notice (*ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-ΙCΘΑΝΕ*) at all (*ε-Π-ΤΗΡ-C*) (...)': (Onnophr. 209:26-27), *ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ* 'even more', e.g. *ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟC C ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ* 'they (*ΝΑΙ*) (the pagan emperors) revived it (the prosecution) (*Α-Υ-ΤΟΥΝΟC-C*) even more (*ε-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΟ*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:3-5).
2. nom. st. *Ν-* (assimilated form *Η-*), pron. st. *ΝΑ=*
- a) designates the recipient or beneficiary, i.e. the person towards whom a particular action or activity is directed or some object is handed over, e.g. *ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΜΟΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ* 'God (*Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) will give (*ΨΑΡΕ ... †*) grace (*ΟΥ-ΖΜΟΤ*) to those who will believe (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ*)' (Test. Is. 228:11), or the person addressed in direct speech, e.g. *ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑC* (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-C*) to him (*ΝΑ-C*) (...)': (AP Chaîne no. 179, 43:4).
- b) Ethical datives assume the number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatives to emphasize to the intended addressee the necessity or urgency of the requested activity, e.g. *ΘΕΩΡΕΙ* (read *ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) *ΝΑΚ* 'see (*ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) for yourself (*ΝΑ-Κ*)!' (KHML II 21:26), *ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΒΙΤC* (for *CΙΤC*) *ΝΑΚ ΖΙΧΩΙ* 'now (*ΤΕΝΟΥ*) take it (the cloak) (away) from me (*ΖΙ-ΧΩ-Ι*)' (V. Pach. 92:15).

3. nom. st. *Ν-* (assimilated form *Η-*), pron. st. *ΜΜΟ=*
- a) There is reason to assume that the polyfunctional preposition *Ν-*, *ΜΜΟ=* originally had a locative meaning, from which other semantic functions are derived, e.g. *ΝΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΠΕΙΜΑ* 'if the Lord (*Π-ΧΟΕΙC*) were (*ΝΕΡΕ*) in this place (*Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ*) (...)': (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), *ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΖΟΥ* (...) 'it happened (*Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ*) one day (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ*) (...)': (V. Pach. 136:23).
- b) As an identificational preposition, the nom. st. form *Ν-* must be construed with a zero-determined "bare" noun, e.g. *ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΖΟ ΝΘΑΜΟΥΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ* 'some (monsters) (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) (as) camel-faced (*Ν-ΖΟ Ν-ΘΑΜΟΥΑ*), others (*ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ*) lion-faced (*Ν-ΖΟ Η-ΜΟΥΙ*)' (Test. Is. 234:2-3), *ΑCΑΑΥ ΝΕΚΚΑΗCΙΑ* 'he (Apa Shenoute) turned them (the pagan temples) (*Α-C-ΑΑ-Υ*) into churches (*Ν-ΕΚΚΑΗCΙΑ*)' (KHML II 50:27), *ΕΚΟ ΜΠΕΡΠΕΡΟC* 'you are (*ε-Κ-Ο*) vainglorious (*Η-ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟC*)' (V. Pach. 1:18).
- c) marks the direct object of various kinds of transitive verbs, e.g. *ΕΥΚΩΤ ΜΠCΟΒΤ ΝΤCΟΥΖC* 'when they were building (*ε-Υ-ΚΩΤ*) the wall (*Μ-Π-CΟΒΤ*) of the congregation (*Ν-Τ-CΟΥΖC*)' (V. Pach. 1:16), *ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΝ* (...) 'where to (*ε-ΤΩΝ*) do you bring (*ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΙ*) this man (*Η-ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ*)?' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-3).
- d) The pron. st. *ΜΜΟ=* may designate a contextually specified partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. *ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΟ ΝΖΜΖΑΑ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥ* 'in the manner (*Ν-ΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ*) that he (Pachôm) was (*ΕΤ-C-Ο*) a servant (*Ν-ΖΜΖΑΑ*) of every single one (*Η-Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ*) of them (the brothers) (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*)' (V. Pach. 90:19-20).
- e) Idiomatic uses: *ΝΩΟΡΠ* 'at first', e.g. *ΝΩΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑCΤCΑΒΟΥΥ ΝCΖΑΙ* 'at first (*ΝΩΟΡΠ*) he (Zeno) taught them (his daughters) (*Α-C-ΤCΑΒΟ-ΟΥ*) to write (*Ν-CΖΑΙ*)' (Hil. 2:6-7), *ΝΧΙΟΥΕ* 'secretly', e.g. *ΜΗΠΟC ΝΤΕ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΒΙ* (for *CΙ*) *ΠΕCΩΜΑ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ* 'that not (*ΜΗΠΟC*) some (people) (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) would carry away (*ΝΤΕ ... CΙ*) his (Pachôm's) body (*ΠΕC-ΩΜΑ*) secretly (*ΝΧΙΟΥΕ*)' (V. Pach. 94:7), *ΑCΨΩΠ[Ε] ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΥCΟΠ* (...) 'it also (*ΟΝ*) happened (*Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ*) once (*ΝΟΥCΟΠ*)' (KHML II 17:18).

4. nom. st. **2N-** (assimilated form **2M-**), pron. st. **Ν2ΗΤ=**
- displays some degree of overlap with **N-**, when used as a locative preposition, e.g. **ΑΡ ΟΥ 2N ΝΕΙΤΟΥ** 'what (ΟΥ) have you been doing (Α-Κ-Ρ) in (2N) these districts (ΝΕΙ-ΤΟΥ)?' (KHML II 31:26).
 - often has an instrumental interpretation and specifies the means through which a particular activity is carried out, e.g. **†[ΝΑ2ΩΤΒ ΗΜΟ] 2N ΤΕΙΧΗ** (...) 'I am going to kill (†-ΝΑ-2ΩΤΒ) you (ΗΜΟ) with (2N) this sword (ΤΕΙ-ΧΗ) (...)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-6).
 - quite frequently indicates the source or point of origin of some state of affairs, e.g. **ΝΤΑΕΡ ΡΗΜΑΟ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ** 'and become (ΝΤΑ-ΕΡ) a rich man (ΡΗΜΑΟ) from them (the coins) (Ν2ΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:21-22), **ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΩ 2N ΠΩΛΧΕ ΝΡΩΩ** 'because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) the universe (Π-ΤΗΡ-Ω) has come into existence (ΝΤΑ ... 2N ΠΩΛΧΕ) from (2N) the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) of his (God's) mouth (Ν-ΡΩ-Ω)' (V. Pach. 7:1-2).
 - The combination of **2N** and an indefinite noun phrase yields a manner adverb, describing the way in which some action took place, e.g. **ΑΦΟΥΩΥΒ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΩΩΝ 2N ΟΥΩΩΝΤ** 'his brother (ΠΕΩΩΝ) answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΥΒ) him (Pachōm) (ΝΑ-Φ) in (2N) an angry manner (ΟΥΩΩΝΤ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18), **ΑΦΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2N ΟΥΝΟΟ ΝΜΗ** 'he (Diocletian) cried (Α-Φ-ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) in (2N) a loud (ΟΥΝΟΟ) voice (Ν-ΜΗ)' (Eud. 36:25).
 - may refer to a partitioned set, from which a proper subset is taken, e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ 2Λ2 (read ΝΕΡΕ 2Λ2) ΟΝ 2N ΝΕΩΝΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΡΙΜΕ)** 'and (ΑΥΩ) many (2Λ2) of (2N) the brothers (ΝΕΩΝΗΥ) wept (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΡΙΜΕ), too (ΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 90:17), **Α 2ΟΙΝΕ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ ΑΛΕ ΕΠΕΙΩ 2N ΟΥΧΗΡ** 'some (2ΟΙΝΕ) of them (the brothers) (Ν2ΗΤ-ΟΥ) mounted (Α ... ΑΛΕ) the donkey (Ε-Π-ΕΙΩ) in a jolly mood (2N ΟΥ-ΧΗΡ)' (V. Pach. 6:6-7).

5. nom. st. **2Λ-**, pron. st. **2ΑΡΟ=**
- The basic meaning of the locative preposition **2Λ** is 'under', e.g. **ΑΥΚΑΛΥ 2Λ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC** 'they placed them (their property) (Α-Υ-ΚΑΛ-Υ) under (2Λ) the feet (Ν-ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ) of the apostles (Ν-Ν-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC)' (V. Ant. 4:3-4).
 - commonly expresses the reason or cause for the emergence of some state of affairs, e.g. **ΑΥΜΟΥ 2Λ ΠΕΙΒΕ 2N ΤΕΙΕΡΗΜΙΑ** 'they (the Persians) are on the verge of dying (Α-Υ-ΜΟΥ) from (2Λ) thirst (Π-ΕΙΒΕ) in (2N) this desert (ΤΕΙ-ΕΡΗΜΙΑ)' (Eud. 46:25).
 - may designate the beneficiary, i.e. the person for whose sake some activity is carried out, e.g. **ΑΦΜΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΨΑΝΑ 2ΑΡΟC ΤΑΡΕCΟΥΧΑΙ** 'he (Ara Sarapiōn) remained (Α-Φ-ΜΟΥΝ) praying (Ε-Φ-ΨΑΝΑ) for her sake (2ΑΡΟ-С) that she might be saved (ΤΑΡΕ-С-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (AP Chafne no. 240, 73:5), **ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟC ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2Λ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ** 'it (is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) who will be answerable (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-† ΛΟΓΟC) to God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (2Λ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΦΥΧΗ)' (Hil. 5:28).
6. nom. st. **ΨΑ-**, pron. st. **ΨΑΡΟ=**
- has a directional meaning and marks the destination or goal of some movement, e.g. **ΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΝΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΙ ΨΑ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑ2ΩΜ Ν2Λ2 ΝCΟΠ** 'the father (Π-ΕΙΩΤ) of that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) monastery (Ν-ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Ν-Τ-2ΕΝΕΕΤΕ) used to (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ) come (ΕΙ) to (ΨΑ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachōm many (Ν-2Λ2) times (Ν-CΟΠ)' (V. Pach. 139:25-26).
 - yields an adverb of temporal location in combination with time-indicating nouns and demarcates a point in time up to which some activity lasts, e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΗΠΡΩΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΟΜΩΨ ΨΑ ΠΝΑΥ ΗΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΡΑCΤΕ** 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) do not bring him (the dead boy) (ΗΠΡ-ΩΤΩ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) to bury him (Ε-ΤΟΜΩΨ) until (ΨΑ) the hour (Π-ΝΑΥ) of (day)light (Η-Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ) tomorrow (Ν-ΡΑCΤΕ)' (Ac. A&P 196:44-45).

7. nom. st. MN-, pron. st. NMMA=

- a) has a comitative interpretation and typically designates the entity with whom some activity is carried out, e.g. ΝΤΝΟΥΩΗ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ 'and we eat (Ν-ΤΝ-ΟΥΩΗ) *with* (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 215:29), ΛΦΨΑΞΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ 'he (Pachôm) spoke (Λ-Φ-ΨΑΞΕ) *with him* (Theodor) (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)' (V. Pach. 93:27).
- b) A benefactive or adversative reading may be imposed contextually, e.g. Α ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΤΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΝΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΗΛΙCΟΝ 'Our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm let (ΤΡΕ) the brother (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) make (ΕΙΡΕ) *for him* (ΝΗΜΑΦ) a great (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) brotherly love (Η-ΜΗΤ-ΜΑΙ-CΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), ΜΗ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΚ 'do perhaps (ΜΗ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ) fight (ΠΟΛΥΜΕΙ) *with you* (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 44:16-17); similarly † ΜΗ 'to fight with', e.g. ΖΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΥ† ΝΗΜΑΝ 'demons (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ) who fight (Ε-Υ-†) *with us* (ΝΗΜΑ-Ν)' (KHML II 11:14-15).
- c) conjoins two definite or indefinite noun phrases, e.g. ΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΑΤ ΕΝΑΨΩΦ 'gold (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΒ) *and* (ΜΝ) silver (ΟΥ-ΖΑΤ) in great quantity (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-Φ 'which was much')' (Eud. 64:2), ΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΖ 'heaven (Τ-ΠΕ) *and* (ΜΝ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Eud. 46:12) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

8. nom. st. ΟΥΤΕ-, pron. st. ΟΥΤΩ=

indicates the relative location of two entities with respect to one another in combination with the comitative preposition ΜΝ- 'with', e.g. ΕΚΝΑΚΑ ΟΥΜΑΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΟΥΤΩΚ ΝΗΜΑΦ 'you should place (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ) an elbow (ΟΥ-ΜΑΖΕ) *between you* (ΟΥΤΩ-Κ) and him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)' (praec. Pach. 95), ΛΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΑΞΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 'a minor argument ([Ο]Υ-ΨΑΞΕ) came up (Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) *between them* (ΟΥΤΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΜΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:16-17).

9. nom. st. ΖΙ-, pron. st. ΖΙΩ=

- a) When used as a locative preposition, ΖΙ-, ΖΙΩ= indicates the position of some individual or object, e.g. Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ Ρ ΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΖΙ ΠΕΔΟΘ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) spent (Α ... Ρ) three (ΨΟΜΗΤ) days (Ν-ΖΟΟΥ) *in* (ΖΙ) bed (ΠΕ-ΔΟΘ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 55:10-11), ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΦ 'while a tunic (ΟΥ-CΤΧΑΡΙΟΝ) was placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) *upon him* (ΖΙΩ-Φ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).
- b) conjoins two zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. CΑΡΞ ΖΙ CΝΟΦ 'flesh (CΑΡΞ) *and* (ΖΙ) blood (CΝΟΦ)' (Onnophr. 206:25) (see above, section 3.1.5.2).

10. nom. st. ΑΧΝ-, ΕΧΝ- (assimilated forms ΑΧΗ-, ΕΧΗ-), pron. st. ΑΧΝΤ=, var. ΕΧΝΤ=

has an inherent negative meaning and asserts the absence of a particular individual or object, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΨΒ ΤΕΦΑΠΕ ΑΧΗ ΠΕΦΡΗΝΗ 'no one (ΡΩΜΕ) shall shave (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΒ) his head (ΤΕΦΑΠΕ) *without* (ΑΧΗ) his superintendent (ΠΕΦ-ΡΗΝ-Η)' (praec. Pach. 97), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΧΝΤΦ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), he (ΠΑΙ) *without whom* (ΕΧΝΤ-Φ) nothing (ΛΑΛΥ) happens (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ)' (Zen. 202:3).

11. nom. st. ΠΑΡΑ-, pron. st. ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=

is commonly used as a functional equivalent of the directional preposition Ε-, ΕΡΟ= in comparative constructions, e.g. ΦCΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (girl) (Ν-ΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ) is *better* (Φ-CΟΤΠ) *than* (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΩΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8), ΑΙΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΑΡΑ (for ΠΑΡΑ) ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ 'I have committed (Α-Ι-ΕΡ) sins (ΝΟΒΕ) *more than* (ΜΠΑΡΑ) *any* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 19b:1-3) ΟΥΧΩΨΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ '(is) he stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΨΕ) *than us* (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)' (Ac. A&P 202:110).

12. nom. st. **ΚΑΤΑ**-, pron. st. **ΚΑΤΑΡΟ**-

- a) As a correlative preposition, **ΚΑΤΑ** is widely used to express the idea of suitability or conformity, e.g. **ἵνα εἶπες κατὰ περὶ φάσε** 'I will act (**ἱ-να-εἶπες**) according to (**κατὰ**) your word (**περ-φάσε**)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), idiomatic **ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ** (< **τ-2θ** 'the manner') 'in the vein of, like', e.g. **ὥρα φθονῶντ κατὰ θεοῦ νῆτο γαλῶν** 'then he became angry (**ε-φά-φ-θωντ**) like (**κατὰ θεοῦ**) the holy ones (**ν-νέτ-ογῶν**)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21).
- b) can also have a distributional interpretation, e.g. **ψαρεῖς τειβννε ταγε μντςνοογς νλοογ νβννε κατὰ ρομπε ογλοογ κατὰ εβοτ** 'this date palm-tree (**τει-βννε**) brings forth (**ψαρε ... ταγε**) twelve (**μντςνοογς**) clusters (**ν-λοογ**) of dates (**ν-βννε**) per (**κατὰ**) year (**ρομπε**), one cluster (**ογ-λοογ**) per (**κατὰ**) month (**εβοτ**)' (Onnophr. 208:11-12).

3.2.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a basic preposition and another element specifying its basic spatial orientation. The second component of such compound prepositions is either a possessive noun phrase, e.g. **2N τμῆτε** **N-** 'in (2N) the midst (**τ-μῆτε**) of (**N-**)', or an incorporated "bare" noun, e.g. **ΝCΑ-** 'after' (< **N-** 'in' + **CA-** 'back', lit. 'in the back of').

3.2.2.1 Compound prepositions with possessive noun phrases

The object of compound prepositions like **2N ὅθι μῆτε** 'towards (2N- + **ὅθι** < **τ** + **2N** 'the forepart') the sailor (**μ-π-νέε**)' (Ac. A&P 194:7) is a possessive phrase, cf. figure 3.6.

BASIC PREPOSITION	POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE		
	POSSESSED NOUN	LINKER	POSSESSOR NOUN
2N on	ὅθι < τ + 2N the forepart	μ- of	π-νέε the sailor

FIGURE 3.6 The internal structure of compound prepositions

The possessed noun that specifies the locative meaning of the basic preposition is typically a place-indicating noun like **μῆ(ν)τε** 'midst', **μτο** 'presence' and **κωτε** 'surrounding', or a body-part expression like **2N** 'forepart', e.g. **μῆτε εβολ νν[ε]ρρ[ωογ]** 'in the presence (**μ-πε-μτο** **εβολ**) of the kings (**ν-νε-ρρ[ωογ]**)' (Eud. 44:8), **νῆτε ετμκωτε μῆμα ετεφαναχωρεῖ ν2Nτq** 'the villages (**ν-ῆτε**) that (**ετ-**) (were) in the neighbourhood (**μ-π-κωτε**) of the place (**μ-π-μα**) in (**ν2Nτ-q**) which he (Pachōm) lived as a hermit (**ετε-q-αναχωρεῖ**)' (V. Pach. 103a:18-20).

To derive the pronominal state form of such compound prepositions, the possessed noun is determined by the possessive article **πεq-** (sing. masc.), **τεq-** (sing. fem.), **νεq-** (plural) 'his', which expresses both definiteness and pronominal possession (see below, section 4.1.2.1 of the next unit), e.g. **μπεκμτο εβολ** 'before you (lit. in your presence (**μ-πεκ-μτο**))' (Camb. 8:20), **2Nτq2N** 'before me (lit. under (2N) my forepart (**τq-2N**))' (Eud. 34:26), **2N τεγμῆτε** 'in (2N) their midst (**τεγ-μῆτε**)' (Onnophr. 206:15), **νῆτε ετμπεκωτε** 'the villages (**ν-ῆτε**) which (were) (**ετ-**) in his neighbourhood (**μ-πεq-κωτε**)' (V. Pach. 3:26).

3.2.2.2 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

The by far most common compound prepositions involve the incorporation of a "bare" noun into a basic preposition, e.g. **ΝCΑ 2Nεψαξε νβρρε** 'after (< **N-** 'in' + **CA-** 'back') new (**ν-βρρε**) words' (**2Nε-ψαξε**)' (Hil. 1:18-19). The incorporated noun enters into two structural relations: it functions as the complement of the basic preposition, but at the same time serves as the head noun for the following prepositional object.

COMPOUND PREPOSITION		PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
BASIC PREPOSITION	INCORPORATED NOUN	
N- in	CA- back	2Nεψαξε νβρρε new words

FIGURE 3.7 Compound prepositions derived from noun incorporation

Table 3.6 lists the nominal and pronominal state allomorphs of the most common compound prepositions.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΕΤΝ-	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	to	ΝΤΝ-	ΝΤΟΟΤ=	from
ΖΙΤΝ-	ΖΙΤΟΟΤ=	by	ΖΑΖΤΝ-	ΖΑ(Ζ)ΤΗ=	besides, near
ΕΧΝ-	ΕΧΩ=	upon	ΖΙΧΝ-	ΖΙΧΩ=	upon, on
ΝCΑ-	ΝCΩ=	after	ΜΝΝCΑ-	ΜΝΝCΩ=	after
ΝΑΖΡΝ-	ΝΑΖΡΑ=	before	ΕΖΡΝ-	ΕΖΡΑ=	towards
ΖΑΡΝ-	ΖΑΡΩ=	before	ΖΙΡΝ-	ΖΙΡΩ=	at, upon
ΕΤΟΥΝ-	ΕΤΟΥΩ=	besides	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ-	ΕΠΑΖΟΥ	backwards
			ΜΜΟ=		of
ΕΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΕΡΑΤ=	to	ΖΑΡΑΤ= Ν-	ΖΑΡΑΤ=	beneath
ΖΗΤ= Ν-	ΖΗΤ=	before	ΕΤΒΕ-	ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	because of
ΝΒΛ-	ΝΒΛΛΑ=	except	ΝΟΥΕΩΝ-		without

TABLE 3.5 The inventory of compound prepositions

The pronominal paradigm of the compound prepositions ΕΤΟΟΤ= 'to', ΝCΩ= 'after', and ΖΑΡΑΤ= 'beneath' is presented in table 3.6.

	ΕΤΟΟΤ=	ΝCΩ=	ΖΑΡΑΤ=
1 st sing.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Γ	ΝCΩ=Ι	ΖΑΡΑΤ
2 nd sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Κ	ΝCΩ=Κ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Κ
2 nd sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ε	ΝCΩ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ε
3 rd sing. masc.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Q	ΝCΩ=Q	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Q
3 rd sing. fem.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=C	ΝCΩ=C	ΖΑΡΑΤ=C
1 st pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=Ν	ΝCΩ=Ν	ΖΑΡΑΤ=Ν
2 nd pl.	ΕΤΝ=ΤΗΥΤΝ	ΝCΩ=ΤΝ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΤΗΥΤΝ
3 rd pl.	ΕΤΟΟΤ=ΟΥ	ΝCΩ=ΟΥ	ΖΑΡΑΤ=ΟΥ

TABLE 3.6 The pronominal paradigm of compound prepositions

N.B. The incorporated noun in a compound preposition is historically derived from a body-part expression like ΤΕ- 'hand', ΡΑΤ- 'foot' or ΖΑ- 'face'. In the vast majority of cases, the anatomical meaning of the incorporated noun has been lost beyond recognition. This process of semantic bleaching is particularly evident when the compound preposition is construed with another body-part expression, e.g. ΑQZE ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΝ ΠQZO ΖΝ ΤΕΥΗΗΤΕ 'he (Pachōm) fell (Α-Q-ZE) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) on (ΕΧΝ < Ε- 'at' + Χ(Ε) 'head') his face (ΠΕQ-ZO) in (ΖΝ) their (the brothers') midst (ΤΕΥ-ΗΗΤΕ)' (V. Pach: 87:16-17).

Gaps in the inflectional paradigms of certain compound prepositions are compensated for by two auxiliary constructions:

- When a compound preposition has no nominal state allomorph, a predicational phrase with the locative preposition Ν- 'as' is added to the pronominal state form, e.g. <ΨΑ>ΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΜΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ 'until they came (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΕΙ) towards (Ε-ΡΑΤ-Q) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) martyr (Μ-Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:22-23). The pronominal state ΕΡΑΤ-Q contains an anticipatory pronoun that agrees in person, number and gender with the following noun phrase. The identity between the anticipatory pronoun and the co-referential noun phrase is indicated by the locative preposition Μ-. The defective preposition ΖΗΤ= 'forward, before' lacks an initial basic preposition besides a nominal state form, e.g. ΕCΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΤΗQ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙΝ ΠΕCΧΠΟ 'and she (Eudoxia) had reverence (Ε-C-P ΖΟΤΕ) for (ΖΤΗ-Q) God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) since (ΧΙΝ) her birth (ΠΕC-ΧΠΟ)' (Eud. 50:4-5).
- When a compound preposition has no pronominal state allomorph, the pronominal state ΜΜΟ= of the locative preposition Ν- is used as a suppletive form and simply juxtaposed with its nominal state allomorph e.g. ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ= 'backwards of', e.g. ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΗΕ ΝΗΡΩΗΕ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΝΑΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΦΩΝΕ 'the one (Π-ΡΩΗΕ) (responsible for) the sick (ΕΤ-ΦΩΝΕ) people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΗΕ) shall stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-Ω) behind them (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) on account of (ΕΤΒΕ) a brother (ΟΥCΟΝ) who will become sick (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΝΕ)' (praec. Pach. 129).

3.2.3 Particle modification

The addition of a small word or particle can specify the spatial orientation of various basic and compound prepositions. In an example like λ παλος $\varphi\omicron\sigma\varphi$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\eta$ $\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'Paulus leaped (λ ... $\varphi\omicron\sigma\text{-}\varphi$) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) from ($\gamma\eta$) the water ($\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$)' (Ac. A&P 198:62-63), the particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ 'up' underlines the upward directionality of the motion event being described. The most common reinforcing particles are the following ones:

1. $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'out'

The particle $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ indicates the departure from the point of origin of some motion event, e.g. $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\varphi\pi\iota$ (...) 'he (Apa Zênôn) came ($\lambda\text{-}\varphi\epsilon\iota$) out ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) of his cell ($\gamma\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\pi\iota$) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 179, 42:26), $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\varphi$ $\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\eta\rho\alpha\varphi\epsilon$ 'he (the official) went ($\lambda\text{-}\varphi\epsilon\iota$) away ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) from him (Pachôm) ($\gamma\iota\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\varphi$) very joyfully (lit. with ($\gamma\eta$) great ($\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$) joy ($\eta\text{-}\rho\alpha\varphi\epsilon$))' (V. Pach. 138:7-8).

2. $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'into', $\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'inside'

The particles $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'into' and $\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'inside' describe inward direction and inside location, respectively, e.g. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\psi$ $\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'so that ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) the apostles ($\eta\text{-}\lambda\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) could not go ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\epsilon\psi\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) into the city ($\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$)' (Ac. A&P 206:152) vs. $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ λ $\pi\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\kappa\omicron\gamma\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\iota\mu$ $\eta\mu\omicron\varphi$ $\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\tau\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ 'immediately ($\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$) the holy ($\pi\text{-}\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\gamma\varsigma$) Mercurius moved (λ ... $\kappa\iota\mu$) himself ($\eta\mu\omicron\varphi$) inside the shroud ($\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma\epsilon$)' (Mercur, Mir. 257:7-8), $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\varphi\pi\iota$ 'no one ($\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$) shall eat ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\omicron\gamma\eta$) anything ($\eta\kappa\alpha$) inside his cell ($\eta\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\pi\iota$)' (praec. Pach. 114).

3. $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ 'up, down'

The particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ is a polysemous expression that has two opposite semantic values: it may reinforce the upward or downward orientation of some movement, with the implication that the final destination has been reached. Thus, compare: $\lambda\varphi\eta\tau\varphi$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\omicron\gamma\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (...) 'he

(the angel) brought him (Constantine) ($\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\varphi$) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) to Constantinople ($\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\omicron\gamma\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$) (...)' (Eud. 42:27-28), $\lambda\varphi\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'he climbed ($\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) up ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the peak ($\tau\text{-}\alpha\pi\epsilon$) of the mountain ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$)' (Zen. 205:2) vs. $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ 'he (Christ) went ($\lambda\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$) to this place ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha$)' (Ac. A&P 202:103-104).

4. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ 'downwards'

To indicate the descending directionality of some motion event, the particle $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ is frequently used as an alternative for the polysemous particle $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$, e.g. $\eta\tau\epsilon[\rho\epsilon]\varphi\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\epsilon\lambda\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'when he (Christ) had gone ($\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varphi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) to Hell ($\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$)' (Ac. A&P 204:142-143), λ $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$ (read $\pi\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\varphi$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$ 'the camel ($\pi\text{-}\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\lambda$) put him (λ ... $\kappa\alpha\lambda\text{-}\varphi$) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the earth ($\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$)' (Mercur, Mir. 265:11-12), $\eta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\eta\zeta\eta\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$ $\eta\pi\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'for ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) (there) was ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\gamma\eta$) a great ($\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma$) heat ($\eta\text{-}\zeta\eta\mu\epsilon$) down ($\eta\pi\epsilon\sigma\chi\tau$) in that ($\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$) place ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19).

3.3 Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial phrases are sentence modifiers that bear a close semantic relation to the verb and its arguments (subject, object). Adverb modifiers contribute to the semantic interpretation of the clause they modify by providing information about the temporal and spatial setting of some state of affairs or about the circumstances under which it took place. Coptic has no specialized derivational morphology to create adverbial expressions from nouns and adjectives. Rather, adverbial adjuncts are either derived from prepositional phrases or involve adverbially used noun phrases.

3.3.1 Genuine Adverbs

Coptic has a rest category of sentence modifiers that are not derived from prepositional phrases:

1. The interrogative pronoun **των** 'where'

indicates a questioned location, e.g. **εΤΕΤΝCΥΝΑΓΕ των** 'where (των) do you attend Mass (ε-ΤΕΤΝ-CΥΝΑΓΕ)?' (Onnophr. 221:11).

2. The epistemic adverbs **αρηγ** and **μεψακ** 'perhaps'

signal the non-commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance, e.g. **αρηγ αqμογ** 'perhaps (αρηγ) he (Απα Ptolemaios) died (α-q-μογ)' (KHML II 34:6), **μεψακ ογν ογα ναμεεγε εqσωτμ xe (...)** 'perhaps (μεψακ) on hearing (it) (ε-q-σωτμ), someone (ογα) might think (να-μεεγε) that (xe) (...)' (Zen. 200:12-13), **μεψακ ηπογωψ ηπχοεic αν πε πωαχε ενταιχοοq** 'maybe (μεψακ) the word (π-ωαχε) (that) I have spoken (εντ-α-ι-χοο-q) (is) not (αν) the will (π-ογωψ) of the Lord (η-π-χοεic)' (V. Pach. 85a:20-23).

The locative preposition **ν-** and the directional preposition **ε-** are extremely widespread adverbial markers. Despite the fact that such adverbs have the morphological structure of prepositional phrases, there is good reason to believe that what we are dealing with is a distinct type of adverb formation. To begin with, the complement of **ν-** and **ε-** marked adverbs is not an existing noun in Coptic. Moreover, these adverbs have a specialized meaning and function that differs from that of the corresponding locative or directional phrase:

3. The weak deictic adverb **ημαγ** 'there'

The locative adverb **ημαγ** 'there' indicates distance from the deictic center, i.e. the place and time of the speech situation, e.g. **αλλα ειc κεφυχη ημαγ** 'but (αλλα), look (ειc), (there was) another soul (κε-φυχη) there (ημαγ)' (Ac. A&P 202:111). It also expresses deictic remoteness, e.g. **πμα ετμηαγ** 'that place' (lit. the place (π-μα) which ((ετ-) (is) (over) there (ημαγ))' (Onnophr. 206:11) (see section 4.1.1.3 of Unit 4 for a more detailed discussion of its use as a distal demonstrative).

4. The frequency adverb **ημηνε** 'daily'

The temporal adverb **ημηνε** 'daily' indicates recurring or habitual actions, e.g. **xeκac ερεσω εqμαγ εpoc ημηνε** 'so that (xeκac) he (Zeno) could continue (ε-q-σω) to see (ε-q-μαγ) her (Hilaria) (εpο-с) daily (ημηνε)' (Hil. 12:9-10).

5. The adverb of temporal location **ncoy-** 'on day'

e.g. **αqер μαρτυpoc εxη πpαν ηπενχοεic ic πεx̄c (...)** **ncoyμνητη ηπεβοt** **zawp** 'he (Απα Mena) became (α-q-ep) a martyr (μαρτυpoc) for (εxη) the name (π-pαν) of our Lord (η-πεν-χοεic) Jesus Christ (πε-x̄c) (...) on the fifteenth day (ncoy-μνητη) of the month (η-π-εβοt) Hathôr' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:12-19).

6. The degree adverb **εματε** 'much, greatly'

A variety of **ν-** and **ε-**marked adverbs have function as degree adverbs or focus particles. The high degree modifier **εματε** 'much, greatly', for instance, describes the enormity or vastness of some action, e.g. **νεqπολιτεγε δε εματε** 'he (Pachôm) performed ascetic labours (νε-q-πολιτεγε) greatly (εματε)' (V. Pach. 103a:6-7).

7. The restrictive focus particle **ηματα** 'only, merely'

The focus particle **ηματα** 'only' has an exclusive meaning and expresses the singularity of events or participants, e.g. **μη εκνακαατ ncωκ εtre ουzωb ηματα** 'will you abandon me (lit. put me (ε-κ-να-καα-τ) behind you (ncω-κ)) because of (εtre) one thing (ουzωb) only (ηματα)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82), **ητα πlogoc βοιλε ευρωμε ηματα νεε noγa ηνεπροφητης παρχαιος** 'the word (π-λογoc) merely (ηματα) dwelled (ητα ... βοιλε) in a human being (ε-γ-ρωμε) like (νεε ν-) in one (ογα) of the ancient (η-αρχαιος) prophets (η-νε-προφητης)' (Zen. 204: 11-12).

8. The scalar focus particle **ΕΝΕΞ** 'ever, never'

The focus particle **ΕΝΕΞ** 'ever, never' evaluates the truth of a sentence with respect to a temporal continuum, e.g. **ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΗΠΑΘΟΣ ΕΝΕΞ** 'the one (ΠΑΙ) who behaves thus (lit. of this kind (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ)) will not (ΜΕΡΕ) ever (ΕΝΕΞ) become (ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙΣ) over any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (Ν-ΠΑΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:9).

3.3.2 Adverbially used noun phrases

Noun phrases that refer to temporal intervals or points on a scale may be used as frequency adverbs or adverbs of temporal location without further qualifications, e.g. **ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ** 'Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (ΝΕΡΕ ... †) them (the Persian kings) (ΝΑ-Υ) gifts (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ) annually (ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Eud. 42:14), **ΤΑΡΧΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCIC** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (ΤΑΡΧΗ) when they enter (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the life of a hermit (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΗCIC)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15). Reiterated "bare" noun phrases are associated with a distributive reading, e.g. **ΑΥΤ[ΡΕΥΝΗCΤΕΥΕ] ΔΕ CН[ΑΥ] [CН]ΑΥ** 'they made them fast (Α-Υ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ) two on two (i.e. two succeeding days) (CНΑΥ CНΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:22).

The deictic expression **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ** (< **ΤΕ-ΟΥΝΟΥ** 'the hour') 'now, then, but now' does not usually have a temporal meaning, but rather serves as an attention marker, which signals the immediate relevance of what will be communicated next. In this function, **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ** is commonly used to add force to directive speech-acts (orders, commands, requests), e.g. **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ** 'now then (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟ-Ν)!' (Eud. 68:10), **ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΛΩΗΡΕ CΩΤΗ ΝCΩΙ** 'but now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), my son (ΠΛ-ΩΗΡΕ), listen (CΩΤΗ) to me (ΝCΩ-Ι)!' (KHML II 33:13-14).

3.3.3 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs generally describe the way in which some event or activity is performed. Coptic manner adverbs are prepositional phrases involving the locative-instrumental preposition **ΖΗ** 'with, through, by means of' and an indefinite noun phrase, which designates a mental or

psychological state, e.g. **ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑQΧΙΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟC ΜΠΙCΤΙC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ** 'he (the official) (ΝΤΟQ) accepted them (Pachôm's bounty) (Α-Q-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) faith (Η-ΠΙCΤΙC) towards (ΕΖΟΥΝ) God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 138:6-7), **ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕQΧΩ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΝΤΧΑCΙΖΗΤ** (...) 'when he (Diocletian) said (Ε-Q-ΧΩ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) with (ΖΗ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) arrogance (Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΧΑCΙ-ΖΗΤ)' (Eud. 36:17), **ΑQΟΥΩΨΕ ΝΑQ ΝCΙ ΠΕQCΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥCΩΝΤ** 'his brother (ΠΕQ-CΟΝ) answered (Α-Q-ΟΥΩΨΕ) him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Q) angrily (ΖΗ ΟΥ-CΩΝΤ)' (V. Pach. 1:17-18).

a) Postverbal placement

Manner adverbs tend to follow the verb and the direct and indirect object as closely as possible. The preferred word order is DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL LOCATION ADVERBS, as seen in: **ΑQΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤCΟΟΥΖC ΖΗ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΑΨΑΖΟΗ** 'he (Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) (Α-Q-ΗΝΤ-ΟΥ) into the convent (ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-Τ-CΟΟΥΖC) downhearted (lit. in (ΖΗ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΗΚΑΖ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΜΗ) (with) a sigh (ΑΨ-ΑΖΟΗ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11), **ΑΥΩ ΑQΠΩΡΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΕQCΙΧ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡC ΧΙΝ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΨΑ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Pachôm) lifted (Α-Q-ΠΩΡΨ) his hands (Ν-ΗΕQ-CΙΧ) up (ΕΖΡΑΙ) to God (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) weeping (ΖΗ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-С) night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) from (ΧΙΝ) evening (ΡΟΥΖΕ) till (ΨΑ) dawn (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3), **ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑQΧΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΟΥCΕΠΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕCΙΩΝ** 'right away (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ), he (Constantine) sent (Α-Q-ΧΟΟΥ) quickly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-CΕΠΗ) (a message) to (ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε-CΙΩΝ) Zion' (Eud. 70:18).

b) Conjunction of manner adverbials

Two or more manner adverbs can be joined together by the connective **ΜΗ** (see above, section 3.1.5.2). Since noun phrases can be headed by a single preposition only, the adverbial preposition **ΖΗ** is left out in the second conjunct, e.g. **[ΑΥΩ ΕΤΡΕΥ]ΕΙ ΖΗ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΜΗ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑ[ΤΡΟ]ΟΥΨ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) that they come (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) negligently (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ) and (ΜΗ) (with) an unconcerned (Ν-ΑΤ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) attitude (ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ)' (Camb. 8:8-9), **ΑQΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤCΟΟΥΖC ΖΗ ΟΥΗΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΑΨΑΖΟΗ** 'he

(Pachôm) brought them (the utensils) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the convent (Ε-Τ-COΟΥΖC) *downhearted* (lit. in (ΖΝ) a sadness (ΟΥ-ΗΚΛΖ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) and (ΗΝ) (with) a sigh (ΛΨ-ΛΖΟΗ)' (V. Pach. 6:10-11).

3.3.4 Cognate objects

Cognate objects derive their name from the fact that they contain a copy of the main verb. In Coptic, cognate objects are syntactically encoded as manner adverbs. There are no selectional restrictions with respect to the type of verb they modify, witness the fact that transitive as well as intransitive verbs can co-occur with such cognate objects, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΛΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΗΓΛΥ (read ΤΗΓΛΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Λ-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΤΗΓΛΥ) *very securely* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΛΦΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΦCΩΒΕ ΖΝ ΟΥCΩΒΕ ΕΦΟΥΛΛΒ 'he (the holy Apa Mercurius) came (Λ-Φ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ) laughing (Ε-Φ-CΩΒΕ) a *holy* (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) *laugh* (ΖΝ-ΟΥ-CΩΒΕ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:6-7), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in a *dying* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

Cognate objects convey a quantificational meaning and indicate the high degree or amount of the activity or state referred to by the main verb, e.g. ΛΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΗΝΟΥΝΟC (for ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC) ΝΡΑΨΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) *rejoiced* (Λ-Φ-ΡΑΨΕ) about it (ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) with (ΖΝ) *great* (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *joy* (Ν-ΡΑΨΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:21-22), ΜΗΝCΑ ΟΥΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΛΦΨΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩΝΕ 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) some time (ΟΥ-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ) he (the brother) became very sick (lit. he became sick (Λ-Φ-ΨΩΝΕ) in a *great* (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΝΟC) *sickness* (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ))' (AP Chaine no.1, 1:4-5), ΛΓΩ CΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΗΜΟΝ ΖΝ <ΖΕΝ>ΚΟΛΛCΙC ΕΥΝΑΨΤ 'and (ΛΓΩ) we will be punished (lit. they will punish (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΚΟΛΑΖΕ) us (ΗΜΟ-Ν))' in (ΖΝ) *severe* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑΨΤ) *punishments* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΛΛCΙC)' (Onnophr. 208:2-3).

3.3.5 Greek adverbs

The inventory of Coptic sentence modifiers is supplemented with a variety of Greek loan adverbs, many of which are morphologically marked by the ending -ΩC (see above, section 1.4.1.4 of Unit 1). Particularly common examples are:

1. The manner adverbs ΚΑΛΩC 'well, rightly' and ΚΑΚΩC 'badly'

e.g. ΛΦΧΕ (read ΛΦΧΕΚ) ΠΕΦΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC 'he (the brother) accomplished (Λ-Φ-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) his (life)-time (ΠΕΦΑ-ΖΕ) *badly* (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chaine no. 1, p.1:3-4), ΚΑΛΩC ΛΦΧΟC ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝCΑΖ ΤΗΡΝ ΠΕΧC ΖΗ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ 'rightly (ΚΑΛΩC) said (Λ-Φ-ΧΟC-C) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the scribe for all (ΤΗΡ-Ν) of us (ΠΕΝ-CΑΖ) in (ΖΗ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (Abbatôn 229:9-11), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΩΗ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (ΝΕ-ΝΤΑ-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC) (are) the ones who reached (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ) the measure (Π-ΩΗ) of the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

2. The degree adverbs ΖΩΛΩC 'entirely, altogether, at all'

is particularly common in negated sentences, e.g. ΛΓΩ ΜΠΕΡΟΥΨ ΕCΩΤΗ ΕΤΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΙΑ ΖΩΛΟC 'and (ΛΓΩ) do not wish (ΜΠΕΡ-ΟΥΨ) to listen (Ε-CΩΤΗ) to slander (Ε-Τ-ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑΙΑ) *at all* (ΖΩΛΟC)' (Test. Is. 233:27-28), ΝΦΤCΟ ΑΝ ΖΩΛΟC ΦΩΨΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ 'he (the pagan commander) *does not restrain* (himself) (Ν-Φ-Τ CΟ) at all (ΖΩΛΟC), since (ΓΑΡ) he imprisons (Φ-ΩΨΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ)' (KMHL II 29:13-14).

3. The temporal adverb ΤΟΤΕ 'then'

introduces a new chain of events and hence marks a major transition in the development of the story-line, e.g. ΤΟΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) Andreas said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to them (the Jews) (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Ac. A&P 196:37), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΥΕΝ ΠΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΕΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) they brought (Α-Υ-ΕΝ) the blessed (Π-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΟC) Apa Nahrow to the theatre (Ε-Π-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 4:6-7)

4. The modal adverb $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ 'no doubt'

implies uncertainty on the part of the speaker, e.g. $\pi\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\pi\tau\omega\psi$ $\mu\pi\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 'it ($\pi\epsilon$) (is) *no doubt* ($\pi\alpha\tau\omega\varsigma$) the predestination ($\pi\tau\omega\psi$) of God ($\mu\pi\eta\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) that you came ($\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$)' (Hil. 4:31-32).

Key Terms:

Head-dependent distinction	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category. The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Nominal compounds	Coptic has two types of nominal compounds, analytic and synthetic ones. Analytic compounds consist of two components, which have a fully specified lexical meaning. In synthetic compounds, on the other hand, the head noun has a grammaticalized meaning and function.	§3.1.2
Adjectival modification	In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head as well as dependent nouns. Such attributive phrases are marked by the linking marker $\mathbf{n-}$.	§3.1.3
Nominal possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by the connectives $\mathbf{n-}$ and $\mathbf{\eta\tau\epsilon}$ 'of'.	§3.1.4

Noun coordination	Coptic has several markers to express the notion of "and" in the nominal domain, ranging from basic prepositions like $\mathbf{\mu\eta\eta}$ and $\mathbf{\gamma\eta}$ to clausal conjunctions like $\mathbf{\lambda\gamma\omega}$.	§3.1.5
Appositions	are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify.	§3.1.6
Prepositional object	the noun or pronoun that complements the preposition to form a prepositional phrase.	§3.2.1
Nominal vs. pronominal state form	Basic and compound prepositions have context-dependent allomorphs that are dependent on the nominal or pronominal character of the prepositional object. These allomorphic forms are called the nominal or pronominal state of that preposition.	§3.2.1
Adverbial modifiers	adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about.	§3.3
Cognate objects	constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. $\mathbf{\gamma\eta}$ $\mathbf{\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon}$ in $\mathbf{\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon}$ $\mathbf{\gamma\eta}$ $\mathbf{\omicron\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon}$ 'to laugh in a laugh'.	§3.3.4

- (3) $\zeta\eta$ οὐεῖρηνι (η-/ντε) πνοῦτε 'in (2N) a peace (οὐ-εῖρηνι) of God (π-νοῦτε)' (Test. Is. 228:2)
- (4) νεζοοῦ (η-/ντε) πατριάρχης εἰσαὰκ 'the days (νε-ζοοῦ) of the patriarch (π-πατριάρχης) Isaac' (Test. Is. 229:1-2)
- (5) πνοβνεσ (η-/ντε) νταμαλῦ 'the mockery (π-νοβνεσ) of my mother (τα-μαλῦ)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:19).

C. Translate the following attributive or possessive noun phrases:

- (1) οὔνοσ νψωνε (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1: 5)
- (2) οὔαποτ νηρη (AP Chaîne no. 16, 3:17)
- (3) πμα νηχωμε (V. Ant. 6:9)
- (4) πεθρονος ντηντερο (Hil. 2:3)
- (5) ψεερε сенте нсзime (Hil. 2:5)

D. Translate the following appositional phrases into English:

- (1) πζαγιос πετροс παρχнеπισκοπος (Hil. 3:28)
- (2) псрan же maria (Test. Is. 231:9) (πε-с 'her')
- (3) διοκληδιανос прро наномос (Mena. Mir. 7b:4-6)

3.4 Noun coordination

A. Fill in the proper conjunction, e.g. тπε ____ пка2 → тπε ηη пка2 'heaven (т-πε) and (ηη) earth (π-ка2)' (Eud. 46:12):

- (1) ζενсioγ нpoγ2ε ____ ζенсioγ н2тооγe 'the evening (η-ρογ2ε) and the morning (η-2тооγe) stars (ζен-сioγ)' (Hil. 1:10-11)

- (2) πμα ηπpиме ____ πδa2ε2 ηноβ2ε 'the place (π-μα) of weeping (η-π-рime) and gnashing (π-δa2ε2) of teeth (η-η-об2ε)' (Ac. A&P 204:142)

B. Translate the following coordinate noun phrases:

- (1) η сw[не] [η с2im]е η ψη[pe] (KHML I 73:2)
- (2) η-каисар λγw η-αγτωκратop (Mercur, Martyrd. 256:12)
- (3) ζη οусбpaзт ηη ογoγxαι (AP Chaîne no.5, 2:23)

3.5 Simple and compound prepositions

A. Fill in the correct nominal or pronominal state form of the preposition in the following table.

NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ετβε πноῦτε	__=q	because of, for
__ πноῦτε	εpo=q	to, towards
__ πноῦτε	ηπεqηito εβολ	in the presence of

B. Complete the following sentences by selecting the correct preposition or adverbial modifier.

- (1) (ηηηηсa/2η) ψite δε ηpомπε εсψооп (2ен/η-) ηειηοσ ηηαскγсic (read ηαскγсic) 'after nine (ψite) years (η-ромπε) that she (Hilaria) continued (ε-с-ψооп) in these great (ηει-ηοσ) mortifications (η-αскγсic)' (Hil. 6:34-35)
- (2) ac† (2иωс/η2ηтс) ηογсхηηα ηсπαθapиос 'she (Hilaria) put (a-с-†) on her a knight's (η-сπαθapиос) garment (η-ογ-схηηα)' (Hil. 3:14-15)

- (3) ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΕ ΟΥΡΕΜΝΗΜΕ ΠΕ (ΚΑΤΑ/ΠΑΡΑ) ΠΕΦΓΕΝΟΣ 'the holy (Π-ΠΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena was (ΝΕ-) an Egyptian (ΟΥ-ΡΕΜ-ΚΗΜΕ) *by* origin (ΠΕΦ-ΓΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-7)
- (4) ΑΦΣΛΟΒΛΟ ΕΧΗ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ (ΖΗ/ΜΗ) ΝΦΒΙΧ 'he (the angel) smoothened (Α-Φ-ΣΛΟΒΛΟ) (ΟΗ) (ΕΧΗ) my body (ΠΑ-ΣΩΜΑ) *with* his hands (ΝΦ-ΒΙΧ)' (Onnophr. 209:3-4)
- (5) ΑΝΟΚ ΨΟΟΠ (ΝΗΜΑΚ/ΝΑΚ) (ΖΙΤΗ/ΖΗ) ΗΛ ΝΙΜ 'I am (ΨΟΟΠ) *with* you in every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΗΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 9b:21-23)
- C. Translate the following prepositional phrases.
- (1) ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ (praec. Pach. 94)
- (2) ΕΡΟ (Mena, Mir. 27a:22)
- (3) ΖΙΤΟΟΤ (KHML I 1:5)
- (4) ΕΧΗ ΟΥΣΠΗΛΙΟΝ (Onnophr. 205:16)
- (5) ΖΑΡΑΤΦ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ (Eud. 32:12-14)
- (6) ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΜΗΝΨΕ (Ac. A&P 196:47)

Unit 4

Deixis, interrogation, quantification

This Unit deals with a closed class of nominal-functional elements that perform some of the most fundamental functions of language: deixis (locating entities), interrogation (asking questions), and quantification (counting things). As a technical term of grammar, deixis means 'pointing by language'. The label "demonstratives" is used as a cover term for grammatical items like *this* and *that*, which accomplish this task of pointing. Apart from this localising function, demonstratives can also serve anaphoric functions and keep track of previously mentioned discourse entities. Section 4.1 reviews the deictic and anaphoric uses of Coptic demonstratives.

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts, which signal a request for information on the part of the speaker about something he believes that the addressee knows. The missing piece of information is indicated by question words like *who* or *what*. Coptic has a fairly extensive class of such question words, which will be discussed in section 4.2. Another topic of this section concerns dedicated interrogative particles that type the clause they modify as a question.

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* are interpreted as general statements about a particular kind or species. This interpretation is imposed by the quantifier *all* in the noun phrase *all birds*. Section 4.3 examines the semantic properties and syntactic distribution of quantificational expressions in Coptic. Dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur, such quantifiers assume different interpretations.

4.1 Deixis

Sahidic Coptic has an elaborate system of deictic expressions. These fall into two classes: demonstratives and possessives. Demonstratives, such as the such as the pronominal article *πει-* 'this' in *πει-ρωμε* 'this man' express a deictic relation proper and locate individuals or objects in the vicinity of the speaker. Possessive demonstratives, on the other hand, such as the possessive article *πεq-* 'his' in *πεqcon* 'his brother', indicate not so much closeness to the speaker, but rather a relationship between two discourse entities referred to by the possessor and the possessed noun.

All demonstratives and possessive are morphologically derived from the deictic root *π-* (singular masculine), *τ-* (singular feminine), *ν-* (plural). They are formally distinguished with respect to a particular vowel pattern and with respect to prosodic status as a bound or free morpheme. While some deictic expressions function exclusively as pronouns, such as the demonstrative pronoun *παι* 'this one' or the possessive pronoun *πω-ι* 'mine', others are used as articles on demonstratively or possessively determined noun phrases, such as the above mentioned demonstrative article *πει-* 'this' or the possessive article *πεq-* 'his'.

4.1.1 Demonstratives

In Sahidic Coptic, there are two types of demonstratives, which are deictically contrastive: proximal demonstratives refer to entities near the speaker and distal demonstratives to entities that are located at a certain distance away from the speaker. Proximal and distal demonstratives can function either as pronouns or as determiners (so-called demonstrative articles). In addition, there are the enclitic deictic pronouns *πε* (singular

masculine), *τε* (singular feminine) and *νε* (plural), which are restricted to nominal sentences, where they fulfil anaphoric and agreement-marking functions (see above, section 2.4.3 of Unit 2). The full inventory of Coptic demonstratives is presented in table 4.1. All demonstrative forms appear in their singular masculine form:

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE	<i>πει-ρωμε</i> , <i>πι-ρωμε</i> this man (here)	<i>πι-ρωμε ετμμαι</i> that man (over there)
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	<i>παι</i> this one (here)	<i>πετμμαι</i> that one (over there) <i>πη</i> that one (over there)
ENCLITIC DEICTIC PRONOUN	<i>πε</i> this one, he	

TABLE 4.1 Demonstratives

Due to its obsolete status, the distal demonstrative pronoun *πη* is only marginally attested in literary Sahidic, e.g. *εις πεχc μπειμα η πη* 'Iool (εις) Christ (πε-χc) (is) in this place (here) (μ-πει-μα) or (η) that one (πη)' (AP Chaîne no.146, 32:25), *αγω πη ναςωπι μπινογζ ντεγνοι* 'and (αγω) that one (πη) will (να) break up (the connection) (lit. cut of (ςωπι) the rope (μ-πι-νογζ)' immediately (ντεγνογ)' (AP Elanskay: 24a:22-23). It will not be considered in the following description of the morphologically fully productive demonstratives.

4.1.1.1 The demonstrative article *πει-*, *πι-*

The demonstrative article takes two shapes, the full form *πει-* /pej-/ 'this' and the short form *πι-* /pi-/ , the latter being the result of monophthongization, i.e. the phonological reduction of a diphthong to a single vowel: *pej-* → *pi-*, e.g. *πει-μα* (KHML I 3:8) vs. *πι-μα* 'this place' (Hil. 5:27). Number and gender distinctions yield the six forms in table 4.2 below:

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
FULL FORM	πει- /pej-/	τει- /tej-/	νει- /nej-/
SHORT FORM	πι- /pi-/	† (var. τι-) /ti-/	νι- /ni-/

TABLE 4.2 The demonstrative article πει-/πι-

The allomorphic character of the εἰ /ej/ ~ ι /i/ interchange is particularly evident in co-ordinated noun phrases, where the full and reduced forms of the demonstrative article occur side by side, e.g. ἀΐνε ΝΤΙΠΥΓΗ (for ΠΙΓΗ) ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΙΒΝΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΣΠΑΛΙΟΝ 'I discovered (ἀ-ι-ΐνε) *this well* (τι-πιγῆ) of water (μ-μού) together with (μν) *this date tree* (τει-βνε) and (μν) *this cavern* (πει-σπαλίον)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11), ἐφθοον 2Ν ΤΕΙΑΝΑΧΩΡΗΣ ΜΝ ΠΙΣΟΡΕΖΤ 'while he (Αρα Μena) lived (ε-φ-θοον) in (2Ν) *this isolation* (τει-αναχωρησις) and (μν) *this peace* (πι-σορεζτ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:19-21).

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The most important deictic and anaphoric functions of the demonstrative article πει-, πι- are the following:

a) Spatial deixis

As a deictic pointer, the proximal demonstrative article is typically used to direct the addressee's attention to some individual or object in the vicinity of the speaker, e.g. †[ΝΑΖΩΤΕ ΜΜΟ] 2Ν ΤΕΙΧΗΕ ΕΤ2Ν ΤΑΟΙΧ 'I will kill (†-να-ζωτε) you (μμο) with (2Ν) *this sword* (τει-χηε) in (ετ-2Ν) my hand (τα-οιχ)' (Mena, Mir. 29a:4-7), ἀλῆως μπειναγ εχοι ενε2 ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΙΧΟΙ 'verily (ἀλῆως), never ever (ενε2) have I seen (μπε-ι-ναγ) a ship (ε-χοι) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) *this ship* (in front of me) (πει-χοι)' (KHML I 81:4-5).

b) Anaphoric use

Apart from this localising function, the demonstrative article is widely used to keep track of previously mentioned discourse referents, e.g. α ΠΕQΖΗΤ ΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΦΑΧΕ 'his (Pachôm's) heart (ΠΕQΖΗΤ) became acrid (α ΝΟΥC) because of (ετβε) *this little* (πει-κουι) (previously described) *argument* (Ν-Φαχε)' (V. Pach. 1:20), ἀγω ΝΤΟΚ ΚΟΥΦ ΕΕΜΤΟΝ 2Ν ΤΕΙΦΜΟΥΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'and (ἀγω) you (ΝΤΟΚ), do you want (κ-ουφ) to find peace (ε-εμτον) in *these* (mere) *eight* (τει-φμουνε) *years* (Ν-ρομπε) (mentioned previously in the conversation)' (AP Chafne no. 34, 7:3).

c) Discourse deixis

The demonstrative article may refer to previous events and thus establish a link between two propositions: the one in which it occurs and the one it keeps track of, e.g. ἀγω ΝΤΕΙ2Ε ΑΦΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡC 'and (ἀγω) in *this manner* (Ν-τει-2ε) (as previously depicted), he (Pachôm) cried (α-φ-ω) out (εβολ) to (ε2ραι) God (ε-π-νουτε) the entire (τηρ-с) night (τε-γψη)' (V. Pach. 2:14-15). Occasionally, it adopts a cataphoric function and anticipates what is to be communicated in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΗΟΥ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΝΑΦΩΠΕ (...) ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΙΦΑΧΕ 'the blessings (νε-сηου) may be (να-φωπε) (...) with (μν) those who listen (Ν-ετ-сωτη) to *these* (i.e. the following) *words* (ε-νει-φαχε)' (Test. Is. 228:6-7).

d) Generic interpretation

The proximal demonstrative article may impose non-specific or generic interpretation on the determined noun in much the same way as the definite article (see above, section 2.2.2.1 of Unit 2 for some discussion on non-specific and generic definites), e.g. ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙCΟΟΥ ΕΦΑΥΒΙ (for ΕΦΑΥΦΙ) ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΥΦΩC 'like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) *sheep* (νει-сооу) whose shepherd (ΠΕΥ-φωс) had been taken away (ψα-γ-φι lit. *they take away*) from them (ΝΤΟΟТ-ου)' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1), ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΑΙΤΟC '(wings) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) *eagles* (νι-αιτοс)' (Onnophr. 211:26-27). When reference

is made to kinds, the plural form **NI-** may even vary with the indefinite plural article **ZEN-**, e.g. **NIM ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΛΛΕ ΕΡ[ΑΤ]Q ΕΜΙΦΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΖΟΟΡ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΤΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΙΑΡΞ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟQ ΠΕΤΝΑCΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΜΙΦΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΜΟΥΙ ΑΧΝ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΖΙ CΒΩ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) that would stand up (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ ΕΡΑΤQ) to fight (Ε-ΜΙΦΕ) with (ΜΝ) *dogs* (ΝΕΙ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ) or (Η) who (ΝΙΜ) would struggle (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΤΤΩΝ) with (ΜΝ) *bears* (ΝΙ-ΑΡΞ), who (ΝΙΜ), indeed (ΝΤΟQ), would set out (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-CΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ) to fight (Ε-ΜΙΦΕ) with (ΜΝ) *lions* (ΖΕΝ-ΜΟΥΙ) without (ΑΧΝ) plan (ΨΟΧΝΕ) and (ΖΙ) counsel (CΒΩ)' (Camb. 8:15-18).

e) Emotive use

The proximal demonstrative article may be used to express emotional deixis, reflecting the speaker's attitude towards the referent of the determined noun phrase. Contrary to what is stated in most Coptic grammars, both the full form **ΠΕΙ-** and the short form **ΠΙ-** may assume a pejorative meaning and function. Compare: **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΙΡΕCΦΗΝΟΒΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ), *this sinner* (ΠΕΙ-ΡΕC-Φ-ΗΝΟΒΕ) (KHML II 53:15), **ΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟC ΧΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ** 'that criminal (ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟC) Diocletian' (Eud. 34:15-16) vs. **ΑΝΟΚ ΠΙΡΕCΦΗΝΟΒΕ** (V. Pach. 2:10) 'this sinner' **ΠΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟC** 'that criminal' (Mena, Mir. 30b:18); **ΝΕΙΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ** 'those godless (ΝΕΙ-ΑΤ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ)' (Eud. 58:24), **ΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΙC** 'the place (Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of that Nazarene (Μ-ΠΙ-ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC) Jesus' (Eud. 52:27-28). The demonstrative article may also express the speaker's empathy and affection for the discourse referent in question, e.g. **ΕΥΟΥΩΩ ΕΧΩ ΜΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΕΙΝΟC ΝCΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗC ΝΤΕ ΠΕΧC ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ** 'wishing (Ε-ΥΟΥΩΩ) to proclaim (Ε-ΧΩ) the honour (Μ-ΠΙ-ΤΑΙΟ) of *this great* (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) soldier (Ν-CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗC) of (ΝΤΕ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Απα Μena' (Mena, Enc. 36a:15-20), **ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΕΤΝ** (read **ΟΥΝΤΗΥΤΝ**) **ΗΜΑΥ ΜΠΙΝΟC ΜΠΡΕCΒΕΥΤΗC ΖΑΖΤΗ ΠΧΟΕΙC** 'because (ΧΕ) you have (ΟΥΝ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) *this great* (Μ-ΠΙ-ΝΟC) intercessor (Μ-ΠΡΕCΒΕΥΤΗC) before (ΖΑΖΤΗ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (KHML II 58:16-18).

4.1.1.2 The demonstrative pronoun ΠΑΙ

Demonstrative pronouns are free morphemes, which may appear in all nominal positions of the clause. They are morphologically distinguished from the demonstrative article through the invariant vowel pattern /ai/: **ΠΑ** (singular masculine), **ΤΑΙ** (singular feminine), **ΝΑΙ** (plural) 'this one, these ones'.

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

Demonstrative pronouns serve two major purposes. As deictic expressions, point out someone or something in the visual field of the speech participants. As anaphoric expressions, they serve as functional equivalents of third person pronouns.

a) Spatial deixis

The original spatio-deictic meaning of the demonstrative pronoun **ΠΑΙ** is particularly clear when the speaker notices a strange individual, object or location in his immediate surroundings and has a question about it, e.g. **ΑΝΤΟΠΟC ΝΕ ΝΑΙ** 'what kind (ΑΦ) of places (Ν-ΤΟΠΟC) (are) *these* (ΝΑΙ) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140), **ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΗΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΙ ΑΛ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC** 'what (ΟΥ) (is) the sin (Π-ΝΟΒΕ) that *this one* (ΠΑΙ) has done (ΝΤ-Α ... ΑΛ-Q), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Test. Is. 234:11-12).

a) Anaphoric use

Proximal demonstrative pronouns as an alternative for personal pronouns when a discourse participant is mentioned for the second time, e.g. (there was a Samaritan woman in the city Alexandria) **ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟ ΝΩΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ** '(as for) *her* (ΤΑΙ), there was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a serious (ΟΥΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΩΩΝΕ) in (ΖΝ) her head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)' (Mena, Mi 26a:13-16), **ΝΤΑ ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΤΟΟΤ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΕCΜΠΩ** 'fc (ΓΑΡ) *this (person)* (ΠΑΙ) (i.e. the disobedient monk) has asked (ΝΤ-Α . ΑΙΤΕΙ) something (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) from me (ΝΤΟΟΤ) beyond (ΠΑΡΑ) his merit (ΠΕC-ΜΠΩ)' (V. Pach. 140:15-16).

b) Discourse deixis

Demonstrative pronouns may assume a recapitulative function, referring back to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. $\alpha \text{ παι } \psi \omega \pi \epsilon \text{ } \mu \mu \omicron \iota$ 'this (i.e. the fall from the throne) (παι) happened (ψωπε) to me (μμο-ι)' (Eud. 36:7-8), $\epsilon \tau \beta \epsilon \text{ } \pi \alpha \iota \text{ } \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \psi \omega \pi \epsilon \text{ } \zeta \eta \text{ } \eta \tau \alpha \rho \tau \alpha \rho \omicron \varsigma \text{ } \psi \alpha \text{ } \pi \epsilon \rho \omicron \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \mu \eta \tau \alpha \pi$ 'because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil) you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ψωπε) in (ζη) the Tartaros (η-τ-αρ-τα-ρ-ος) until (ψα) the day (πε-ρ-ο-ο-υ) of the judgment (η-π-η-τ-α-π)' (Ac. A&P 202:127-128), $\kappa \alpha \iota \text{ } \delta \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \phi \eta \nu \text{ } \mu \mu \omicron \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \zeta \eta \text{ } \omicron \gamma \nu \omicron \varsigma \text{ } \mu \mu \eta \tau \chi \alpha \varsigma \iota \zeta \eta \tau$ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-η-ν) these (words) (και) with (ζη) great (ο-γ-ν-ος) arrogance (η-μ-η-τ-χ-α-ς-ι-ζ-η-τ)' (Eud. 36:17). Demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used cataphorically, anticipating upcoming information, e.g. $\kappa \alpha \iota \text{ } \eta \epsilon \text{ } \eta \epsilon \psi \alpha \chi \epsilon \text{ } \eta \epsilon \beta \beta \iota \omicron \text{ } \eta \tau \alpha \rho \varsigma \zeta \alpha \iota \varsigma \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \epsilon \tau \epsilon \pi \iota \varsigma \tau \omicron \lambda \eta$ 'these (και) (are) the humble (η-ε-β-β-ι-ο) words (η-ε-ψ-α-χ-ε) that he wrote (η-τ-α-ρ-ς-ζ-α-ι-ς-ο-υ) in the letter (ε-τ-ε-π-ι-ς-τ-ο-λ-η)' (Hil. 7:20-21).

c) Appositional use

In the context of emphatic deictic reference, demonstrative pronouns appear as appositions to demonstratively determined noun phrases. They fulfil similar functions as appositionally used independent pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2), e.g. $\lambda \gamma \omega \text{ } \eta \epsilon \rho \epsilon \text{ } \pi \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \epsilon \upsilon \epsilon \text{ } \pi \alpha \iota \text{ } \psi \tau \omicron \rho \tau \rho$ $\mu \mu \omicron \varsigma$ 'and (λγω) this very (παι) thought (πει-με-ε-υ-ε) troubled (η-ε-ρ-ε ... ψτ-ο-ρ-τ-ρ) him (μμο-ς)' (Hil.10:18-19), $\eta \varsigma \epsilon \phi \iota \text{ } \pi \rho \omicron \varsigma \phi \omicron \rho \alpha \text{ } \eta \zeta \eta \tau \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \zeta \eta$ $\pi \epsilon \iota \rho \omicron \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \pi \alpha \iota$ 'and they should offer (η-ς-ε-φ-ι) the Eucharist (π-ρ-ο-ς-φ-ο-ρ-α) in them (i.e. the churches) (η-ζ-η-τ-ο-υ) on (ζη) this very (παι) day (πει-ρ-ο-ο-υ)' (Eud. 40:10), $\pi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \nu \text{ } \pi \alpha \iota \text{ } \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \nu \rho \omega \mu \epsilon \text{ } \eta \alpha \tau \pi \lambda \alpha \theta \omicron \varsigma \text{ } \eta \epsilon$ (read $\pi \epsilon$) 'this thing (πει-ρ-ω-ν παι) (i.e. to take a girl into a monk's cell) is only for (πα-) people (ζ-ε-ν-ρ-ω-μ-ε) free from passions (η-α-τ-π-α-θ-ο-ς)' (Hil. 9:7-8).

4.1.1.3 The distal demonstrative $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$

The distal demonstrative $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'that, those' is, syntactically speaking, a relative clause, consisting of the relative complementiser $\epsilon \tau$ - and the locative adverb $\eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'there': $\pi \rho \omega \mu \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'that man' (lit. 'the man

(π -ρ-ω-μ-ε) that ($\epsilon \tau$ -) (is) over there ($\eta \mu \alpha \gamma$)). It functions both as a postnominal modifier and as a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, consider: $\pi \rho \omicron \nu \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'that brother' (V. Pach. 140:30) vs. π - $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'the latter' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:26-27).

	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
ARTICLE	$\pi \rho \omega \mu \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ that man	$\tau \epsilon \varsigma \zeta \eta \mu \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ that woman	$\eta \epsilon \rho \omega \mu \epsilon \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ those people
PRONOUN	$\pi \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ that one	$\tau \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ that one	$\eta \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ those

TABLE 4.3 The distal demonstrative $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The distal demonstrative $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'that, those' works in the opposite direction of the proximal demonstrative article $\pi \epsilon \iota$ - and its pronominal counterpart $\pi \alpha \iota$. It indicates remote deixis, i.e. distance away from the speaker. When used anaphorically, $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ refers to less prominent (i.e. non-topical) discourse entities.

b) Spatial deixis

As a spatial-deictic expression, $\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ draws the addressee's attention to entities or objects that are located far away from the speaker, e.g. $\eta \varsigma \omicron \tau \tau \eta \text{ } \eta \delta \iota \text{ } \pi \eta \omicron \upsilon \text{ } \eta \tau \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma \text{ } \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \text{ } \pi \omega \nu \zeta \text{ } \eta \tau \alpha \iota$ 'the death (π -η-μ-ο-υ) of *that* (*daughter*) (η -τ-ε-τ-η-μ-α-γ) (far away from me) is better (η -τ-ε-τ-η-μ-α-γ) than (π -α-ρ-α) the life (π -ο-ν-ζ) of this (*daughter*) (η -τ-α-ι) (here with me)' (Hil. 8:7-8). It may also indicate distance in time, e.g. $\pi \delta \iota \alpha \beta \omicron \upsilon \lambda \omicron \varsigma \text{ } \lambda \epsilon \kappa \omega \zeta \text{ } \mu \pi \epsilon \omicron \gamma \omicron \epsilon \iota \psi \text{ } \epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$ 'the devil (π -δ-ι-α-β-ο-υ-λ-ο-ς) got jealous (λ -ε-κ-ω-ζ) in *that* ($\epsilon \tau \eta \mu \alpha \gamma$) *time* (η -π-ε-ο-γ-ο-ε-ι-ψ)' (Onnophr. 207:14).

c) Anaphoric use

When used anaphorically, the distal demonstrative **εΤΗΜΑΥ** quite frequently refers to less important protagonists, whose exact identity is not considered relevant for the development of the story-line, e.g. **ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ** 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which *that demon* (Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) did (ΝΤ-Α Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Η-ΠΕΘΟΟΥ)' (KHML II 53:8-9), **ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΦΑΙΤΙ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΜΠΑΠΟΙ ΕΤΡΕΦΟΥΟΗ** 'there was also another brother in that place who was very sick) (ΑΥΩ) *that one* (ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) asked (ΝΕ-Φ-ΑΙΤΙ) the brothers (ΝΕCΝΗΥ) who serviced (ΕΤ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) for a small (Η-ΠΑΠΟΙ lit. chicken) bird (Η-ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΗΤ) to eat (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΟΥΟΗ-Φ)' (V. Pach. 143:19-20). It is sometimes used as a free-choice pronoun, designating any arbitrary individual or object that fits a particular description, e.g. **ΒΩΚ ΝΓΤΟCΚ ΕΥCΟΝ ΕΦΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ [ΖΝ] ΤΗΝΤΡΕΦΡΖΟΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΚΝΑΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΩΚ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'go (ΒΩΚ) and attach yourself (ΝΓ-ΤΟC-Κ) to *some brother* (Ε-Υ-CΟΝ) who fears (Ε-Φ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) through (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) the devoutness (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΕΦ-Ρ-ΖΟΤΕ) of *that one* (Η-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) you, too (ΖΩΩ-Κ), will fear (Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.4, 2:17-18).

d) Emotive use

The distal demonstrative **εΤΗΜΑΥ** may express emotional deixis, reflecting emotional distance on the part of the speaker, e.g. **ΜΗΝCΑ ΖΕΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΑΦΗΦΕ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) a few days (Η-ΖΟΟΥ) more (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) *that* (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (disobedient) *brother* (Π-CΟΝ) cooled down (Α-Φ-ΗΦΕ)' (V. Pach. 140:30), **ΑΙΛΟ ΖΑ ΖΝΑΥ ΝΙΗ ΝΤΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'I left (Α-Ι-ΛΟ ΖΑ) every (ΝΙΗ) possession (ΝΑΥ) of (ΝΤΕ) *that* (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (wicked) *woman* (ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ)' (Onnophr. 208:9).

e) Correlative use of ΠΑΙ and ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ

When the proximal demonstrative pronoun **ΠΑΙ** 'this one' and its distal counterpart **ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** 'that one' occur side by side, the former refers back

to the discourse entity that was mentioned first and the latter to the one that was mentioned subsequently, e.g. **ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** '(It happened in the second year of the reign of Valentian (and) Diocletian after the overthrowing of Numerian, the one who was king before them). *The former* (ΝΑΙ) (i.e. Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) from *the latter* (Η-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. Numerian)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

4.1.2 Possessives

Unlike the proximal or distal demonstratives considered so far, possessive forms are generally distance neutral, meaning that they primarily describe a possessive relationship between two entities rather than their relative position to the speaker. There are three sets of possessive forms: the possessive article, the possessive prefix, and the possessive pronoun. The possessive article functions exclusively as a prenominal determiner, while the possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun are free morphemes. The possessive prefix and the possessive pronoun differ from each other with respect to their vowel pattern as well as to the nominal or pronominal character of the possessor.

	NOMINAL POSSESSOR	PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR
POSSESSIVE ARTICLE	εΙ	ΠΕΦ-ΕΙΩΤ his father
POSSESSIVE PREFIX	ΠΑ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ He of God (proper name)	
POSSESSIVE PRONOUN		ΠΩ-Φ his (one)

TABLE 4.4 Possessive demonstratives

4.1.2.1 The possessive article ΠΕΦ-

The possessive article consists of two morphemes. One is the full form or the definite article **ΠΕ-** (singular masculine), **ΤΕ-** (singular feminine) and **ΝΕ-** (plural) and the other is a bound pronoun which designates the

b) As a determiner of time-indicating nouns

e.g. *μπερραστε αρζμοος επβημα νοι ζαρμενιος ζμ πεθεαδρον* 'on the (lit. *his*) next day (*μ-περ-ραστε*) Armenius sat down (*α-ρ-ζμοος*) on the tribune (*ε-π-βημα*) in (*ζμ*) the theatre (*πε-θεαδρον*)' (KHML I 76:8-9), (in combination with a numeral) *εζτοογε μπαμεζωμντ νζοογ* 'on the morning (*ε-ζτοογε*) of my third (*μ-πα-μεζ-ωμντ*) day (*ν-ζοογ*)' (Eud. 58:12-13), *ενε περωμντ πε εμπερωγωμ* 'while (*ε-*) it (*πε*) was (*νε-*) his (Pachôm's) third (day) (*περ-ωμντ*) that he had not eaten (*ε-μπε-ρ-ογωμ*)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).

4.1.2.2 The possessive prefix *πα-*

The possessive prefixes *πα-* 'he of' (singular masculine), *τα-* 'she of' (singular feminine) and *να-* form a prosodic complex with the following noun phrase. They represent the phonologically reduced counterpart of the demonstrative pronoun *πα:* *pa:* → *pa-*.

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

As the terminology suggests, the possessive prefix *πα-* designates the possessed item and the following noun the possessor, e.g. *πα-πνουτε* [*he-of* (*πα-*) God (*π-νουτε*)] 'Paphnoute (he of God) (a proper name)'.

a) Partitive use

The demonstrative possessive prefix *πα-* picks out entities from a given discourse domain, whose exact identity are not specified or questioned, e.g. *ναπτμε συνα ετμμαγ* 'the inhabitants (of) (*να-*) those (*ετμμαγ*) two (*συνα*) villages (*π-τμε*)' (KHML II 52:21-22), *παπεδεσποτης* 'something (of) (*πα-*) the sovereign (*πε-δεσποτης*)' (Hil. 3:20), *ντωτν νααω μπολις* 'which (*αω*) city (*μ-πολις*) (are) you (*ντωτν*) inhabitants (of) (*να-*)' (KHML I 80:6). When used as a partitive expression, the possessive prefix is commonly found with reference to descent, ethnicity or social background, e.g. *απα φενουτε παπτοογ νατρηπε* 'Ara Shenute from (*πα-*) the mountain (*π-τοογ*) of Atripe (*ν-ατρηπε*)'

(KHML II 22:5-6), *ναπερμη* 'those (of) (*να-*) his (Isaac's) household (*περ-μη*)' (Test. Is. 231:25).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In elliptical contexts, the possessive prefix is used as a so-called sense-of-identity pronoun, which is anaphorically related to, but not exact identical with the referent of an antecedent noun phrase, e.g. *ερε περρ πορω εβολ εχμ περρωμα νοε μπανεπαρταλhc* 'while (*ερε*) his (the hermit's) hair (*περ-ρω*) was spread (*πορω*) out (*εβολ*) over (*εχμ*) his box (*περ-ρωμα*) like (*νοε μ-*) that of (*πα-*) panthers (*νει-παρταλhc* (Onnophr. 210:2-3).

4.1.2.3 The possessive pronoun *πω-*

Different vowel patterns exist for the singular and plural forms possessive pronoun *πω-ρ* 'his one' (lit. the one of him). Further note that the *ω* /*ο*/ *ογ* /*υ*/ alternation is not dependent on the vocalic or consonantal nature of the incorporated pronoun.

PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR	SINGULAR MASCULINE	SINGULAR FEMININE	PLURAL
1 st sing.	πωι	τωι	νογι
2 nd sing. masc.	πωκ	τωκ	νογκ
2 nd sing. fem.	πω	τω	νογ
3 rd sing. masc.	πωρ	τωρ	νογρ
3 rd sing. fem.	πωc	τωc	νογc
1 st pl.	πων	των	νογν
2 nd pl.	πωτν	τωτν	νογτν
3 rd pl.	πωογ	τωογ	νογογ

TABLE 4.6 The forms of possessive pronoun *πω-*

□ CONTEXTUAL USES

The possessive pronoun $\pi\omega\text{-}\eta$ 'his one' (lit. the one of him) represents the pronominal counterpart of the possessive prefix $\pi\alpha\text{-}$. But unlike the possessive prefix, the possessive pronoun $\pi\omega\text{-}$ attracts stress and therefore represents the phonologically intact head of the entire construction: $\pi\omega\text{-}\eta$ [*he-of* ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}$) *of-him* ($-\eta$)] 'his one, his'.

a) Partitive use

The possessive pronoun $\pi\omega\text{-}$ is commonly used as the predicate of a nominal sentence to indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, e.g. NOYI NE 'they (NE) (are) *mine* (NOYI)' (V. Pach. 4:23), $\text{TEZOYCIA T\omega K TE P\pi\alpha\text{NTOKP}\alpha\text{T\omega P}$ 'the power (TEZOYCIA) (is) *yours* (T\omega K), (God) Almighty ($\text{P}\pi\alpha\text{NTOKP}\alpha\text{T\omega P}$)' (Test. Is. 235:19).

b) Sense-of-identity use

In coordinate structures of the kind *my books and yours* (i.e. *your books*), it commonly functions as a sense-of-identity pronoun, e.g. $\text{P}\alpha\text{OYXAI MN P\omega K}$ 'my salvation ($\text{P}\alpha\text{-OYXAI}$) and (MN) *yours* ($\text{P}\omega\text{K}$)' (KHML II 33:1), $\text{AMOY NTAMO I EP\tau\omega NNAT\omega\epsilon MN NOYK}$ 'come (AMOY) and show me (NTAMO-I) the border ($\text{E-P}\pi\text{-TO}\omega$) between my bricks ($\text{N-NA-T\omega\epsilon}$) and (MN) *yours* (NOYK)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:29-30); similarly in comparative constructions: $\text{A}\epsilon\text{P}\pi\theta\epsilon\text{MEI}$ (for $\text{E}\pi\theta\gamma\text{MEI}$) NT\omega\epsilon (read NNT\omega\epsilon) $\text{M}\pi\epsilon\text{TOY}\lambda\lambda\epsilon \text{N}\zeta\text{OY}\text{O ENOY}\eta \text{T}\eta\text{POY}$ 'he (the magistrate) desired ($\text{A}\epsilon\text{-P}\pi\theta\epsilon\text{MEI}$) the bricks ($\text{N-N-T\omega\epsilon}$) of the saint ($\text{M}\pi\epsilon\text{TOY}\lambda\lambda\epsilon$) more ($\text{N}\zeta\text{OY}\text{O}$) than all ($\text{T}\eta\text{P-OY}$) (of) *his* ($\text{E-NOY}\eta$)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:13-14).

4.2 Interrogation

Questions are pragmatically marked speech-acts designed to elicit information. One commonly distinguishes two types of interrogative sentences, namely constituent questions and yes/no questions. Constituent or word questions are also known as *wh*-questions, since most English

questions words begin with a *wh*-sequence. The syntax of Coptic question words and their contextual uses are addressed in section 4.2.1, while section 4.2.2 is concerned with yes/no questions, with particular attention for interrogative particles. Finally, section 4.2.3 briefly discusses so-called rhetorical questions, i.e. interrogative sentences that are not used for the purpose of triggering a response.

4.2.1 Constituent/*wh*-questions

Wh-questions are typically used when the speaker and the addressee share some knowledge about some state of affairs, but one piece of information is missing in the speaker's file. The queried element is represented by a question word. The most common Coptic question words are listed below.

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
NIM	who	OYH(H)P	how much, many
OY	what	E\tau\epsilon OY	because of what, why
A\omega	which, what	NA\omega N\zeta\epsilon	in what manner, how
T\omega N	where	A\zeta\text{PO}=\text{}	what about, why

TABLE 4.7 The inventory of Coptic question words

Coptic question words show some degree of affinity with special indefinites, witness the fact that predicatively used interrogative pronouns may be determined by the singular or plural forms of the indefinite article, e.g. $\text{NTK OY}\text{OY}$ 'what (kind of man)(are) (OY-OY) you (NTK)?' (Sh. 38:17), $\text{ZEN}\lambda\omega \text{MINE NE}$ 'they (NE) (are) *what* ($\text{ZEN-}\lambda\omega$) kind (of people) (M-MINE)?' (Ac. A&P 198:68).

4.2.1.1 The syntactic placement of question words

Coptic *wh*-questions exhibit special morphosyntactic properties that distinguish them from declarative clauses. Some of the items listed in table 4.7 above function exclusively as pronouns, e.g. OY 'what', and some determiners, e.g. $\text{A}\omega \text{N}\zeta\omega\text{B}$ 'which ($\text{A}\omega$) matter ($\text{N-}\zeta\omega\text{B}$)'. Others function either as pronouns or as determiners, e.g. NIM 'who' vs. $\text{NIM N}\pi\text{PO}$ 'who

not tell me), *where* (ΤΩΝ) he had put it (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Ε-ΚΑΑ-Ε) (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:23-24), but may also refer to the point of departure of some movement, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΘΟΝ 'where (ΤΩΝ) are you coming (from) (Ε-Κ-ΝΗΥ), my brother (ΠΑ-ΘΟΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). To specify its spatial orientation, it is frequently combined with the directional preposition ε- 'to' or the particle ΕΒΟΛ 'out', e.g. ΕΡΒΟΚ ΕΤΩΝ 'where (Ε-ΤΩΝ) are you (woman) going (ΕΡ-ΒΟΚ) to?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22), ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'from where (ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ) did you come (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΙ) to this place?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

When the question word ΤΩΝ assumes a predicative function, the nominal subject undergoes inversion to the clause-final position, while its base-position is occupied by a co-referential subject pronoun, e.g. ΕΓΤΩΝ ΠΤΑΦΟΣ ΗΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'where (is) (ΤΩΝ) the tomb (Π-ΤΑΦΟΣ) of my lord (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 58:25) (see above, section 10.1.5.2 of Unit 10).

4. ΑΨ 'what (kind)'

is mainly used as the determiner of partitive interrogative phrases, e.g. ΑΨ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ 'what (kind) (ΑΨ) of places (Ν-ΤΟΠΟΣ) (are) these (ΝΑΙ) (places) (in front of us)?' (Ac. A&P 204:140). Particularly common is the questioned manner phrase ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how' (lit. in what (Ν-ΑΨ) of manner (Ν-ΖΕ), e.g. ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ 'how (Ν-ΑΨ (Ν-ΖΕ) did you come (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 206:29).

5. ΟΥΗ(Η)Ρ 'how much, how many'

functions as a degree modifier in interrogative and exclamative sentences. Thus, compare: ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'look (ΕΙC), how much (ΟΥΗΗΡ) time (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ) (has passed), since (ΧΙ(Ν)) you came (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) here? (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:33-34) vs. ΤΗΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΖΟΥΥ ΝΟΥΗΡ '(you have seen) how (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) evil (ΖΟΥΥ) the pitilessness (ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΝΑ) is' (KHML II 51:13-14).

6. ΑΖΡΟ= 'what about, how come'

Unlike other interrogative expressions, ΑΖΡΟ= is positionally restricted to the topmost position of the interrogative sentence it modifies. It is

typically used when the condition of participants or non-participants of speech situation is at issue, e.g. ΑΖΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΗΝ ΡΩΜΕ 'what about (ΑΖΡΟ=Ι) with (ΗΝ) mankind (ΡΩΜΕ) (i.e. what do I have to do w people)?' (AP Chaîne no.3, 2:13), ΑΖΡΟΚ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ 'what (is) (it) about (ΑΖΡΟ=Κ) (i.e. what is the matter with you), my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ (KHML II 29:7-8). The incorporated pronoun of the ΑΖΡΟ= phrase is referential with the subject of the associated clause, e.g. ΑΖΡΟΚ ΕΚΡ ΖΟ Ω ΠΖΜΖΑΛ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'how come (ΑΖΡΟ=Κ) (that) you are afraid (Ε-Ι ΖΟΤΕ), oh (Ω) servant (Π-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)?' (Onnophr. 206:23).

4.2.2 Yes-no questions

Yes/no questions are interrogative sentences that seek comments on a degree of truth of the questioned proposition and can appropriately be answered by the equivalents of the words *yes* and *no* in English. There are two varieties of yes/no questions in Coptic: those that are introduced by interrogative particle and those that lack such lexicalised question cues.

4.2.2.1 Unmarked yes/no questions

Unmarked yes/no questions take exactly the same form as the corresponding declarative clauses, e.g. ΑΠΑ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΨΠΝΨΩΠ ΨΑΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΩΩΚ 'Abba (ΑΠΑ), if (ΕΡΨΑΝ) something frightening (ΟΥ-ΖΟΤΕ) happens (ΨΩΠΕ) all of a sudden (ΖΗ ΟΥΨΠΝΨΩΠ) will you be afraid (ΨΑ-Κ-Ρ ΖΟΤΕ), too (ΖΩΩ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no.35, 7:5), ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΜΗΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'is it good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) to repent (one's sin many times (lit. to give (†) many (ΖΑΖ) repentances (ΜΗΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ))?' (AP Chaîne no.131, 30:1), ΗΠΡΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΝΑΡ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΕ ΗΠΕΖΟΥ 'have you (woman) not heard (ΗΠ-Ρ-ΩΤΗ) that (ΧΕ) the night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ) will become (ΝΑ-Ρ) bright (ΟΥΘΕΙΝ) like (ΝΕΕ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ [Psalm 138:12]?' (KHML I 81:6-7). Such unmarked yes/no questions were in all likelihood distinguished from simple declaratives by means of question intonation pattern.

4.2.2.2 Yes/no questions with interrogative particles

Coptic makes productive use of interrogative particles, some of which are drawn from the native stock, for instance **ENE**, while others are borrowings from Greek, for instance **MH**. These lexicalised question cues must be placed in clause-initial position. For this reason, interrogative particles are in complementary distribution with subordinating complementisers. Interrogative particles indicate not only the interrogative force of the clause within their scope, but also serve various rhetorical and pragmatic purposes.

1. **ENE**

is a neutral interrogative particle, which is compatible with a positive or negative response, e.g. **ENE OYAGATHON EQXHK EBOA TE THNTATZNAAY** '(ENE) (is) the state of not having property (T-MNT-AT-ZNAAY) something (E-Q-XHK EBOA) perfectly good (OY-AGATHON)?' (AP Chaîne no.29, 5:28-29).

2. **EIE**

introduces a focused yes-no question, where the speaker is not in doubt about the truth of an entire proposition, but rather a single element thereof, which will consequently attract question focus, e.g. **EIE MPEKSWTM NTAK** (for NTOK) **ETBE PWHP E MPESTRATYLAATHC MPRPO X<E> MPT CA** (for CO) **EPQC** '(EIE) have you not heard (MPE-K-SWTH) about (ETBE) the son (P-WHP) of the king's (M-P-PPO) general (M-P-STRATYLAATHC), that (XE) I did not pardon (MPT-CA CO) him (EPQ-C)?' (KHML I 73:27-28).

3. **MH**

involves a systematic bias towards a negative response when formulated in the affirmative, e.g. **MH AKOYΩ ETAKA OYKANTALAWN ENECNHY MNNCΩI** '(MH) did you intend (A-K-OYΩ) to let me leave (E-TAKA) an offence (OY-KANTALAWN) for the brothers (E-NE-CNHY) (coming) after me (MNNCΩ-I)?' (V. Pach. 92:11-12), and towards a positive response, when formulated in the negative, e.g. **MH MPENAΥ EPPOY MPECNAΥ POYEW**

MH TOYMAAY '(MH) haven't you (woman) seen (MPE-NAΥ) them (EP both (M-PE-CNAY), (namely) your father (POY-EWT) and (MH) mother (TOY-MAAY)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.2.3 Rhetorical questions

Unlike the information-seeking questions considered so far, so-called rhetorical questions are never uttered with the purpose of being answered but rather are declarative statements in disguise, e.g. **MH EITAIHY ANOK EPAXOIC** '(MH) am I (ANOK) more (E-ZOY(O)) honoured (E-I-TAIHY) than the Lord (E-PA-XOIC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7) (implied meaning: I am *not*...), **EIE NTA NIM APOTACCE MPEOY ETPOYET MPEKOC NTEIZE NΘE NTAI** '(EIE) who (NIM) has renounced (NT-A ... APOTA the vain (ET-POYET) glory (M-P-EOY) of this (inferior) (M-PI-KOCMO) in such a manner (N-TEI-ZE) like (NΘE) this (N-TAI)?' (Hil. 12:31-32) (implied meaning: *no one but this girl* renounced ...), **OY PE HP OY PE BINOYWH OY PE LAAY MHOT NTE PEIKOCMO NNAZRN TEXAPIC MPEXC** 'what (OY) (is) wine (i what (OY) (is) food (BIN-OYWH), what (OY) (is) any (LAAY) coin (MOTNEC) of (NTE) this world (PEI-KOCMO) compared to (NNAZRN grace (TE-XAPIC) of Christ (M-PE-XC)?' (KHML II 35:16-18) (im meaning: *nothing* compares to the grace of Christ).

4.3 Quantification

Quantificational sentences like *all birds fly* can be decomposed into layers of meaning: one is the propositional content (i.e. *birds fly*) and the other is the quantification, which is brought about by the prenominal determiner *all*. The quantifier *all* has an exhaustive interpretative meaning that the totality of a domain of discourse entities must be taken into consideration. This section reviews the inventory of quantificational expressions in Sahidic Coptic. Quantifiers fall into different classes depending on what kind of quantificational relation they describe. Universal quantifiers like **NIM** 'every, each' exhaustively specify an entire domain of discourse entities, while cardinal quantifiers like **ZAQ** 'n

most' have a proportional reading and specify smaller or larger parts of some domain of discourse entities. By contrast, indefinite pronouns like $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ 'someone, anyone' pick out any arbitrary member of some domain. Non-identity pronouns $\kappa\epsilon$ 'other' and $\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ 'same', on the other hand, indicate the sameness or distinctness of a given item from the one already mentioned. Finally, there are so-called emphatic reflexives like $\zeta\omega\omega=\alpha$ in $\nu\tau\omicron\alpha\zeta$ $\zeta\omega\omega\alpha$ 'he *himself*' that place the referent of the nominal or pronoun constituent they modify into the centre of attention.

TYPE OF QUANTIFIER	INVENTORY		
UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS	NIM every, each	THP= entire, all	
CARDINAL QUANTIFIERS	ΖΑΖ many	ΚΟΥΙ few	ΖΟΥΟ more
INDEFINITE (FREE CHOICE) PRONOUNS	ΟΥΟΝ Someone	ΛΑΛΥ Someone	ΟΥΑ Someone
(NON)IDENTITY PRONOUNS	ΖΟΥΝΕ Some	ΜΕΩΕ NIM So-and-so	
	ΚΕ other	ΟΥΩΤ same	
EMPHATIC REFLEXIVES	ΖΩΩ= self	ΜΑΥΑΑ= alone,	ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ= own

TABLE 4.8 The quantifier system of Sahidic Coptic

The semantic distinctions and contextual uses of different quantificational expressions of the same class will be examined in the following sections. Particular attention will be drawn to the different interpretations of Coptic quantifier expressions that are largely dependent on the syntactic context in which they occur.

4.3.1 Universal quantifiers

Coptic has two universal quantifiers that express the notions of exhaustiveness, completeness or totality of a given discourse domain. One is the distributive quantifier **NIM** 'every, all' and the other the holistic quantifier **THP=** 'entire, complete'. These two universal quantifiers are in complementary distribution with one another.

1. **NIM** 'every, all'

quantifies over a domain of discrete, i.e. countable entities or objects can only be combined with kind-referring "bare" noun, e.g. $\rho\mu\eta\rho\alpha\eta$ **NIM** '(as for) *every* (**NIM**) dignitary ($\rho\mu\eta\rho\alpha\eta$)' (praec. Pach. 115), $\rho\epsilon\eta$ **NIM** $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $[\epsilon]\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\zeta\eta$ $\tau\alpha\mu\eta\tau\rho\rho\omicron$ '*every* (**NIM**) human ($\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ race (**GENOC**) which lives ($\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\tau$) in ($\zeta\eta$) my kingdom ($\tau\alpha\mu\eta\tau\rho\rho$ (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-22). The distributive universal quantifier **NIM** generally occurs in series where the antecedent noun designates one of major ontological categories, such as *person, thing, place, time*, e.g. $\rho\omega$ **NIM** 'everybody' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), $\zeta\omega\epsilon$ **NIM** 'everything' (Eud. 54:1 Pach. 5:7). In combination with indefinite pronouns, it forms a maximally generic expression, such as $\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta$ **NIM** (Test. Is. 228:8) or $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ **NIM** 'everyone' (Onnophr. 219:8).

- Universally quantified noun phrases with **NIM** are semantically underspecified with respect to grammatical number, as evident from singular or plural specification of a co-referential pronoun, e.g. $\rho\alpha$ **NIM** $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\chi$ $\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ '*everybody* ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ **NIM**) who ν throw ($\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\eta\epsilon\chi$) garbage ($\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$) out ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) of *his* house ($\mu\pi\eta\eta$)' (Eud. 52:26-27), $\zeta\omega\epsilon$ **NIM** $\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\alpha\iota$ '(concerning) *everyth* ($\zeta\omega\epsilon$ **NIM**), tell it ($\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$) (lit. tell them) to me ($\mu\alpha\eta$)!' (Eud. 54:17).
- In negative sentences, the universal quantifier has an indefinite interpretation 'anyone', e.g. $\mu\epsilon\iota\psi\epsilon\iota\eta$ (for $\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$) $\eta\epsilon\alpha$ $\tau\alpha\mu\tau\omicron\eta$ $\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\zeta\omega\alpha$ (for $\zeta\omega\epsilon$) $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta$ **NIM** $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ 'I did not κ ($\mu\epsilon\iota\psi\epsilon\iota\eta$) for ($\eta\epsilon\alpha$) my comfort ($\tau\alpha\mu\tau\omicron\eta$) in ($\zeta\eta$) anything ($\lambda\eta$ $\eta\zeta\omega\epsilon$) more than ($\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$) *anyone* ($\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta$ **NIM**) of you ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau$ (V. Pach. 88:28-29).

2. **THP=** 'entire, all'

represents some domain of discourse entities as an entirety. The holistic universal quantifier **THP=** differs from its distributive counterpart **NIM** in two respects. First, it modifies definitely and indefinitely determined noun phrases as well as personal pronouns, but cannot be combined with a ze determined "bare" noun. Second, it contains a pronominal suffix that

the same person, number and gender specification as the antecedent noun or pronoun, e.g. **πκαζ τηρϣ** 'the *entire* (τηρ-ϣ) earth (π-καζ)' (Ac. A&P 200:80), **τεγϣη τηρς** 'the *entire* (τηρ-ς) night (τε-γϣη)' (Onnophr. 218:30), **μμανψωπε ννεψυχουε τηρου** 'the dwelling places (μ-μανψωπε) of *all* (ν-τηρ-ου) souls (ν-νε-ψυχουε)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), **πεϣωμα τηρϣ** 'his *whole* (τηρ-ϣ) body (πεϣ-ωμα)' (praec. Pach. 92), **†παρακαλει μμωτην τηρτην ζμ πεχ̄ς** 'I beseech (†-παρακαλει) you (μμω-την) *all* (τηρ-την) in (ζμ) Christ (πε-χ̄ς)' (Hil. 7:25).

- The quantificational adverb **ε-π-τηρ-ϣ** 'entirely, at all' ranges over events and activities, e.g. **αλλα χε λϣψταμ ννεϣβαλ ετμδωψτ εροϣ επτηρϣ** 'but (αλλα) because (χε) he has shut (λ-ϣ-ψταμ) his eyes (ν-νεϣ-βαλ) not to see (ε-τμ-δωψτ) it (the sun) (ερο-ϣ) *at all* (επτηρϣ)' (Zen. 200:27-28).

4.3.2 Cardinal quantifiers

Cardinal quantifiers like **ζαζ** 'many' have a proportional interpretation and indicate subparts of some discourse domain.

3. ζαζ 'many, most'

denotes the larger or largest portion of a contextually given set of entities, e.g. **ζαζ νρεμαο ντε τπολις** 'many (ζαζ) rich people (ν-ρεμαο) of (ντε) the city (τ-πολις)' (KHML I 72:1), **αγω νερ ζαζ** (read **νερε ζαζ**) **ον ζν νεσνηγ ρειμε** (for **ριμε**) 'and (αγω) many (ζαζ) of (ζν) the brothers (νε-σνηγ) wept (νερε ... ριμε), too (ον)' (V. Pach. 90:17). When used as a pronoun, the cardinal quantifier **ζαζ** is conventionally interpreted as having human reference, e.g. **νεψαρε ζαζ γαρ ναγ εροϣ εϣϣωδε επεσντ ζμ πρπε** 'because (γαρ) many (people) (ζαζ) used to (νε-ψαρε) see (ναγ) him (the demon) (ερο-ϣ) jumping (ε-ϣ-ϣωδε) down (επεσντ) from (ζμ) the temple (π-ρπε)' (KHML II 53:6-7).

4. κογι 'some, a few'

is a paucal quantifier, which expresses a low degree or proportionality and is always determined by the indefinite article. When modifying mass nouns, the cardinal quantifier **κογι** is determined by the singular form **ογ-**,

e.g. **ογκογι νζμογ** 'a *little* (ογ-κογι) salt (ν-ζμογ)' (V. Pach. 5:4 **μννκα ογκογι δε νογοειψ** 'after (μννκα) a *short* (ογ-κογι) while (ι ογοειψ)' (Zen. 201:24), and the plural form **ζεν-** when it modifies count noun, e.g. **ζεν[κογι ν]δαμογλ** 'a *few* (ζεν-κογι) came (ν-δαμογλ)' (Mena, Mir. 8a:31-b:1), **μννκα ζενκογι δε ον νζοϣ** 'after (μννκα) a *few* (ζεν-κογι) days (ν-ζοϣ)' (Mercur, Mir. 263:21).

5. ζογο 'more'

is a degree quantifier that indicates amounts or quantities being compared e.g. **ογζογο νβεεκε** 'a *bigger* (ογ-ζογο) reward (ν-βεεκε)' (Onnophr. 207:9), **πεζογο ννεψαλλμοϣ** 'the *larger part* (πε-ζογο) of (ν-) the psalms (νε-ψαλλμοϣ)' (Hil. 2:8). As a quantificational adverb, **επεζογ** expresses an intensified action or activity, e.g. **ναι δε αγτογνοϣ επεζογο** '(as for) them (ναι) they revived it (the prosecution) (α-γ-τογνοϣ-ϣ) (even) *more* (ε-πε-ζογο)' (Mena, Maryrd. 1b:3-5).

4.3.3 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns like the numeral **ογα** 'one' are commonly used as free choice pronouns that refer to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain, e.g. **εγψανον ογα εϣττων (...)** 'if they find (ε-γ-ψαν-ον) *someone* (no matter who) (ογα) quarelling (ε-ϣ-τ-των) (...)' (praec. inst. Pach. 9). The quantificational system of Coptic Egyptian lacks series of negative pronouns like *no one*, *nothing* as well as indefinite pronouns like *anyone*, *anything*. These expressions, which are associated with negative contexts, but may appear in interrogative or conditional sentences, are known as negative polarity items in the linguistic literature. As we will see next, the function of the "missing" negative polarity items is taken over by normal indefinite pronouns; e.g. **ννε λααγ κογρε εβολ νρατϣ νρωμε** 'no *one* (λααγ) shall pull (ννε ... ν) a thor (κογρε) out (εβολ) from anyone's (ν-ρωμε) foot (ν-ρατ-ϣ)' (praec. Pach. 96).

6. ΟΥΟΝ 'someone, a certain, anyone, no one'

The indefinite pronoun ΟΥΟΝ is conventionally interpreted as a specific indefinite with human reference 'someone, a certain' in affirmative sentences, e.g. Α ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ Ρ ΖΗΕ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΗ ΝΑΤΩ (one (ΟΥΟΝ) amongst (ΖΗ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ) spent (Α ... Ρ) forty (ΖΗΕ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) without eating (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΗ) (and) drinking (Ν-ΑΤ-Ω) (KHML II 35:18-20), and as a negative indefinite 'no one, nobody' in negative sentences, e.g. ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΛ 'no one (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) has (ever) dared (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have accomplished (ΠΕ-ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΑΛ-Λ)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71). It conveys a strong distributive sense in combination with the universal quantifier ΝΙΜ: ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'everybody', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΩΣ), everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) that had been imprisoned (ΕΤ-ΖΟΤΠ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of Jesus (Ν-ΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ)' (Eud. 40:24-25).

7. ΑΛΛΥ 'someone, something, anyone, anything, no one, nothing'

is not specified for animacy distinctions, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΧΙ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΕΙΔΟΣ ΝΤΝ ΡΩΗΕ ΑΧΗ ΠΕΦΡΗΝΗΕΙ 'no one (ΑΛΛΥ) shall take (ΝΝΕ ... ΧΙ) anything (ΑΛΛΥ Ν-ΕΙΔΟΣ) (away) from (ΝΤΝ) anybody (ΡΩΗΕ) without (ΑΧΗ) his steward (ΠΕΦ-ΡΗΝ-ΗΕΙ)' (praec. Pach. 106), ΟΥΝ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΜ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΜΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ 'and he (the resentful monk) did not eat (Ε-ΜΕ-Φ-ΟΥΕΜ) anything (ΑΛΛΥ) besides (ΝΑ) bread (ΟΕΙΚ) and (ΖΙ) salt (ΖΜΟΥ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:2). Co-reference with a following pronoun shows that ΑΛΛΥ is grammatically specified as singular masculine, e.g. ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΧΟΥΦ 'no one (ΑΛΛΥ) shall go (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) an enclosure (for sheep) (Ε-ΡΒΕ) who has not been sent (lit. they have not sent him (Ε-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΧΟΥΦ-Φ))' (praec. Pach. 108), ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΕΡΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΚΕ 'no one (ΑΛΛΥ) shall talk (ΝΝΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΦ-ΕΡΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the dark (Π-ΚΑΚΕ)' (praec. Pach. 94). Since ΑΛΛΥ is a maximally generic expression, its exact interpretation is determined by the syntactic context in which it occurs:

- As a free-choice pronoun, ΑΛΛΥ conveys a strong distributive reading ΑΛΛΥ ΝΙΜ 'each one', e.g. ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΦΗΝ ΕΝΨΑΦΧΟΥΨ ΨΑΥΑΥΞΑΝΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ 'briefly (ΖΑΠΑΞ ΖΑΠΑΩΣ) each (ΑΛΛΥ) of all (ΝΙΜ) the trees (Ν-ΦΗΝ) that he (Απα Ματθew) planted (ΕΝ-ΨΑ-Φ-ΧΟ-ΟΥ) grew (ΨΑ-Υ-ΑΥΞΑΝΕ) very much (ΕΜΑΤΕ)' (KH II 19:6-7).
- In negated sentences, ΑΛΛΥ functions as a negative polarity i expressing the non-occurrence of any representative member of a kind, e.g. ΕΜΝ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) any (ΑΛΛΥ) in them (i.e. the deserted streets of Hell) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. f 204:132), ΑΥΩ ΜΗΤΑΝ ΝΑΛΛΥ ΝΟΛΑ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ' (ΑΥΩ) we do not have (ΜΗΤΑ-Ν) any (ΑΛΛΥ) physical (ΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ) comfort (Ν-ΟΛΑ)' (Hil. 5:23).
- In nominal sentences, the indefinite pronoun ΑΛΛΥ may adopt predicative function, witness the presence of the indefinite article ΟΥ-, ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΑΛΛΥ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (Α (am) a nobody (ΟΥ-ΑΛΛΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65: 31-32), ΟΥΑΛΛΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΤΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'it (ΠΕ) (our endeavour) (is) not (ΟΥ-ΑΛΛΥ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) the ascetic life-style (Τ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) that (man) (Απα Zenobius) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Zen. 201:2).

8. ΟΥΑ 'someone, anyone, a certain'

The numeral ΟΥΑ 'one' is a widely used indefinite pronoun, which covers a broad spectrum of semantic distinctions.

- The numeral ΟΥΑ is interpreted as a specific indefinite interpretation much the same way as the indefinite article ΟΥ-. Compare, then: Α ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑCΤΑΜΩΝ 'one (ΟΥΑ) of the brotl (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Απα ΠαCταμδν' (AP Chaîne no. 5:15) vs. Α ΟΥCΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ Π[ΟΙ]ΜΗΝ 'a (certain) brother (ΟΥ-Ο) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Απα Ποιμδν' (AP Chaîne no. 63, 14:11).

- As a specific indefinite, the numeral *ογα* selects a referent whose existence and uniqueness is presupposed by the speaker, although its exact identity is either unknown to him or known but not divulged, e.g. *α ογα μετανοι νογοειω αqcoραzt* 'a certain (monk) (*ογα*) once (*ν-ογοειω*) made repentance (*μετανοι*) (and) found rest (*α-q-coραzt*)' (AP Chaîne no.195, 50:24).
- Since the numeral *ογα* presupposes the individuality of its referent, it is commonly used as a sense-of-identity anaphor: *π-ογα ... πε-κε-ογα* 'the one ... the other (one)'. Sense-of-identity anaphors refer back to an antecedent quantified noun phrase, with which they share descriptive content, although they are not identical with it, e.g. *αqταμi[ο] ηπιναz cnaγ α πογα ε[i] εβολ εqcoτπ μπαρα* (for *παρα*) *πεκεογα* 'he manufactured (*α-q-ταμi*) two (*cnaγ*) dishes (*πιναz*) (and) one (*π-ογα*) came (*α ... εi*) out (*εβολ*) better (*ε-q-coτπ*) than (*μπαρα*) the other (*πε-κε-ογα*)' (Mena, Mir. 18a:3-7).
- In the context of negation, *ογα* is used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μπειεπειtμα μνογα* (for *νογα*) *νζηττηγтн ενεz (...)* *ειμηt εтβε πογxαι ντεqφγxη* 'I never (*ενεz*) reprimanded (*ηπ-εi-επειtμα*) anyone (*ν-ογα*) of you (*νζηт-тггтн*) (...) except (*ειμηt*) for (*εтβε*) the salvation (*π-ογxαι*) of his soul (*ν-τεq-φγxη*)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19).
- In conditional constructions, the numeral *ογα* assumes a non-specific interpretation and refers to a hypothetical individual: whoever fits the description given in the protasis clause qualifies as a potential referent, e.g. *εpωαν ογα εтi* (read *αιтeи*) *μμοκ νογzωб (...)* 'if (*εpωαν*) anyone (*ογα*) asks (*αιтeи*) you (*ημo-κ*) something (*ν-ογ-zωб*) (...)' (AP Chaîne no.161, 36:14).
- The reduplicated form *ογα ογα* expresses iconically the plurality of referents: *zenoγα ογα* 'some people', e.g. *ντοq δε νεγνηγ ψαροq нoi zenoγα ογα εβολ zη nтne εтнπεqκωтe* '(as for) him (Pachōm) (*ντοq δε*), occasionally people (*zenoγα ογα*) came (*νε-γ-νηγ*) to him (*ψαρο-q*) from (*εβολ zη*) the villages (*ν-тne*) in the neighbourhood (*εт-η-πεq-κωтe*)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26); *πογα πογα* 'everybody, each', e.g. *νεψαγcωoγz ενεγeрнγ нтe πογα πογα*

таγe πeтqcooγн μμοq εβολ zη νεγpaφн 'they (the brothers) used to gather (*νε-ψα-γ-cωoγz*) with one another (*ε-νεγ-εрнγ*) and (*αγω*) everybody (*πογα πογα*) told (*нтe ... таγe*) what he knew (*π-εт-q-cooγн*) from (*εβολ zη*) the Scriptures (*νε-γpaφн*)' (V. Pach. 137:4-6), *αqcmoγ επογα πογα μμoн* 'he (the angel of the Lord) blessed (*α-q-cmoγ*) each one (*πογα πογα*) of us (*μμo-н*)' (Onnoph. 222:5).

9. *zoine* 'some'

typically refers to a small, but representative set of discourse entities, e.g. *α zoine εi νογοειω zη θηβαic ψα ογzλλo* 'once (*ν-ογοειω*) some (people) (*zoine*) in (*zη*) the Thebais (*θηβαic*) went (*α ... εi*) to (*ψα*) (certain) old man (*ογ-zλλo*)' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:10), *αα αqтoγнoc нaн нzeнpeqр zγμμe* (read *zμμe*) *zoine nca zenkooye нpeqтaψe oeiω* 'but (*ααα*) he (God) raised (*α-q-тoγнoc*) for us (*нa-н*) guides (*zen-peq-p zμμe*), some (*zoine*) teachers (*н-caz*), others (*zen-kooye*) preachers (*н-peq-тaψe-oeiω*)' (Hil. 1:14-15). Unlike its singular counterpart *ογα*, it is never used as a negative polarity item, e.g. *μηпoc нтe zoine бi* (for *qι*) *πεqсωμa нxioye* 'that no (*μηпoc*) some (people) (*zoine*) would carry away (*нтe ... qι*) his (Pachōm's) body (*πεq-cωμa*) secretly (*н-xioye*)' (V. Pach. 94:7).

10. *meγe nim* 'so-and-so'

replaces a proper name, when this name is not considered to be relevant for the development of the narrative, e.g. *βωκ ψα μεψe ни naрxиmαδpитнc* 'go (*βωκ*) to (*ψα*) the Archimadrite (*н-αpхиmαδpитнc*) so and-so (*μεψe ни*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 29:1).

4.3.4 (Non)identity pronouns

11. *κε* 'other'

presupposes the existence of two or more exemplars of the same kind. It functions either as a determiner-like expression or as a pronoun.

a) Determiner

As a determiner, the invariant form **κε** is sandwiched between the definite or indefinite article and the head noun, e.g. **ΜΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΨΗΝ ΕΥΨΕΨ** **ΣΤ-ΝΟΥΡΕ** **ΕΒΟΛ** 'and (ΜΝ) other trees (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΨΗΝ) that spread (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΨ) forth (ΕΒΟΛ) a sweet odour (ΣΤ-ΝΟΥΡΕ)' (Onnophr. 219:24-25), **ΤΕΚΕΠΑΨΕ** 'the other half (ΤΕ-ΚΕ-ΠΑΨΕ) (of the garment)' (Onnophr. 217:30), **ΟΥΜΝΤΣΑΒΕ ΟΥΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΟΥΡΑΨΕ ΟΥΑΣΚΗCIC** [ΜΝ] **ΝΚΕΑΡΕΤΗ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'wisdom (ΟΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΣΑΒΕ), patience (ΟΥ-ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ), joy (ΟΥ-ΡΑΨΕ), an ascetic life-style (ΟΥ-ΑΣΚΗCIC) and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the other virtues (Ν-ΚΕ-ΑΡΕΤΗ)' (Zen. 201:29-30). Invariant **κε** is often used as an additive focus particle 'also, even, as well', e.g. **ΠΕCΜΝΤΨΟΜΤΕ ΝCΙΟΥΡ ΜΝ ΚΕCΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝΤΑC** 'her thirteen (ΠΕC-ΜΝΤ-ΨΟΜΤΕ) eunuchs (Ν-CΙΟΥΡ) and (ΜΝ) also six (ΚΕ-CΟ) of her own (ΝΤΑ-C) virgins (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC)' (Eud. 56:6-7), **ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΥΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠCΨΙΝΕ ΝCΩΟΥ** 'and not (ΟΥΔΕ) even their (the Persian) gods (ΝΕΥ-ΚΕ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) did he (Constantine) pay a visit (ΜΠ-C-ΨΙΝΕ)' (Eud. 42:16).

b) Pronoun

The corresponding pronominal forms are: (singular masculine) **κε**, **σε**, **κετ**, (singular feminine) **κετε**, (plural) **κοογε**, **κεκοογε** '(the) other, others', e.g. **ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΙΔΟΜΩΝ ΕΠΕΙΚΕΤ** (...) 'when I touched (ΝΤΕΡΕΙΔΟΜΩΝ) this other thing (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΚΕΤ) (...) ' (Onnophr. 206:1-2), **ΤΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΗΝCΤΕΙΑ ΕCΗΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΗ ΠΕCΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΗΙ ΜΠΕCΨΩΗΡ** '(as for) the service (Τ-ΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ) of fasting (Ν-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-C-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕC-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΗ) his friend's (Μ-ΠΕC-ΨΩΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115), **Α ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΤΕΤ ΟΥΩΗ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ** 'the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) and (ΜΝ) the fish (Ν-ΤΕΤ) ate (Α ... ΟΥΩΗ) others (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΕ)' (Zen. 202:13-14), **ΘΩΨΤ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΙΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ** 'look (ΘΩΨΤ) and see (ΝΓ-ΝΑΥ) these other ones (Ε-ΝΙ-ΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ) (sinners)' (Test. Is. 234:31).

12. **ΟΥΩΤ** 'single, same'

is a postnominal modifier, whose primary function is one of restriction or exclusion. In the context of indefinites, the identity pronoun **ΟΥΩΤ** stresses the uniqueness or singularity of a particular referent, e.g. **ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΝC ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ** 'it (is) just (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) one son (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) that belongs (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 194:22), **ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ** 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) i (ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΝ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ)' (V. Pach. 4:21). When modifying demonstratively determined noun phrases, it serves as an emphatic marker of identity, e.g. **ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕC[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ** '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-CΝΗ) (ΖΗ) that same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) on (ΖΙ) the mountain (Π-ΤΟ) (Zen. 201: 31).

4.3.5 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexives like *herself* in *the Queen herself went to the opening of the new museum* are focus particles, which place the referent of noun phrase they modify into the centre of attention: of all visitors of newly opened museum *the Queen* is singled out as the most prominent one. Coptic has three types of emphatic reflexives that indicate different semantic focus types, viz. **ΖΩΩ** = '-self', **ΜΑΥΑΛ** = 'alone', and **ΜΜΙΝ** = 'own'. They all contain a co-pronoun that has the same person, number and gender specification as the focalised noun or pronoun.

1. **ΖΩΩ** = '-self'

As inclusive focus particle, **ΖΩΩ** presents the involvement of a particular discourse referent in some state of affairs as a remarkable fact, e.g. **ΑCΡ ΖΩΩC ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΨΑΝΖΤΗC** 'the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of Me (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΤΗ-C) himself (ΖΩΩ=C) also (ΟΝ) wept (Α-C-ΡΙΜΕ)' (E 34:8-9). With independent pronouns, it conveys a strong sense of continuity, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΛΓΟΝΙ[Ζ]Ε ΜΝ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ), howe (ΖΩ), intend to fight (ΤΑ-ΛΓΟΝΙΖΕ) with (ΜΝ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) for a little longer (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) (Ac. A&P 194:15-16).

2. **ΜΑΥΑΑ=** 'alone, by oneself'

serves as a restrictive focus marker, which asserts that no other discourse entity other than the referent of the focus phrase fits the description expressed by the associated predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΥΑΑ** 'you (**ΝΤΟΚ**) *alone* (**ΜΑΥΑΑ=**) (are) God (**ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**)' (Eud. 46:14), **ΕΑΚΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΥΑΑΚ** 'and you killed (**Ε-Α-Κ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ**) yourself (**ΜΜΟ-Κ**) *by your own doing* (**ΜΑΥΑΑ=Κ**)' (Ac. A&P 202:127).

3. **ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ=** 'own'

is used for the emphatic assertion of identity in reflexive predicates and possessive noun phrases, e.g. **ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΦΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΝΤ-Ι ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'for (**ΓΑΡ**) he (Ara Zenobius) finally (**ΛΟΙΠΟΝ**) was no longer (**ΟΥΚΕΤΙ**) very (**ΕΜΑΤΕ**) angry (**ΝΕ-Φ-ΘΟΝΤ**) *at himself* (**ΕΤΒΗΝΤ-Ι ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ι**)' (Zen. 203:29-30), **†ΩΡΚ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΙ ΧΕ** (...) 'I swear (**†ΩΡΚ**) *to myself* (**ΜΜΟ-Ι ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ι**) that (**ΧΕ**) (...) ' (KHML II 107:8-9), **ΝΑΙΑΤ-Ι ΝΖΟΥΟ ΗΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** **ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ** 'rather (**ΝΖΟΥΟ**) (is) blessed (**ΝΑΙΑΤ-Ι**) he who will always (**Ν-ΟΥΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ**) see (**Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ**) *his own* (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ι**) *sins* (**Ε-ΝΕΦ-ΝΟΒΕ**)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΨΑΝΤΕΦΧΠΟ ΝΑΦ ΗΠΕΦΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** 'so that he gained (**ΨΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΧΠΟ**) *his own* (**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Ι**) *bread* (**Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΟΕΙΚ**)' (AP Chaîne no.31, 6:9-10).

Key Terms:

Proximal-distal contrast	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items near the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Wh-questions	are information-eliciting speech-acts. The queried piece of information is indicated by the question or <i>wh</i> -word.	§4.2.1

Yes-no questions	are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Interrogative particles	are lexicalised question cues that signal the interrogative character of the clause they introduce.	§4.2.2
Rhetorical questions	are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the disguise of a question.	§4.2.3
Universal quantifiers	have an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Cardinal quantifiers	designate proportions or subsets of a given domain of discourse entities.	§4.3.3
Free-choice pronouns	are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Emphatic reflexives	are focus assigning expressions that place some discourse referent into the centre of attention.	§4.3.6

Exercises

4.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
 1. Coptic demonstratives have anaphoric and discourse deictic uses.
 2. The proximal demonstrative article **π**- may have a generic (i.e. kind-referring) interpretation.
 3. Two demonstratives cannot modify one and the same expression.

4. The question word **αψ** 'which' functions as an interrogative determiner of partitive interrogative phrases.
5. A yes-no questions must always be introduced by a question particle to indicate its interrogative force.
6. The universal quantifiers **νιμ** and **τηρ** appear in free variation.
7. Coptic has no negative polarity items like English *any*.
8. Emphatic reflexives assign focus to the main verbal predicate of the clause.

4.2 Deixis

- A. Fill in the correct form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun **παι** in the following Coptic examples:

- (1) **___ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ (...)** 'when *this one* (Zeno) came to sit (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΖΜΟΟΣ**) upon (**ΖΙΧΜ**) the imperial (**Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ**) throne (**ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ**) (...)' (Hil. 2:2-3)
- (2) **___ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΒΑΚΑΝΟΣ ΝΤΑϞΤΑΑΣ ΝΑϞ** 'this (was) the first (**Τ-ΨΟΡΠΕ**) torture (**Ν-ΒΑΚΑΝΟΣ**) that he (the judge) had given (**ΝΤ-Α-ΤΑΑ-Σ**) him (**ΝΑ-Ϟ**) (Ara Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8)
- (3) **___ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕ** '(as for) *this one* (the rich Alexandrian), he (**ΠΕ**) was (**ΝΕ**) a christian (**ΟΥ-ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ**)' (Mena, Mir.13a:11-12)
- (4) **___ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΧΟΟΥ (...)** 'when he (Andrew) had spoken (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϟ-ΧΟΟ-Υ**) *these* (words) (...)' (Ac. A&P 196:41)
- (5) **___ ΤΕ ΤΑϞΖΙΜΕ** '*this one* (is) my wife (**ΤΑ-ΣΖΙΜΕ**)' (AP Chaïne no.241, 73:30)

DEIXIS, INTERROGATION, QUANTIFICATION

- B. Translate the following demonstratively determined noun phrases

- (1) **ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ** (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:24-25)
- (2) **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΙϞ** (Ac. A&P 196:32)
- (3) **ΠΙΜΑ** (Hil. 11:25)
- (4) **ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΜΠΝΙΚΩΝ** (Hil. 1:20)
- (5) **ΠΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑΙ** (Hil. 10:19)
- (6) **ΝΙΦΑΧΕ ΝΣΕΩ ΜΗ ΝΙΠΑΖΡΕ ΝΩΝΖ** (Test. Is. 228:7)
- (7) **ΠΕ[Ι]ΑΠΟΤ ΜΜΟΟΥ** (Ac. A&P 198:56)
- (8) **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙΑΓΤΑΖΟϞ** (Test. Is. 232:23) (< **ΤΑΖΟ** 'to reach, touch')

- C. Fill in the correct the form of the possessive article:

- (1) **___ ΣΩΝΕ** 'his sister' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1)
- (2) **___ ΖΗΠΑΡ** 'my liver' (Onnophr. 208:30)
- (3) **___ ΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ** 'her name Maria' (Test.Is. 231:9)
- (4) **___ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ** 'his letter' (V. Pach. 3:12)
- (5) **___ ΑΠΕ** 'his head' (Ac.A&P 200:97)
- (6) **___ ΕΙΩΤ** 'our father' (Zen. 199:9)
- (7) **ΙΑΚΩΒ ___ ΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ** 'Jacob, your beloved (**ΜΕΡΙΤ**) child (**Ν-ΩΗΡΕ**)' (Test. Is. 229:14)

D. Complete the following sentences by selecting one of the three options.

- (1) ΕΤΡΑΧΙ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε__ 'such that (ε-) I could take (τρα-χι) a woman (ςζιμε) inside (εζουν ε-) my living quarters' (Hil. 9:6-7)
☐ ΠΕΦΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ
☐ ΝΑΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ
☐ ΠΑΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ
- (2) ΧΙ Ν__ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ 'take (χι) this little girl to your living quarters (ε-πεκ-μανφωπε)!' (Hil. 9:4)
☐ ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ
☐ ΠΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ
☐ ΤΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ
- (3) __ ΔΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΧΑΙΖΗΤ 'when he (Diocletian) said (ε-φ-χω) these (words) with (ζν) great (ου-νοθ) arrogance (μ-μντχαίζητ)' (Eud. 36:17)
☐ ΝΕΙ
☐ ΝΙ
☐ ΝΑΙ
- (4) __ ΝΕ 'they (νε) (are) mine' (V. Pach. 4:23)
☐ ΝΩΙ
☐ ΝΟΥΙ
☐ ΝΑΙ
- (5) ΝΕΦΜΕ ΜΗΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ __ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ 'he (Constantine) loved (νε-φ-με) her (μηο-с) (Eudoxia) very much (εματε) for (ετβε) her works of (н-) righteousness (δικαιοcυνη)' (Eud. 56:4-5)
☐ ΝΕCΖΒΗΥΕ
☐ ΝΕCΖΩΒ
☐ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ

- (6) ΠΕΦCΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟC ΠΕΠΑΡΧΟC __ 'his brother (πεφ-сon (was) Anatol, the eparch (π-επαρχοc) of that time' (Mena, Eni 40a:2-6)
☐ ΗΠΕΥΟΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
☐ ΗΠΕΟΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
☐ ΗΠΕΙΟΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ

E. Translate the following definite noun phrases. Particular attention should be paid to the meaning differences between the various demonstratives.

- (1) ΠΕΚΕΨΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ (Test. Is. 229:20)
 (2) ΤΕΝΗΝΤΡΡΟ (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:31)
 (3) ΝΑΤΕΨΥΧΗ (Hil. 1:12)
 (4) ΤΕΨΨΕΕΡΕ CΕΝΤΕ (Hil. 2:17)

4.3 Interrogation

A. Complete the following questions by selecting the correct question word.

- (1) ΕΡΒΗΚ (ΕΤΩΝ/ΕΝΙΜ) 'where are you going to (ερ-βωκ)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22)
 (2) (ΟΥ/ΝΙΜ) ΡΝΤΚ 'what (is) your name (ρντ-κ)?' (KHML II 31:15)

B. Decide whether the following yes/no questions anticipate a positive or a negative answer:

- (1) ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΑΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-κ-να-καα-τ) me (νсω-к) because of (ετβε) one thing (ου-ζωβ) only (μηατε)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

- (2) **ΜΗ** **ΗΠΕΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** **ΗΠΕCΝΑΥ** **ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ** **ΜΗ** **ΤΟΥΜΑΛΥ** '(ΜΗ) haven't you (woman) seen (ΗΠΕ-ΝΑΥ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) both (Μ-ΠΕ-CΝΑΥ), (namely) your father (ΠΟΥ-ΕΙΩΤ) and (ΜΗ) your mother (ΤΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 56:16-17).

4.4 Quantification

- A. The universal quantifier **ΤΗΡ=** requires cross-reference with an antecedent noun or pronoun. Fill in the correct form of the co-pronoun in the following sentences.

- (1) **ΝΤΗΡ** **ΤΕΥΩΗ** **ΤΗΡ**___ **ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ** **ΜΗ** **ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ** 'and we spent (ΝΤ-Ν-Ρ) the *entire night* of Sunday (Ν-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 221:8-9)
- (2) **†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ** **ΜΗΩΤΗ** **ΤΗΡ**___ **ΖΗ** **ΠΕΧ̄C** 'I beseech (†ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) you (ΜΗΩ-ΤΗ) *all* in (ΖΗ) Christ (ΠΕ-Χ̄C)' (Hil. 7:25)
- (3) **ΝΕΠΟΛΙC** **ΤΗΡ**___ **ΕΤΖΑ** **ΠΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ** '*all* the cities that (were) under (ΕΤ-ΖΑ) their government (ΠΕΥ-ΑΜΑΖΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:10-11)
- (4) **†ΝΑΦΩΤΕ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΜΠΓΕΝΟC** **ΤΗΡ**___ **ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC** 'I will exterminate (†ΝΑ-ΦΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ) the *entire* race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of the Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (Eud. 36:6-7)

- B. Fill in the right quantificational expression in the Coptic examples by selecting one of the three options:

- (1) **ΕΤΒΕ** **ΟΥ** **ΤΕΡΙΜΕ** **ΝΝΑΥ** ___ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) are you (woman) weeping (ΤΕ-ΡΙΜΕ) *every* (single) hour (Ν-ΝΑΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225 65:22)
- ☐ **ΝΙΜ**
☐ **ΤΗΡC**
☐ **ΠΟΥΑ** **ΠΟΥΑ**

- (2) ___ **ΕΤΡ** **ΩΡΩΖ** 'the *other* (ones) who are (ΕΤ-Ρ) in need (ΩΡΩΖ (Onnophr. 207:17)

- ☐ **ΝΚΟΟΥΕ**
☐ **ΝΚΕCΝΗΥ**
☐ **ΖΟΙΝΕ**

- (3) **ΖΕΘΝΟC** ___ **ΕΤΖΙΧΗ** **ΠΚΑΖ** '*every* race (ΖΕΘΝΟC) which is ο (ΕΤ-ΖΙΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (Test. Is. 229:32)

- ☐ **ΛΑΛΥ**
☐ **ΝΙΜ**
☐ **ΕΠΤΗΡC**

- (4) **ΝΕΨΑΡΕ** ___ **ΓΑΡ** **ΝΑΥ** **ΕΡΟQ** **ΕQΦΩCΕ** **ΕΠΕCΗΤ** **ΖΗ** **ΠΡΠΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) *many* (people) saw (ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΝΑΥ) him (the demon (ΕΡΟ-Q) jumping (Ε-Q-ΦΩCΕ) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) from (ΖΗ) the templ (Π-ΡΠΕ)' (KHML II 53:6-7)

- ☐ **ΖΟΙΝΕ**
☐ **ΖΑΖ**
☐ **ΟΥΟΝ** **ΝΙΜ**

- C. Translate the following text fragment:

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

Α^a ΟΥΑ ΜΝΖΑΛΟ ΒΩΚ^b ΨΑ ΚΕΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑQ^c ΜΠΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ^d ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΡΨΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑQΤΑΜΙΟQ^e ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΖΕΡΠ ΖΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΑQΖΟΡΠΟΥ^g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ^h ΕΝΕΠΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΤΗΡC ΜΗ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΤΗΡC. (AP Chaîne no. 21 4:20-23)

NOTES: a. Α (Perfect) introduces past tense sentences, b. ΒΩΚ 'to go', c. ΠΕΧΑ-Q 'he said', d. ΧΕ quotative particle (can best be left untranslated), d. ΤΑΜΙΟ (imperative) 'prepare!', e. Α-Q-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Q 'he prepared it', f. ΖΕΡΠ (imperative) plus nominal object 'moisten *s.th.*!', g. Α-Q-ΖΟΡΠ-ΟΥ 'he moistened them (the loaves)', h. Α-Υ-ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ 'they kept talking'

Nominal sentences

This Unit completes our survey of the nominal domain by taking a closer look at the Coptic equivalents of sentences like *John is a physician*, where the indefinite noun phrase *a physician* does not refer to any particular individual, but rather predicates something about the subject *John*, namely his profession as a medical doctor. Such sentences are called nominal sentences, since they contain a noun phrase that is used predicatively.

Coptic nominal sentences are peculiar in two ways. First, they are verbless constructions in the present tense, i.e. they lack a verbal copula corresponding to English *be*. Thus, one class of nominal sentences is formed by juxtaposition of a personal pronoun and an indefinite noun phrase in predicative function, e.g. $\text{AN}\Gamma \text{ OY}\Pi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$ 'I (AN Γ) (am) a ghost (OY- $\Pi\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$)' (Onnophr. 206:19). The syntax and semantics of such bipartite nominal sentences are the topic of section 5.1. Second, there is another type of nominal sentences, which contain an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. $\text{ANOK } \Pi\epsilon \text{ } \Pi\omega\text{HP}\epsilon \text{ } \text{HP}\Pi\text{NOY}\text{TE}$ 'I (ANOK) (am) the son (PI- $\omega\text{HP}\epsilon$) of God (HP- $\Pi\text{NOY}\text{TE}$)' (Abbatôn 240:13). As will be shown in section 5.2, the added pronoun $\Pi\epsilon$ in such tripartite nominal sentences has no anaphoric role (i.e. it does not refer to previously mentioned discourse participants), but rather fulfils a purely grammatical function as an agreement clitic, which links the subject to the nominal predicate.

Nominal sentences have a relatively transparent syntax with only a limited degree of word order variation. Yet, a broad spectrum of

semantic distinctions is expressed by means of bi- and tripartite nominal sentence patterns, depending on the meaning of the nominal predicate chosen. This Unit follows a taxonomic approach, where the structural description of commonly occurring nominal sentence patterns is combined with a functional analysis of the various types of predicative relationships.

5.1 Bipartite nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences, as suggested by the terminology, are composed of two elements, the subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25). While a variety of nominal expressions appear in the predicate position, there is a strict selectional restriction on the subject of a bipartite nominal sentence, which must be a personal pronoun.

5.1.1 The "mixed" paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Coptic has two morphologically distinct sets of pronominal clitics. One consists of the phonologically reduced and deaccented proclitic forms of the independent first and second person pronouns, to wit **ΑΝΓ** (< **ΑΝΟΚ**) 'I', **ΝΤΚ** 'you (man)' (< **ΝΤΟΚ**), **ΝΤΕ** 'you (woman)' (< **ΝΤΟ**), **ΑΝ(Ν)** 'we' (< **ΑΝΟΝ**), **ΝΤΕΤΝ** 'you (plural)' (< **ΝΤΩΤΝ**). The other set of pronouns consists of the enclitic deictic pronouns **ΠΕ** 'he', **ΤΕ** 'she' **ΝΕ** 'they'. These are used as suppletive pronominal forms in the context of third person reference, since there are no proclitic variants of the freestanding third person pronouns (see above, section 2.4.3.1 of Unit 2). The mixed pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences is illustrated in table 5.1 below.

In the context of emphatic pronominal reference, however, the independent pronouns for first and second person may be used as pronominal subjects instead of their proclitic counterparts. Particularly common are contrastive topics, e.g. **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΨΩC ΑΥΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a shepherd (ΟΥΨΩC) and (ΑΥΩ) *this one* (here)(ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:30), **ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ ΠΕ** 'we (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) sinners (ΖΕΝΡΕCΡ-Ρ ΝΟΒΕ), but (as for him) *him* (Jesus Christ) (ΝΤΟC), he (ΠΕ) (is) holy (ΟΥΠΕΤΟΓΑΛΒ)' (Sh. III 142:29-30).

Independent personal pronouns can also be found in the context of question-answer pairs, e.g. **ΝΤΩΤΝ ΝΑΛΩ ΜΠΟΛΙC - ΑΝΟΝ ΝΑΘΙΕΛ** 'from which (ΝΑ-ΛΩ) city (Μ-ΠΟΛΙC) (are) you (ΝΤΩΤΝ)? *We* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are) from Jerusalem (ΝΑ-ΘΙΕΛ)' (KHML I 80:6-8), **ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΡΗΤΩΝ - ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΗΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΕ ΘΗΒΑΙC** 'you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) a man from whence (ΟΥΡΗ-ΤΩΝ)? *I* (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a man of Nekintôre (Dendera) (ΟΥΡΗ-ΝΕΚΙΝΤΩΡΕ), a town (ΟΥΠΟΛΙC) of (ΝΤΕ) the Thêbais (ΘΗΒΑΙC)' (KMHL II 31:22-25).

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES		
[PREDICATE ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ] [SUBJECT ΠΕ] He (is) a man		
1 st sing.	ΑΝΓ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ / ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ	I (am) a man / a woman
2 nd sing. masc.	ΝΤΚ ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) a man
2 nd sing. fem.	ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ	You (are) a woman
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ	He (is) a man
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ	She (is) a woman
1 st pl.	ΑΝ(Ν) ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	We (are) people
2 nd pl.	ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ	You (are) people
3 rd pl.	ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ ΝΕ	They (are) people

TABLE 5.1 The pronominal paradigm of bipartite nominal sentences

Further examples: (1st sing.) **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27), **ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΓ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** '(as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Eud. 54:11-12), (2nd sing. masc.) **ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΙC** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) such that (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙC)?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), (2nd sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25), (3rd sing. masc.) **ΟΥΨΩC ΠΕ ΕΦΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ** 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a shepherd (ΟΥΨΩC) who pastures (Ε-Φ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) sheep (Ν-Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:24), (3rd sing. fem.) **ΚΑΝ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ** 'be it (ΚΑΝ) (that) she (ΤΕ) (is) a woman (ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 154:12), (1st pl.) **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (ΝCΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12), (2nd pl.) **ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ** 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are)

shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΥ-ΓΙΝΕ)' (Eud. 64:11), (3rd pl.) ΖΕΝΑΥ ΜΙΝΕ ΝΕ 'they (NE) (are) what (ΖΕΝ-ΑΥ) kind (of people) (Μ-ΜΙΝΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:67).

5.1.2 Word order

Bipartite nominal sentences display two fundamentally different word order patterns that can be directly related to the prosodic status of the subject pronoun chosen. First and second person pronouns appear in subject-initial clauses, whereas third person pronouns occur in predicate-first sentences in which the predicate noun is placed in front of the pronominal subject. The factor motivating this word order contrast is the prosodic behaviour of the subject pronoun in question. Thus, proclitic pronouns are phonologically attached to the right of the host word, which is the nominal predicate, and the result is subject-first order. Enclitic pronouns, on the other hand, must follow their phonological host, which gives rise to predicate-first order. Thus, compare: ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a man of your kind' (V. Pach. 89:27) vs. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:19) vs. ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps (ΤΑΧΑ) he (ΠΕ) (is) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΠΝΑ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:7)

5.1.2.1 Clitic clustering

Proclitic and enclitic pronouns appear not only on opposite sites of their phonological host, the nominal predicate, but also exhibit different degrees of prosodic boundness. The proclitic first and second person pronouns form a single, indivisible prosodic constituent with the adjacent nominal predicate. It is therefore not possible for enclitic elements to split up the subject-predicate complex. As a result, prosodically weak function words, such as the Greek discourse markers ΔΕ and ΓΑΡ 'since', the additive focus particle ΟΝ 'also, too' or the negative adverb ΑΝ 'not' must appear in clause-third position, to the left of the predicate nominal, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10), ΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΜΑΛΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΣΑΒΗ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) you (ΝΤΕ) (are) also (ΟΝ) a wise (Ν-ΣΑΒΗ) mother (ΟΥ-ΜΑΛΥ)' (Sh. III 22:21), ΑΝΓ ΟΥΚΑΤΑΡΩΤΗ ΑΝ ΗΡΩΜΕ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a man (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of your kind (ΟΥ-ΚΑΤΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)' (Sh. III 117:5). The postponement of enclitic function words and particles can also be observed in the context of emphatic pronominal

reference, when an independent pronoun replaces the corresponding proclitic in clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥ-ΜΑΓΟΣ)' (KHML I 5:13), ΑΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ 'for (ΓΑΡ) we (ΑΝΟΙ) (are) (just) human (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ) (Sh. IV 155:1-2).

A different situation obtains in predicate-initial nominal sentences where third person pronouns compete with enclitic function words and particles for the clause-second position. As a rule, enclitic third person pronouns are placed in clause-third position, to the left of the enclitic particle, e.g. ΟΥΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'he (ΠΕ) (is) inferior (ΟΥ-ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ) in the eyes of (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) (Pach. Catéch. 19:22-23), ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Apa Ptolemy) (is) a nobleman (ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ)' (KHML II 34:6) ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΑΤΤΩΛΗ 'he (ΠΕ) (Apa Mena) also (ΟΝ) (was) a spotless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΩΛΗ) virgin (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 59a:10-12), ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ 'it (ΤΕ) (the distinction between words and deeds) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a small one (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ)' (Zen. 201:11), ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him (ΝΑ-Φ) (Apa Zenobius) it (ΠΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a fault (ΟΥ-ΑΡΙΚΕ)' (Zen. 203:22).

Figure 5.1 on the next page gives a schematic representation of clitic order in bipartite nominal sentences. (PN stands for 'predicate nominal', PROCL for 'proclitic, ENCL for enclitic, DAT-CL for 'dative clitic', and PCL for 'particle'; brackets indicate prosodic domains).

PRONOUN	WORD ORDER	PARTICLE PLACEMENT
PROCLITIC	SUBJECT-FIRST ORDER	[PROCL PN] PCL
ΑΝΓ, ΝΤΚ, etc	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΠΝΑ 'I (am) a ghost' (Onnophr. 206:19)	ΑΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ 'I (am) a soldier' (Mena, Enc. 50b:9-10)
ENCLITIC	PREDICATE-FIRST ORDER	[PN] DAT-CL] PCL] ENCL]]
ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ	ΤΑΧΑ ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕ 'perhaps he (is) a ghost' (AP Chaîne no.243, 75:7)	ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him it (is) not a fault' (Zen. 203:22)

FIGURE 5.1 Word order in bipartite nominal sentences

5.1.2.2 Possessor splitting

Enclitic deictic pronouns and function words differ from one another not only with respect to the cluster-internal position, but also with respect to what might be called possessor splitting (i.e. the disruption of the syntactic continuity of possessive noun phrases). Enclitic pronouns may but need not be placed between the possessed noun and the possessor noun, e.g. *οὐρῳμῃ πε ντε πινούτε* 'he (πε) (is) a man (οὐ-ρῳμῃ) of (ντε) God (π-νούτε)' (AP, Chaîne no. 243, 75:18-19), *πμα μπεντον πε 'it (πε) (the Henaton) (is) the place (π-μα) of rest (μ-πε-ντον)*' (Hil. 5:18). Enclitic function words, on the other hand, are always placed between the possessed and the possessor noun, e.g. *οὐφῆρε γαρ ντε περὶτ πε νῆε νισαακ μν σαμουῖνα* 'since (γαρ) he (πε) (Ara Mena) (was) a child (οὐ-φῆρε) of (ντε) the vow (π-εῖρητ) like (νῆε ν-) Isaak and (μν) Samuel' (Mena, Enc. 45b:1-5).

5.1.2.3 The Preterit auxiliary νε

Nominal sentences have a limited distribution with respect to tense marking. While present tense reference is morphologically unmarked, the Preterit auxiliary νε is used to indicate a present-in-the past. The auxiliary νε always precedes the subject-predicate complex, e.g. *νε τεῦφῆ γαρ τε* 'because (γαρ) it (τε) was (νε) night (τε-ῦφῆ)' (KHML I 80:28), *παι δε νε οὐχρηστιανος πε* '(as for) this one (i.e. the rich Alexandrian) (παι δε), he (πε) was (νε) a Christian (οὐ-χρηστιανος)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:11-12).

5.1.2.4 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a topicalized noun or pronoun, which appears in front of the subject-predicate complex. The preclausal topic constituent designates the discourse referent that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent and is therefore called comment clause. Its grammatical features (person, number and gender) are resumed by the pronominal subject, e.g. *πζαγιος σε απα μῆνα οὐεῦγενῆς πε εβολ ζῆ πκαζ νκῆμε* '(as for) the holy (π-ζαγιος) *Apa Mēna*, he (πε) (was) a nobleman (οὐ-εῦγενῆς) from (εβολ) the land (π-καζ) of Egypt (ν-κῆμε)' (Mena, Enc. 39a:29-39b:2), *ννούτε ννζεθνος ζῆδαιμωνιον νε* '(as for) *the gods*

(ν-νούτε) of the pagans (ν-ν-ζεθνος), *they* (νε) (in fact) (are) demons (ζῆν-δαιμωνιον)' (KHML I 3:12-4:1).

The preclausal topic must be cross-referenced by the subject clitic in the associated bipartite nominal sentence. In the context of contrastive pronominal reference, the topicalization of first and second person pronouns gives rise to what has been called clitic doubling in the linguistic literature, where the co-referential subject pronoun is either a full or a phonologically reduced copy of the freestanding personal pronoun, e.g. *ανοκ δε αντ ουκαζ αυω αντ ουπασμα ντε νεφολι* '(as for) *me* (ανοκ), *I* (αντ) (am) earth (ου-καζ) and (αυω) a creature (ου-πασμα) of (ντε) his (God's) hands (νεφ-ολι)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14), *ανον γαρ αν ζενρῳμῃ νσαρξ* 'because (γαρ) (as for) *us* (ανον), *we* (αν) (are) fleshy (ν-σαρξ) men (ζεν-ρῳμῃ)' (Eud. 70:12), *ντωτῆ μν νετῆρρωου ντωτῆ ζενπαρانونος νασεινς* '*you* (ντωτῆ) and (μν) your kings (νετῆρρωου), *you* (ντωτῆ) (are) godless (ν-ασεινς) criminals (ζεν-παρانونος)' (Mena, Enc. 51a:20-25).

The discourse status of the preclausal noun or pronoun is commonly indicated by topic-indicating particle like δε, e.g. *πζαγιος δε απα μῆνα νε οὐρεμνκῆμε πε κατα πεφγενος* '(as for) the holy (π-ζαγιος) *Apa Mēna*, *he* (πε) was (νε) an Egyptian (οὐ-ρεμν-κῆμε) by (κατα) origin (πεφ-γενος)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:5-8), *ευφῦμια δε τεφςζιμε νε ουαδρην τε* '(as for) his wife (τεφ-ςζιμε) *Euphymia*, *she* (τε) was (νε) barren (ου-αδρην)' (Mena, Enc. 42a:12-14), *ανοκ δε ζω αντ οὐρηντοου ντκζε* '*I* (ανοκ) *myself* (ζω), *I* (αντ) (am) a hermit (ου-ρην-τοου lit. man of the mountain) of your kind (ν-τκ-ζε)' (Onnophr. 210:13). See figure 5.2 for further illustration.

PRE-CLAUSAL TOPIC	COMMENT CLAUSE	
	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREDICATE NOUN
ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ (As for) me	ΑΝΤ I	ΟΥ-ΚΑΖ (am) earth
ΕΥΦΥΜΙΑ ΔΕ ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ (As for) his wife Euphymia	ΠΕ ΟΥΑΔΡΗΝ PRETERIT barren	ΤΕ she

FIGURE 5.2 Topicalisation in nominal sentences

The syntactic status of bipartite nominal sentences with a topicalised noun phrase is not entirely clear or obvious. Despite the structural similarities with the clitic doubling construction, we may very well be dealing with a different sentence construction, given that the subject position of bipartite nominal sentences is incompatible with full noun phrases. In such bipartite nominal sentences, the topic position seems to have been reanalysed as a normal subject position for noun phrases and their equivalents. Under this analysis, the enclitic deictic pronoun at the end of the subject-predicate complex would function not so much as a cross-reference device, but rather serve a purely grammatical marker of the subject-predicate relationship.

5.1.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

The previous section has largely been concerned with word order phenomena in bipartite nominal sentences. The focus of this section is on the different types of semantic relationships expressed by the nominal predicate. A basic distinction concerns the referring or non-referring character of the nominal predicate. Predicational sentences derive their name from the fact that the nominal predicate has no specific discourse referent, but says something about the subject, such as a property, role or indication of class membership. Predicational sentences can be further subdivided in ascriptive and classificational sentences, depending on the property- or class-denoting interpretation of the nominal predicate, e.g. *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) *shameless* (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11) vs. *ΝΤΕ ΟΥΖΙΜΕ* 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) *a woman* (ΟΥ-ΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).

Next to predicational sentences, there are identificational sentences, whose predicate nominal is a referring expression. The semantic basis of identificational sentences is the division of reference: both the subject and the nominal predicate pick out the same individual or object from the realm of discourse. Such identity relations are generally encoded as tripartite nominal sentences, which will be discussed in section 5.2.2. There are, however, also a few bipartite nominal sentence patterns, where the nominal predicate has an identificational role, e.g. *ΤΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΗΣ ΤΕ* 'she (ΤΕ) (Thekla) (is) *the sister* (Τ-ΩΝΕ) of Paëse (Μ-ΠΑΗΣ)' (KHML I 83:30), *ΠΜΑ ΗΠΕΜΤΟΝ ΠΕ* 'it (the Henaton) (is) *the place* (Π-ΜΑ) of rest (Η-ΠΕ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (Hil. 5:18), *ΝΤΕΤΝ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΗΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΜΩΥΧΗΣ* 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) *the children* (Η-ΩΗΡΕ) of the holy

(Η-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ) ΑΡΑ (ΑΠΑ) Moses' (KHML II 48:21).

Bipartite nominal sentences with a referring predicate noun are, generally speaking, restricted to pragmatically marked construction types with a specialized meaning and function. In identity questions, for example, the predicatively used interrogative pronoun represents the missing piece of information necessary for the recognition of the subject referent, e.g. *ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΠΑΧ[Ο]ΕΙC* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 50:18-19), *ΝΙΜ ΡΝΤΚ* 'what (ΝΙΜ) (is) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ)?' (KHML II 31:15).

Second, there are presentational sentences of the form *ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ* 'it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)', which are commonly used as responses to identity questions, e.g. *ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ (...)* *ΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ (...)* 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΑΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕCΟΟΥ)? (...)' (as for) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΑΜΠΕ), it (ΠΕ) (is) me (ΑΝΟΚ)' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14-15). A final group of bipartite identificational sentences consists of so-called situational sentences, which describe a particular temporal setting or ambience, e.g. *ΕΩΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΩΩΜ ΠΕ* 'when it (ΠΕ) (is) summer' (Π-ΩΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Figure 5.3 presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predicational relationship in bipartite nominal sentences:

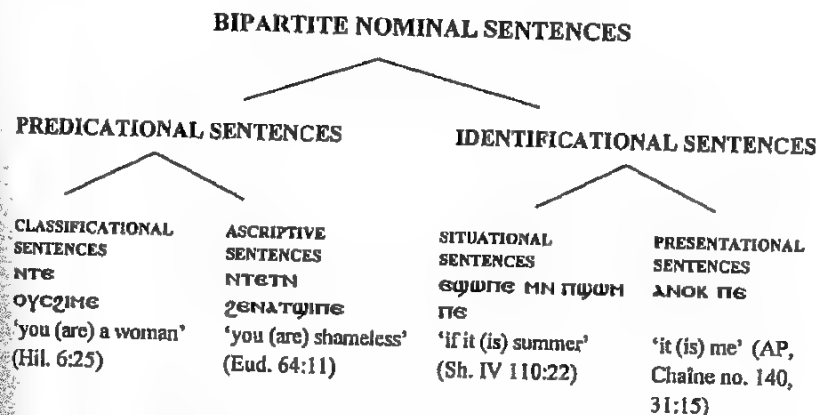


FIGURE 5.3 Predicate types in bipartite nominal sentences

In the remainder of this section, each type of predicative relationship will be discussed individually, starting with classificational sentences.

5.1.3.1 Classificational sentences

Classificational sentences are associated with a partitive reading and specify a semantic relation of class inclusion. The referent of the subject is conceptualized as a representative member or, in the case of plural reference, as a subset of a particular class of entities, species or kind. The kind-referring predicate nominal is syntactically encoded as an indefinite noun phrase, which has the same number specification as the pronominal subject, e.g. **ΑΝΓ ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a Christian (ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) openly (ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ)' (Mena, Enc. 49b:28-50a:1), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) not (ΑΝ) a magician (ΟΥΜΑΓΟΣ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) a servant (ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ)' (KHML I 5:13-14), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a holy (one) (ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 46:22-23), **ΝΤΚ ΟΥΨΗΜΟ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΕΝΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ** '(are) you (ΝΤΚ) a stranger (ΟΥΨΗΜΟ) or (ΧΕ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ) a man of this city (ΟΥΡΕΝ-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)?' (Mena, Enc. 50a:5-7), **ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΣΑΡΞ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-ΣΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12).

a) Locative and manner predicate nominals

Locative and manner adverbs can be converted into indefinite noun phrases to function as the nominal predicate of a classificational sentence, e.g. **ΝΕΦΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΖΝΕΒΟΛ ΝΕ ΖΝ ΤΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ** (for ΤΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ) **ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ ΝΤΕ ΚΗΜΕ** '(as for) his parents (ΝΕΦ-ΕΙΟΤΕ), they (ΝΕ) were (ΝΕ) from (ΖΝ-ΕΒΟΛ) the glorious (ΕΤ-ΤΑΙΝΥ) capital (Τ-ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 39b:2-6), **ΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΩΡΕ ΝΣΑΙΗ** '(as for) the appearance (ΠΕ-ΣΜΟΤ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mena, he (ΠΕ) (was) of this kind (ΟΥΕ-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ): a strong (Ν-ΧΩΡΕ) (and) handsome (Ν-ΣΑΙΗ) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:19-25).

b) Possessive nominal predicates

Since possessive demonstratives are associated with a partitive reading, they are commonly used as kind-referring nominal predicates, e.g. **ΠΑΠΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'he (Apa Mena) (was) a native of the Mariôtês (ΠΑ-Π-ΜΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 36b:30-37a:2), **ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ** 'they (ΝΕ)

(are) mine (ΝΟΥ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 4:23), **ΠΖΩΒ ΠΑΠΕΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΠΕ** 'the affair (Π-ΖΩΒ) it (ΠΕ) (is) something (concerning) the sovereign (ΠΑ-ΠΕ-ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:20).

5.1.3.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal describes a property, state or characteristic feature of the subject referent. Since the indefinite nominal predicate denotes a property that is measurable on a scale, it is commonly modified by degree adverbials, for instance, quantificational adverbs or adverbs of comparison, e.g. **ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ** '(do you think that) he (ΠΕ) (Christ) (is) stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), **ΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Apa Mena) (was) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ)' (Mena, Enc. 58b:31-32), **ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ** 'and (ΚΑΙ) because (ΓΑΡ) he (ΠΕ) (Zeno) (was) pious (ΟΥ-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) in (ΖΝ) every (ΝΙΜ) respect (ΖΩΒ)' (Hil. 8:19-20), **ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΖΝ ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) (still) very young (lit. small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) in (ΖΝ) age (ΘΗΛΥΚΙΑ < Τ-ΖΗΛΥΚΙΑ)' (KHML II 35:2).

5.1.3.3 Situational sentences

Situational sentences set up a temporal frame for the following discourse. They have an expletive pronoun as their subject, which roughly corresponding to impersonal *it* in English. The predicate typically is a time-indicating noun, e.g. **ΝΕ ΤΕΥΩΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ)' (KHML I 80:28), **ΕΝΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΠΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ** 'while *it* (ΠΕ) was (Ε-ΝΕ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Marcus, the Evangelist (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ)' (Hil. 3:32-33), **ΠΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΝΑΠΣΟ Η ΧΠΤ** '*it* (ΠΕ) (is) the time (Π-ΝΑΥ) of the sixth (Ν-ΧΠ-ΣΟ) or (Η) the fifth hour (Π-ΧΠ-Τ)' (Sh. IV 110:22-23), **ΕΩΩΠΕ ΜΝ** (read ΜΕΝ) **ΠΩΩΜ ΠΕ** 'when *it* (ΠΕ) (is) summer' (Π-ΩΩΜ) (Sh. IV 110:22). Setting up a discourse frame may also involve reference to some physical or mental condition, e.g. **ΝΕ ΟΥΨΩΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΝΑΨΤ ΠΕ** 'because (ΓΑΡ) *it* (ΠΕ) was (ΝΕ) a heavy (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΨΤ) illness (ΟΥ-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:28), **ΝΤΕΤΝΟΜ ΑΝ ΤΕ** '*it* (ΤΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) (in) your power (ΤΕΤΝ-ΟΜ) (i.e. something you can influence) (Ac. A&P 196:40-41).

5.1.3.4 Presentational sentences

Presentational sentences of the kind **ANOK PE** 'it (PE) (is) me (ANOK)' are used as responses to identity questions. The main function of the expletive pronoun **PE** is to pinpoint the discourse entity whose identity is at stake, e.g. **NIM PE PAI - NAZPOY PRINKHME PE** 'who (NIM) (is) that (PAI)? - It (PE) (is) Nahrow the Egyptian (PRINKHME)' (KHML I 7:20-21), **NIM [T]ENOY PETCWM MPINHWE [AN]ON PE XE NTWTN PE** 'now (TENOU) it (PE) (is) who (NIM) that (ET-) misleads (CWM) the crowd (M-PRINHWE)? (Is) it (PE) us (ANON) or (XE) (is) it (PE) you (NTWTN)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231), **PHOEIC IC PE XC PE** '(Ara Ptolemy realized that) it (PE) (was) the Lord (PHOEIC) Jesus Christ (PE-XC)' (KMHL II 30:24-25).

5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

The basic subject-predicate configuration that underlies bipartite nominal sentences can be transformed into a new sentence pattern by inserting the deictic pronouns **PE**, **TE**, **NE** into the structure, e.g. **NAZPOY PE PAPAN** 'my name (PA-PAN) (is) Nahrow' (KHML I 3:6-7), **TAI TE TACZIME** 'this (TAI) (is) my wife (TA-CZIME)' (AP Chaïne no. 241, 73:30), **ZENNOB GAP NE NEYPOXYTIA** 'for (GAP) their ascetic labours (NEY-POXYTIA) (are) great (ZEN-NOB)' (Hil. 7:9). Such extended nominal sentence patterns are composed of three elements, viz. the subject, the predicate noun, and the added deictic pronoun:

SUBJECT	AGREEMENT CLITIC	PREDICATE NOUN	
PAI	PE	PAZAI	This (is) my husband.
This	SING. MASC	my husband	
TAI	TE	TACZIME	This (is) my wife.
This	SING. FEM	my wife	
PAI	NE	NAQHPE	These (are) my children.
These	PLURAL	my children	

TABLE 5.2 Tripartite nominal sentences

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences differ from one another in the number of sentence constituents defining each pattern, which reflects different types of agreement marking. In bipartite nominal sentences,

the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate is marked by pro- and enclisis, respectively. This contrasts with tripartite nominal sentences that employ a specialized formative, the agreement clitic, to link the subject to the nominal predicate. Moreover, bipartite nominal sentences are syntactically more restricted than their tripartite counterparts. While the subject of bipartite nominal sentences must be a pronoun, no such selectional restrictions apply in tripartite nominal sentences, which tolerate all kinds of nominal and pronominal expressions as subjects. The greater syntactic flexibility of tripartite nominal sentences has a semantic correlate in a broader spectrum of meaning distinctions than is customary in bipartite nominal sentence patterns.

5.2.1 The syntactic role of the agreement clitic

The obligatory third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences are not associated with anaphoric reference (i.e. they are not linked to a preceding noun phrase), but rather function as purely morphological markers that indicate the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate. In this grammar, the term agreement clitic will be used to describe the structural role of the non-anaphoric pronoun in this nominal sentence pattern. The reason why Coptic uses a desemanticized pronoun as an agreement-marking device is to prevent potential structural ambiguity between a phrasal and a sentential interpretation of a sequence of two noun phrases. By separating the subject from the nominal predicate, the intervening singular masculine pronoun **PE** distinguishes the sentential structure from its phrasal counterpart.

5.2.1.1 Main differences between agreement clitics and copular verbs

Most Coptic grammars use the term "deictic copula" to indicate the syntactic function of the non-anaphoric third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences. The added pronoun has actually very little in common with copular verbs. Coptic has two equivalents to the English copular verb *be*, **OYN** '(there) is' and **HN** '(there) is not', which appear clause-initially in existential sentences, e.g. **OYN POME MPIMA** 'is (OYN) someone (POME) here (M-PEI-MA)?' (AP, Chaïne no. 261, 80:5), **HN LAAY** '(there) is no (HN) one (LAAY)' (V. Pach. 1:7). The verbal copulas **OYN** and **HN** differ from the agreement clitics of tripartite nominal sentences in the following respect:

- The copular verb functions as the semantic predicate in asserting the existence or non-existence of some discourse entity. This contrasts with the agreement-marking clitic of tripartite nominal sentences, which has no such predicate role and can therefore not be construed as part of the sentence predicate.
- The agreement clitic has no negative counterpart comparable to the negative copular verb *μη*. To assign a negative value to the nominal predicate, the negative adverb *αν* 'not' has to be inserted into the structure, e.g. *ντοκ αν πε πρπο* 'you (*ντοκ*) (are) not (*αν*) the king (*π-ππο*)' (Ac. A&P 202:108).
- While the verbal copula must be construed with an indefinite subject, the subject of tripartite nominal sentences must be a definite. Thus, compare: *μη νουτε νσα πε-χc ic πνουτε ηπζαγιος απα μινα* '(there) is no (*μη*) God (*νουτε*) besides (*νσα*) Jesus Christ (*πε-χc ic*), the God (*π-νουτε*) of the holy (*η-π-ζαγιος*) Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21) vs. *ογα πε πνουτε ναπα πτελεμη πε-χc ic* 'unique (*ογα*) (is) the God (*π-νουτε*) of Apa (*η-απα*) Ptolemy, Jesus Christ (*πε-χc*)' (KMHL II 36:27-37:1).

5.2.1.2 Agreement behaviour

As fully grammaticalized markers of the subject-predicate relation, the desemanticized third person pronouns of tripartite nominal sentences generally have the same number and gender (though not person) specification as the clausal subject, e.g. *ανοκ πε πε-χc* 'I (*ανοκ*) (am) Christ (*πε-χc*)' (AP, Chafine no.145, 32:16), *πεσαν πε ευδοξια* 'her name (*πε-σαν*) (was) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:4).

The subject-orientation of the agreement clitic is particularly clear in interrogative nominal sentences where the predicatively used question word itself is not specified for grammatical number and gender, e.g. *νιμ πε πεσαν* 'what (*νιμ*) (is) your name (*πε-σαν*)?' (KMHL I 3:6), *νιμ νε νβααμπε αυω νιμ νε νεσοου* 'who (*νιμ*) (are) the goats (*ν-βααμπε*) and (*αυω*) who (*νιμ*) (are) the sheep (*ν-εσοου*)?' (AP, Chafine no. 140, 31:14), *αψ πε πωι ενταυπωζ εροφ* 'what (*αψ*) (is) the height (*π-ωι*) that they have reached (*εντ-α-υ-πωζ*)?' (AP, Chafine no. 241, 73:19), *αψ τε τεεργαγια* [for *τεεργαγια*] 'what (*αψ*) (is) your profession (*τεκ-εργαγια*)?' (AP, Chafine no. 241, 73:29).

When the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence is a coordinated no phrase, the agreement clitic agrees with the second conjunct, e.g. *τεκελπις αυω πεκταχρο πε πνουτε μαααφ* 'your hope (*τεκελπις*) and (*αυω*) your strength (*πεκ-ταχρο*) (is) God (*π-νουτε*) alone (*μααα-φ*)' (Sh. III 101:9), *τμντ[ρ]μν[ζ]ητ ν[να]ζπαυ ι τ[μ]νταεητ αυω τμνταεητ νναζπαυ τε τμντρμνζητ* 'wisdom (*τ-μντ-ρμν-ζητ*) (is) for them (*νναζπα-υ*) foolishness (*τ-μντ-ατ-ζητ*) and (*αυω*) foolishness (*τ-μντ-ατ-ζητ*) wisdom (*τ-μντ-ρμν-ζητ*)' (S IV 41:22-23).

5.2.1.3 The interaction between the agreement clitic and personal pronouns

The presence of the agreement-marking deictic pronoun does not interfere with the selection of personal pronouns. That is, tripartite nominal sentences tolerate both nouns and pronouns as clausal subject and therefore have a much broader syntactic distribution than their bipartite counterparts, which are only compatible with pronominal subjects. The pronominal subject of tripartite nominal sentences is, as a rule, an independent personal pronoun, e.g. *ανοκ πε περεφρ νοβε* 'you (*ανοκ*) (are) the Redeemer (*π-ρεφ-κω εβολ*)' (Test. Is. 232:31) *ντοφ πε πεγειωτ μιννα πνουτε* 'he (*ντοφ*) (Pachôm) (was) their father (*πεγ-ειωτ*) after (*μιννα*) God (*π-νουτε*)' (V. Pach. 4:11). The selection of proclitic pronouns is only marginally attested as an alternative, e.g. *ανγ πε γαβριηλ* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) Gabriël' (AP Chafine no.143, 32:6), *ανγ πε θεωδοσιος πρπο* 'I (*ανγ*) (am) King (*π-ππο*) Theodosius' (AP Chafine no.141, 31: 28-29).

5.2.1.4 Clitic clustering

The agreement clitic comes last in a cluster of enclitic function words and particles, e.g. *νευβνε δε νε νζητ ννρωμε νατνουτε* 'their (the demons') caverns (*νευ-βνε*) (are) the hearts (*ν-ζητ*) of godless (*ν-ατ-νουτε*) people (*ν-ν-ρωμε*)' (Sh. IV 177:4-5), *ογατοω γαρ νακ πε πμτον νφα ενεζ* 'for (*γαρ*) never-ending (*ογ-ατ-οω*) (is) for you (*να-κ*) eternal (*νφα ενεζ*) rest (*π-μτον*)' (AP, Chafine no. 30, 6:7), *πως γαρ αν πε ψα αλλα πα πενταφταααε μμος πε* 'because (*γαρ*) beauty (*π-σα*) (is) not (*αν*) of her (*πω-ς*) (the pretty woman), but (*αλλα*) it (*πε*) is something belonging to (*πα-*) him who has

created (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΛΑCCE) her (ΗΜΟ-C)' (Sh. Or 44 168: 10-14).

5.2.2 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

Although tripartite nominal sentences display the familiar distinction between predication and identification sentences, they tend to make more fine-grained distinctions than their bipartite counterparts. On the one hand, there are classificational sentences, which describe a relation of class inclusion, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΖΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ), your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) not (ΑΝ) gods (ΖΗΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (KHML I 4:2-3). On the other hand, there are ascriptive sentences that indicate property assignment, e.g. ΟΥΝΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΚΚΛΗΡΟC 'your heritage (ΠΕΚ-ΚΛΗΡΟC) (is) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC)' (KHML II 30:12). Next to classificational and ascriptive sentences, there are characterisational sentences, which provide an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject referent, e.g. ΝΑCΕΒΗC ΝΕ ΝΕΤCΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ 'the impious ones (Ν-ΑCΕΒΗC) (are) those who reject (Ν-ΕΤ-CΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ) the prescriptions (Ν-Ν-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ) of our fathers (Ν-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)' (Sh. III 152:29-153:1).

The same diversity of predication sentence types obtains in identificational sentences. Identity relations are based on what might be called the division of reference: one entity is referred to by two different names. Depending on how this division of reference is syntactically realized, one can distinguish at least three distinctive classes of identificational sentences, viz. (i) identity statements proper, which can be paraphrased as "the referent of the subject is the same or not the same person as the referent of the predicate", e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΚΨΕΡΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) Hilaria your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 11:28-29), ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5), (ii) assertoric sentences, the subject of which is a demonstrative pronoun functioning as a deictic pointer, e.g. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaine no. 241, 73:30), and (iii) specificational sentences, whose subject is a semantically incomplete expression or variable like ΡΑΝ 'name' that is assigned an interpretation by the predicate noun, e.g. ΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC 'his name (ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paul' (KHML I 72:8-9).

Figure 5.4 below presents a taxonomy of the most common types of predication relations in tripartite nominal sentences:

BIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCES

PREDICATIONAL SENTENCES

IDENTIFICATIONAL SENTENCES

CLASSIFICA-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΖΗΝΟΥΤΕ
ΑΝ ΝΕ
ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ

ASCRIPTIVE
SENTENCES
ΟΥΝΟC ΠΕ
ΠΕΚΚΛΗΡΟC

IDENTITY
SENTENCES
ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ
ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ

ASSERTORIC
SENTENCES
ΤΑΙ ΤΕ
ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ

SPECIFICA-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΠΕΦΡΑΝ
ΠΕ
ΠΑΥΛΟC

CHARACTERIS-
TIONAL
SENTENCES
ΠΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟC
ΑΝ ΗΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ
ΟΥΡΩΜΕ
ΕΦΧΑΖΗ

'Your gods
(are) not
gods'
(KHML I
4:2-3)

'Your
heritage (is)
great'
(KHML II
30:12)

'I (am)
Hilaria'
(Hil. 11:28)

'This (is) my
wife' (AP,
Chaine no.
241, 73:30)

'His name
(was) Paul'
(KHML I
72:8-9)

'The impure one
(is) not only an
un-clean man
(...)' (Sh. A II
55)

FIGURE 5.4 Predicate types in tripartite nominal sentences

The following sections elaborate on the semantic distinctions between the various classes of predication and identificational sentences, which are often subtle.

5.2.2.1 Classificational sentences

Tripartite classificational sentences describe a semantic relation of class inclusion in much the same way as their bipartite counterparts. Various types of indefinite or partitive expressions qualify as classificational predicates, to wit (i) indefinite noun phrases, which have the same number specification as the nominal subject, e.g. ΑΛΗΘΩC ΟΥΝΟC ΜΗΑΓΟC ΠΕ ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ 'really (ΑΛΗΘΩC), this man (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) (is) a great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) magician (Μ-ΜΑΓΟC)' (KHML I 7:22-23), ΕΠΙΔΗ ΖΗΡΕΦΨΟΡΤΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΗ) ΤΕΥΦΥCΙC 'for (ΕΠΙΔΗ) women (ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) (are) by (ΖΕΝ) their nature (ΤΕΥ-ΦΥCΙC) prone to excitement (lit. excitable people (ΖΗ-ΡΕΦ-ΨΟΡΤΡ))' (Hil. 11:35-12:1), (ii) possessive demonstratives, which agree in both number and gender with the subject, e.g. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΑΤΕΦΥCΙC ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΖΩΩΛΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΩB 'because (ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ) to fail (ΖΩΩΛΕ) in (ΖΗ) something (ΟΥ-ΖΩB) (is) intrinsic to the nature (ΠΑ-ΤΕ-ΦΥCΙC) of human beings ((Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) (BHom.12:19-20), ΤΑΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΕCΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ 'from whence (ΤΑ-ΤΩΝ) (is)

this (woman) (ΤΑΙ) who defends (herself) (ε-σ-απολογιζε) in such a manner (η-τει-ζε)?' (KHML I 83:29), ΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΤΑΙΟ 'yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the glory (Π-ΕΘΟΥ) and (ΜΗ) the honour (Π-ΤΑΙΟ)' (KHML I 83:17-18), and (iii) zero-determined "bare" nouns, e.g. ΠΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) their god (ΠΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) human (ΡΩΜΕ)' (Sh. IV 183:6).

5.2.2.2 Ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences have the same syntax as classificational ones, the main difference being the adjectival interpretation of the indefinite predicate noun, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΥΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) their ascetic labours (ΝΕΥ-ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ) (are) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ)' (Hil. 7:9), ΟΥΑΤΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΠΗΤΟΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ 'for (ΓΑΡ) never-ending (ΟΥ-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩ) (is) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) eternal (ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ) rest (Π-ΗΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no.30, 6:7).

It is rather common for the nominal predicate of ascriptive sentences to involve comparison or modification of degree, e.g. ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤΙ ΗΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the mighty deeds (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΗ) wonders (ΝΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) that happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΗ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ι) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew (are) very (ΕΝΑΤΕ) great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ)' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΝΑΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΨΗΡΕ ΗΠΕΙΖΑΛΟ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΘΑΙΤΗΣ 'very (ΕΝΑΤΕ) miraculous (ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ) (was) the miracle (ΤΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) of this blessed (Η-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) athletic (Η-ΛΘΑΙΤΗΣ) old man (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΖΑΛΟ)' (Onnophr. 215:14-16), ΕΙΕ ΖΗΑΤΘΟΜ ΝΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡC 'are) your gods (ΝΕΚ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) so (Η-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) utterly (ΤΗΡ-С) powerless (ΖΗ-ΑΤ-ΘΟΜ)?' (KHML I 11:10-11).

Ascriptive sentences may also be construed with "bare" nominal predicates without any obvious semantic differences with their corresponding indefinitely determined counterparts. Compare: ΕCΨΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΖΑΙ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΤΕ ΠΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΙ 'when (Ε-) bitter (CΨΕ) (is) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which (ΕΤ-) the husband (Π-ΖΑΙ) talks (ΕΡΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the wife (ΤΕ-СΖΙΜΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) abominable (ΒΟΤΕ) the manner (ΟΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) in which (ΕΤ-) the wife (ΤΕ-СΖΙΜΕ) talks (ΕΡΕ ... ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the husband (Π-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 159:34-41) vs. ΟΥCΨΕ ΗΝ ΟΥΒΟΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ ΤΗΗΤΝΟΘ ΗΠΕΙΚΟCΗC 'bitter (ΟΥ-СΨΕ) and

(ΜΗ) abominable (ΟΥ-ΒΟΤΕ) (is) the greatness (Τ-ΗΗΤ-ΝΟΘ) of this world (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΗC)' (KHML II 33:9-10).

5.2.2.3 Characterisational sentences

The nominal predicate of characterisational sentences provides an exhaustive specification or definition for the subject, instead of classifying it as the holder of some property or representative member of a particular class of entities. The subject is typically a non-specific or generic noun phrase, while the predicate nominal is drawn from the set of quantificational expressions or non-specific definites. In a sense, then, the set of entities referred to by the subject is co-extensive with the set of entities referred to by the nominal predicate: both constituents describe two overlapping or partially intersecting domains of individuals or objects, e.g. ΝΕΨΗΝΕ ΝCΑ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΗΜ ΕΦΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΗΠΕCΗΝΟΜΟC ΗΗ ΝΕCΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (Η-ΕΤ-ΨΗΝΕ) for (ΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) every (ΝΗΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) who studies (Ε-Φ-ΜΕΛΗΤΑ) His law (Η-ΠΕC-ΗΝΟΜΟC) and (ΗΗ) His prescriptions (ΝΕC-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ)' (Abbatōn 227:9-11), ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΕQ† ΚΩΤ ΗΠΕΝΒΙΟC ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ{Υ} ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΟΥΩΖ ΖΗ ΤΗΗΗΤΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) a woman (ΟΥ-СΖΙΜΕ) to stay (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... ΟΥΩΖ) in (ΖΗ) our midst (ΤΗ-ΗΗΤΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) something (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) fitting (Ε-Φ-† ΚΩΤ) our life (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΒΙΟC)' (Hil. 6:25-26), ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΨΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'the ones who serviced (ΝΕ-ΝΤΑ-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC) (are) the ones who reached (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ (Ε)ΡΑΤΟΥ) the measure (Π-ΨΙ) of the Scriptures (Η-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 33:30-31).

5.2.2.4 Identity statements

The concept of identity is intimately related to the division of reference. Identity relations express this idea by equating two names, both of which refer to one and the same individual. Both the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements are therefore referential expressions like proper names or personal pronouns, e.g. (those who say) ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5), Ω ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΟ ΤΕ ΘΕΚΛΑ ΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΝΖΗΛΙΑC 'oh (Ω) woman (ΤΕ-СΖΙΜΕ) you (ΝΤΟ) (are) Thekla, the daughter (Τ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) of Elias (Η-ΖΗΛΙΑC)' (KHML I 80:15). The division of reference that defines identity relations may also involve reference to a temporary stage or

role of the discourse entity whose identity is in the center of interest, e.g. $\text{ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΗΣΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΧΩ ΕΤΕΤΡΙΡ}$ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) *Paêse*, who had been thrown (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΟΧ-Ω) into the oven (Ε-ΤΕ-ΤΡΙΡ)' (KHML I 79:7-8), $\text{ΑΩ ΝΤΟΩ ΠΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΕΩΖΑΡΑΤΚ}$ 'and he (ΝΤΟΩ) (Constantine) (is) *the king* (Π-ΡΡΟ) under you (Ε-Ω-ΖΑ-ΡΑΤ-Κ)' (Eud. 54:12-13).

5.2.2.5 Assertoric sentences

Assertoric sentences, unlike identity statements, have as a subject a proximal demonstrative pronoun ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ 'this, these'. This type of identificational sentence has been called assertoric in the linguistic literature, because the demonstrative subject pronoun does not so much name a particular individual or object concerning which an assertion is made, but rather functions as a mere deictic pointer, whose logical role is to draw the addressee's attention to someone or something in his immediate surroundings, e.g. $\text{ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ}$ 'this (ΠΑΙ) (is) Antonius, this (ΠΑΙ) (is) Pachôm and (ΜΗ) Petronius and (ΜΗ) Theodorus, *this* (ΠΑΙ) (is) Apa Shenûte' (KHML II 22:3-5), $\text{ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕ[ΙC] ΙC ΠΕΧC}$ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) the resurrection (Τ-ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC) of our Lord (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Eud. 66:22-23), $\text{ΖΕΝΤΟΠΟC ΝΕ Ν[ΑΙ Μ]ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΩΜ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ[ΡΕ]ΧΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΓ ΕΑΜΝΤΕ}$ 'these (ΝΑΙ) (are) *places* (ΖΕΝ-ΤΟΠΟC) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) did not visit (ΜΠΕ ... ΩΜ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ) when he descended (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ω-ΕΙ) into Hell (Ε-ΑΜΝΤΕ)' (Ac. A&P 204:141-142), $\text{ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΖΜΟΟC ΖΙΧΕΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΟΝΟC - ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC}$ 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) these (ΝΑΙ) who sit (ΕΤ-ΖΜΟΟC) on (ΖΙΧΕΝ) their thrones (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΟΝΟC)? - All (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those (ΝΑΙ) you see (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ), they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (Μ-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:19-22).

Assertoric sentences may represent not only a simple act of naming or pointing, but may also organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse. As a discourse anaphor, the demonstrative subject pronoun refers back to the preceding narrative unit, e.g. $\text{ΑΩ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΗΟC ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΝΙΜ}$ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the manner (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) that he (Pachôm) acted (Ε-ΝΕ-Ω-ΕΙΡΕ) with them (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) (the brothers) at every (ΝΙΜ) time (Ν-ΟΥΕΨ)' (V. Pach. 5:6-

7), $\text{ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΨΟΡΠΕ ΝΕΑΚΑΝΟC ΝΤΑΚΤΑΛC ΝΑΩ}$ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (was) the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠΕ) torment (Ν-ΒΑΚΑΝΟC) which he (the judge) gave (ΝΤ-Α-Ω-ΤΑΛ-Α) him (ΝΑ-Ω) (Apa Mena)' (Mena, Enc. 52b:5-8).

Alternatively, the demonstrative subject pronoun of assertoric sentences may also be used cataphorically, making reference to what is to be communicated next, e.g. ΠΕΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΙC 'this (ΠΑΙ) (is) the glory (Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of Jesus' (Eud. 76:25), $\text{ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΨΛΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΜΗ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΑΡΑΝΑΩ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC}$ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) my prayer (ΠΑ-ΨΛΗ) by night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ) and (ΜΗ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) (is) this (ΠΑΙ) that I may please (Ε-ΤΡΑ-Ρ ΑΝΑ-Ω) the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (Mena, Enc. 52a:20-25).

5.2.2.6 Specificational sentences

The subject expression of specificational sentences represents a variable, i.e. a term which is compatible with several values that is assigned a particular value by the predicate noun. Such sentences are identifying in the sense that the specification of the variable makes it possible to establish the identity of its referent. Several types of nominals may qualify as such open expressions or variables. Kinship terms, for instance, do not provide enough information to pick out a referent from a set and are therefore linked to a strongly referential expression (a proper name or personal pronoun), e.g. $\text{ΠΕΩCΟΝ ΠΕ ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟC ΠΕΠΑΡΧΟC ΜΠΕΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ}$ 'his brother (ΠΕΩ-CΟΝ) (was) Anatôlius, the *eparch* (Π-ΕΠΑΡΧΟC) of that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) time (Μ-ΠΕ-ΥΟΕΨ)' (Mena, Enc. 40a:2-6), $\text{ΝΤΟΩ ΠΕ ΠΕΥΕΨΤ ΜΗΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ}$ 'he (ΝΤΟΩ) (Pachôm) (was) their father (ΠΕΥ-ΕΨΤ) after (ΜΗΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 4:11).

In specificational sentences that represent a simple act of naming, the possessively determined noun phrase ΠΕΩ-ΡΑΝ 'his name' functions as the variable, which is assigned a particular value (the proper name in question) by the nominal predicate, e.g. $\text{ΝΙΜ ΠΕ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ - ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ}$ 'what (ΝΙΜ) (is) your name (ΠΕΚ-ΡΑΝ)? (...) Nahrow (is) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ)' (KHML I 3:6-7), $\text{ΤΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΨΕΡΕ ΝΕ ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΤΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΘΕΟΠΙCΤΗ}$ '(as for) the elder (Τ-ΝΟC) daughter (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ), her name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) was (ΝΕ) Hilaria, (as for) the younger (one) (Τ-ΚΟΥΙ), her name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) was (ΝΕ) Theopistê' (Hil. 2:8-10).

The assignment of a value to a variable comes close in meaning to

enumerating items on a list, e.g. ΠΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΘΕΙ ΝΘΟΡΠ ΕΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ ΝΙΧΑΝ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΕΛΟΣ 'he (ΠΑΙ) who came (ΕΝΤ-Α-Θ-ΕΙ) before (ΝΘΟΡΠ Ε-) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) (is) the archangel (Π-ΑΡΧΗΑΓΕΛΟΣ) Michael' (Eud. 52:8-9), ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΘΟΛΠΘ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ (...) ΠΕ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΟΙΟΣ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΝΤΣΜΕΙΝΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) whom God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has revealed (ΝΤ-Α ... ΘΟΛΠ-Θ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) from among you (ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) (...) (is) Petronius, the abbot (Π-ΕΙΩΤ) of (Ν-) the monastery (ΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ) of Tsmeine' (V. Pach. 93:7-9). The last example can be paraphrased as "the list of persons that God had revealed to me contains a single person: Petronius, the abbot of Tsmeine". Specificational sentences of this sort always have an exhaustive reading; they imply that the list of values satisfying the variable represented by the free relative clause is limited.

5.2.2.7 Concluding remarks

The picture that emerges from the previous discussion is that identificational nominal sentences are semantically just as diverse as predicational ones. This is because the division of reference that underlies identity relations manifests itself in different forms. We have seen that the subject and the nominal predicate of identity statements proper are both highly referential expressions, which are linked to the same discourse referent. This contrasts with assertoric sentences, where the demonstrative subject pronoun does not name, but rather points to the discourse entity referred to by the nominal predicate. Specificational sentences, on the other hand, have weakly referring expressions as their subjects that behave semantically like variables, i.e. terms that are compatible with several values. The primary function of the nominal predicate is, then, to specify a value for that variable, thereby providing the relevant information necessary for the identification of the subject referent.

Key Terms:

Bi- and tripartite nominal sentences

are distinguished with respect to the number of sentence elements. **Bipartite** nominal sentences are derived by juxtaposing the pronominal subject and the nominal predicate, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΤΙΝΑ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a ghost (ΟΥ-ΤΙΝΑ)' (Onnophr. 206:19). **Tripartite** nominal sentences, on the other hand, are characterized by the presence of an additional third person pronoun separating the subject from the nominal predicate, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) the son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Abbatōn 240:13).

Clitic clusters

are series of two or more prosodically weak elements. The enclitic deictic pronouns ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ always come last in such a sequence of clitics, e.g. ΝΟΥΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΑΘ ΑΝ ΠΕ 'for him (ΝΑ-Θ) it (ΠΕ) (is) not (Ν ... ΑΝ) a fault (ΟΥ-ΑΡΙΚΕ)' (Zen. 203:22).

Topic-comment sentences

Bipartite nominal sentences can be expanded by a preclausal noun or pronoun to yield a topic-comment sentence. The topicalised constituent designates the discourse entity that is reactivated or placed in the centre of attention, while the following comment clause provides a statement about that referent, e.g. ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΡΞ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as for) us (ΑΝΟΝ), we (ΑΝ) (are) fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) men (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ)' (Eud. 70:12).

Predicational sentences	derive their name from the fact that the predicate nominal has no specific referent in the realm of discourse, but rather predicates something about the subject referent, for instance, a role, characteristic property or class membership.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Identificational sentences	express identity relations, where the subject and the nominal predicate are linked to the same discourse referent.	§5.1.3, §5.2.2
Classificational sentences	indicate a semantic relation of class inclusion, with the referent of the subject being defined as a representative member of a particular class, type of species, e.g. ΝΤΕ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ 'you (ΝΤΕ) (are) a woman (ΟΥC-ΖΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 6:25).	§5.1.3.1 §5.2.2.1
Ascriptive sentences	have an adjectival meaning in attributing to the subject a characteristic property, e.g. ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΑΤΩΠΕ 'you (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) shameless (ΖΕΝ-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ)' (Eud. 64:11).	§5.1.3.2 §5.2.2.2
Situational sentences	set up a temporal frame for the preceding or following set of sentences, e.g. ΝΕ ΤΕΥΨΗ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) it (ΤΕ) was (ΝΕ) night (ΤΕ-ΥΨΗ)' (KHML I 80:28).	§5.1.3.3
Presentational sentences	typically appear in those contexts where the identity of some discourse participant is at stake, e.g. [ΑΝ]ΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΠΕ '(who misleads the crowd?) (Is) it (ΠΕ) us (ΑΝΟΝ) or (ΧΕ) (is) it (ΠΕ) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ)?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).	§5.1.3.4
Expletive pronouns	have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3

Agreement clitic	Tripartite nominal sentences are characterised by an additional pronominal element, the agreement clitic, which mark the syntactic relation between the subject and the nominal predicate.	§5.2.1
Identity statements	are prototypical exemplars of identifying sentences, with the subject and the nominal predicate naming the same discourse entity, e.g. ΙC ΑΝ ΠΕ ΝΕΧC 'Jesus (is) not (ΑΝ) the Messiah (ΠΕ-ΧC)' (Sh. III 114:5).	§5.1.3 §5.2.2.4
Characterisational sentences	are a subtype of tripartite predicational sentences, where the nominal predicate provides an exhaustive specification or definition of the subject, e.g. ΝΕΤΩΠΗ ΝCΑ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕCΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΗΠΕCΝΟΜΟC ΗΝ ΝΕCΕΝΤΟΛΗ 'the ones who search (Η-ΕΤ-ΩΠΗ) for (ΝCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (are) every (ΝΙΜ) man (ΡΩΜΕ) who studies (Ε-C-ΜΕΛΗΤΑ) His law (Η-ΠΕC-ΝΟΜΟC) and (ΗΝ) His prescriptions (ΝΕC-ΕΝΤΟΛΗ)' (Abbatôn 227:9-11).	§5.2.2.3
Assertoric sentences	are characterized by a demonstrative pronoun in subject function. Assertoric sentences are used to pinpoint an individual or object in the vicinity of the speech participants, e.g. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΑCΖΙΜΕ 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) my wife (ΤΑ-CΖΙΜΕ)' (AP, Chaîne no.241, 73:30).	§5.2.2.5
Specificational sentences	are identificational sentences, where the subject represents a variable, for which the nominal predicate provides a specific value, e.g. ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΥΛΟC 'his name (ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was) Paulus' (KHML I 72:8-9).	§5.2.2.6

Exercises

5.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Review the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples.
- Coptic nominal sentences lack a verbal copula in the context of present tense reference.
 - The pronominal subject of bipartite nominal sentence may have an anaphoric function, referring to a previous noun phrase, or function as an expletive pronoun, which lacks a referential role.
 - Bipartite nominal sentences cannot express identity statements.
 - The agreement clitic agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of tripartite nominal sentences.
 - The agreement clitic adds emphasis to the pronominal subject.
 - In assertoric sentences, the demonstrative subject pronoun is used as a deictic point rather than a referring expression.
 - Ascriptive sentences are commonly modified by quantificational or comparative adverbs.

5.2 Bipartite nominal sentences

- A. Fill in the missing proclitic or enclitic pronoun in the following bipartite nominal sentences.
- αγω __ οὐπλάσμα ντε νεφδix 'and (αγω) I (am) a creature (οὐπλάσμα) of (ντε) his (God's) hands (νεφδix)' (V. Pach. 2:13-14)
 - οὐμανδαμογα __ 'he (Apa Mena) (was) a camel herd (οὐμαν-δαμογα)' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3-4)

- οὐκω2τ τηρϣ __ 'it (the Prince of Hell) (is) all (τηρ-ϣ) fire (οὐκω2τ)' (Test. Is. 235:2)
 - ται δε νε οὐρμηλο εματε __ '(as for) her (ται), she was (νε) very (εματε) rich (οὐρμη-λο)' (KHML I 45:3)
- B. Classify the following bipartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.
- ανον γαρ ανον ηρμουπολις ντε κημε ξε πμξε 'because (γαρ) (as for) us (ανον), we (ανον) (are) people of a city (ηρμη-οὐ-πολις) of (ντε) Egypt (κημε) called (ξε) Pemje (πμξε)' (Onnophr. 220:11-12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence
 - οὐχωρε πε καλος 2η περσωμα 'it (the calf) (was) wonderfully (καλος) strong (οὐχωρε) in (2η) its body (περ-σωμα)' (BHom. 262:2)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
 - καν οὐ2οοϣτ πε καν οὐς2ιμε τε '(they who are cursed), be it that (καν) it (πε) (is) a man (οὐ2οοϣτ), be it that (καν) it (τε) (is) a woman (οὐς2ιμε)' (Sh. IV 154:12)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
 - αγω ενε περσωμντ πε εμπεροϣωη 'and (αγω) it (πε) was (νε) (already) his (Pachôm's) third (day) (περ-σωμντ) that he had not eaten (ε-μπε-ρ-οϣωη)' (V. Pach. 90:27-28).
☐ situational sentence ☐ characterisational sentence

5.3 Tripartite nominal sentences

- A. Fill in the correct form of the agreement clitic in the following tripartite nominal sentences.
- ντοκ __ πχοεις ντπε μν πκα2 'you (ντοκ) (are) the lord (π-χοεις) of heaven (ν-τ-πε) and (μν) earth (π-κα2)' (Eud. 46:12)

- (2) **ΤΑΙ** __ **ΤΨΟΡΠΕ** **ΝΟΥΨΗ** **ΝΤΑΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ** **ΜΗ** **ΝΕΚΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ** 'this (ΤΑΙ) (is) the first (ΤΨΟΡΠΕ) the night (Ν-ΟΥΨΗ) that I joined (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ) your saints (ΝΕΚ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)' (KHML II 30:4-5)
- (3) **ΠΩΚ** __ **ΠΝΟΥΒ** **ΠΩΚ** __ **ΠΖΑΤ** **ΤΩΚ** __ **ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ** **ΜΗ** **ΝΕΤΝΖΗΤΣ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ), yours (ΠΩ-Κ) (is) the silver (Π-ΖΑΤ), yours (ΤΩ-Κ) (is) the entire (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) world (Τ-ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ) and (ΜΗ) what (is) in it (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΖΗΤ-Σ)' (Sh. III 90:19-20)
- (4) **ΝΙΜ** __ **ΝΒΑΛΜΠΕ** **ΑΥΩ** **ΝΙΜ** __ **ΝΕΣΟΟΥ** 'who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the goats (Ν-ΒΑΛΜΠΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) who (ΝΙΜ) (are) the sheep (Ν-ΕΣΟΟΥ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 140, 31:14)
- (5) **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ** **ΝΤΟΦ** __ **ΠΝΟΒ** **ΕΡΟΟΥ** **ΤΗΡΟΥ** **ΕΦΟ** **ΝΑΠΕ** **ΕΧΩΟΥ** **ΝΘΕ** **ΝΟΥΡΡΟ** 'since (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ) he (ΝΤΟΦ) (is) the greatest (Π-ΝΟΒ) of them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) being (Ε-Φ-Ο) head (Ν-ΑΠΕ) over them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) like (ΝΘΕ Ν-) a king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ)' (Abbatôn 235:14-16)

B. Classify the following tripartite nominal sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) **ΜΕΨΑΚ** **ΟΥΤΑΦΟΣ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΑΙ** **ΝΣΩΜΑ** **ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ** 'perhaps (ΜΕΨΑΚ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) a tomb (ΟΥ-ΤΑΦΟΣ) belonging to (Ν-) the body (ΣΩΜΑ) of (Μ-) a prophet (ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ)' (Eud. 74:19-20)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ assertoric sentence
- (2) **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΗΡΠ** **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΔΙΝΟΥΩΜ** **ΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΛΑΛΥ** **ΜΗΟΤΝΕΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ** **ΝΝΑΖΡΝ** **ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ** **ΜΠΕΧ̄Σ** (...) 'what (ΟΥ) (is) wine (ΗΡΠ), what (ΟΥ) (is) food (ΔΙΝ-ΟΥΩΜ), what (ΟΥ) (is) any (ΛΑΛΥ) comfort (Μ-ΗΟΤΝΕΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) this world (ΠΕΙ-ΚΟΣΜΟΣ) before (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) the grace (ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙΣ) of Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄Σ)?' (KMHL II 35:16-17) (a rhetorical question!)
☐ ascriptive sentence ☐ characterisational sentences

- (3) **ΟΥΤΑΜΙΟ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΨΗΡΕ** **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** 'the son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of Go. (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (is) a (mortal) creature (ΟΥ-ΤΑΜΙΟ)' (Sh. contra Oi 310)
☐ classificational sentence ☐ ascriptive sentence
- (4) **ΑΝΟΚ** **ΠΕ** **ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ** **ΤΕΚΨΕΕΡΕ** 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am) your daughter (ΤΕΚ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) Hilaria' (Hil. 11:28-29).
☐ specificational sentence ☐ identity statement

C. Translate the following bi- and tripartite nominal sentences.

- (1) **ΝΤΚ** **ΟΥΖΑΓΙΟΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ** (KHML I 46:22-23)
- (2) **ΑΝΟΝ** **ΓΑΡ** **ΑΝΟΝ** **ΖΕΝΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ** **ΝΤΕ** **ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ** (KHML I 81:10-11)
- (3) **ΠΑΙ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΝΕΖ** **ΝΤΨΕΛΛΕΕΤ** (read **ΨΕΛΕΕΤ**) **ΜΠΑΨΗΡΕ** (KHML I 81:17)

D. Translate the following dialogue fragment. (Q stands for question and A for answer):

THE INTERROGATION OF SAINT APA NAHROW

Q: **ΝΤΚ** **ΟΥΕΕΒΟΛ** [read **ΟΥ-ΕΒΟΛ**] **ΤΩΝ**

A: **ΑΝΓ** **ΟΥΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ**

Q: **ΖΝ** **ΑΨ** **ΝΠΟΛΙΣ^a** **Η** **ΖΝ** **ΑΨ** **ΝΤΗΜΕ**

A: **ΑΝΓ** **ΟΥΡΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ^b** **ΖΗ** **ΠΤΩΨ** **ΠΙΟΜ^c**

Q: **ΝΙΜ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΕΚΡΑΝ**

A: **ΝΑΖΡΟΟΥ** **ΠΕ** **ΠΑΡΑΝ**

Q: **ΝΙΜ** **ΑΦΕΝΤΚ^d** **ΕΠΕΙΜΑ**

A: **ῙC** **ΑΦΕΝΤ^e** **ΕΠΕΙΜΑ** (KHML II 3:2)

NOTES: a. **ΠΟΛΙΣ** 'city, town' b. **ΠΟΥΟΕΙΤ** (toponym), c. **ΠΙΟΜ** (toponym) 'Fayyûm', d. **Α-Φ-ΕΝΤ-Κ** 'he has brought you', e. **Α-Φ-ΕΝΤ** 'he has brought me'

Verbal morphology

Verbs and nouns are the basic building blocks for sentences. Nouns are referring expressions that name individuals, objects or locations, while verbs are typically used as predicates that designate relations between entities: events they participated in or states that were obtained. The present Unit is the first of four units on the Coptic verbal-inflectional system. Its focus is on verbal morphology and the syntactic encoding of nominal arguments that refer to the event's participants. Unit 7 deals with the morpho-syntax of verbal tense and aspect and the contrastive behaviour of the various present, past and future tenses. This leads to Unit 8, which is about relative tenses and moods. Unit 9 completes the survey of the inflectional domain by examining the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods.

The Coptic verbal system is organized around relatively abstract lexical representations (roots) and fully specified surface forms (stems), which are associated with a particular morpho-semantic pattern. Take, for instance, the pair $\kappa\omega\tau$ 'to build' and $\kappa\eta\tau$ 'to be (in a) built (state)', both of which are derived from the biliteral root $\sqrt{k-t}$, meaning something like "constructing, shaping". Section 6.1 provides an introduction to Coptic root-and-pattern morphology.

Derivationally related stems like $\kappa\omega\tau$ and $\kappa\eta\tau$ contain two layers of meaning that interact in complex ways. On the one hand, there is the basic lexical value of the underlying verbal root. On the other hand, there is the inherent dynamic or static meaning of the stem pattern with which the underlying root is associated. Thus, while the verb stem $\kappa\omega\tau$ 'to build' designates the structure-building event itself, the

corresponding form **κῡτ** 'to be built' refers to the resultant state of that event. Section 6.2 examines the eventive-stative contrast for different lexical classes of transitive and intransitive verbs.

In Coptic, stem patterns not only express core distinctions in the aspectual domain, viz. the contrast between events and states, but also encode information that is relevant for syntax. As will be shown in section 6.3, the so-called absolute and construct state patterns represent different strategies for the grammatical expression of the direct object relation. In the absolute state, the direct object relation is registered by a special preposition, e.g. **κῡτ** **νοῦμα** 'to build (**κῡτ**) a place (**ν-οῦ-μα**)', while no such device is used in the construct state, which is characterised by the strict adjacency between the verb and its direct object, e.g. **κετ** **οῦμα** 'to build (**κετ**) a place (**οῦ-μα**)'.

Section 6.4 deals with the formation of complex predicates. Such complex predicates can be decomposed into a verb and another verbal or nominal element, which together function as a single verbal predicate, e.g. **ρ** **ppo** 'to become (**ρ**) king (**ppo**)' or **ρ** **zwb** 'to work' (lit. to make (**ρ**) thing (**zwb**)). Another topic of this section is analytical causative construction, which contains two verbs, namely the causative verb **τρε-** and the subordinated lexical verb, e.g. **τρε-γ-εινε** 'to let them (**τρε-γ-**) bring (**εινε**)'.

6.1 Root and pattern morphology

Coptic has a verbal system in which morphology, syntax and semantics are intertwined. The key to understanding how this system works lies in the compositional nature of Coptic verb forms. Coptic verbs, unlike their counterparts in languages like English, are internally complex words that can be decomposed into three more basic units, each functioning as a distinct morpheme:

- (i) The root morpheme, which consists of a string of consonants and represents the basic lexical unit (section 6.1.1)
- (ii) The vowel melody, which has a syntactic as well as a semantic role (sections 6.1.2)

- (iii) The stem template, which results from the organization of the root consonants and inflectional vowels into a pattern of syllable structure (section 6.1.3).

Each unit, i.e. the consonantal root, the vowel melody, and the stem template can vary independently. Take, for instance, the pair **κῡτ** /kɔt/ 'to build' and **κῡτε** /kɔ.te/ 'to turn', which are both derived from homophonous (though semantically unrelated) biliteral roots /k-t/, but differ morphologically with respect to their vowel pattern (/ɔ/ vs. /ɔ e/) and stem template (monosyllabic CVC vs. bisyllabic CV.CV). The multi-morphemic character of Coptic verbal stems is schematically represented in figure 6.1, where each segmentally discontinuous morpheme is provided with a separate level of representation or tier. Association lines link a consonantal or vocalic segment to a particular slot on the verbal template:

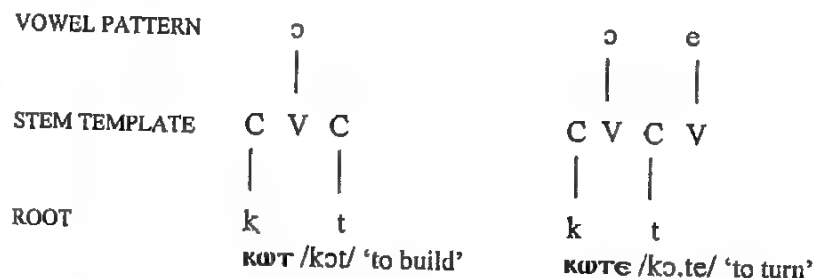


FIGURE 6.1 The three morphological components of verb stems

This rather abstract sketch of Coptic verb stem formation will be filled out in the following sections, starting with the consonantal root.

6.1.1 The consonantal root

At the basis of the Coptic verbal system lies the consonantal root, which is neither a prosodic unit nor a continuous phonological string, but rather consists of a sequence of consonants shared by lexically related stems. Consider the verbs and nouns in table 6.1 below, which all involve the biliteral root /m-s/ 'procreating'.

VERB	GLOSS	NOUN	GLOSS
MIČE	to give birth	MIČE	usury
MOČE	to be newly delivered	MEČIΩ	midwife, nurse
(T)MEČIO	to bring to birth	MAČE	calf, young bull
		MAČ	young (child, animal)

TABLE 6.1 Derived forms of the biliteral root /m-s/ "procreating"

The verbs and nouns listed above are connected in form and meaning. All items contain the consonant sequence /m-s/ and indicate lexical concepts which are related to a particular semantic field, that of procreation and birth. Thus, while the consonantal root is associated with a broad lexical value, the corresponding nouns or verbs have a concrete meaning and refer to entities or designate relations between entities. It is clear, then, that the consonantal root represents a relatively abstract lexical entry that contains only those phonological features that discriminate separate lexical items and adopts different meanings in nominal and verbal templates.

6.1.2 Stem patterns

Coptic verb formation exhibits a one-to-many correspondence between underlying representations (roots) and surface forms (stems). The biliteral root /m-s/, for instance, appears in four different stem patterns (traditionally called "states"), viz. the absolute state **MIČE**, the nominal and pronominal states **MEČ-** and **MEČT=**, respectively, and the stative **MOČE[†]**. Most Coptic dictionaries employ special diacritics to indicate the stem pattern of a given verb form, which are provided in table 6.2.

STEM PATTERN	VERB FORM	DIACRITIC
absolute state (ABS. ST.)	MIČE	no diacritic
nominal state (NOM. ST.)	MEČ-	with hyphen
pronominal state (PRON. ST.)	MEČT=	with equation mark
stative (STAT.) ("qualitative")	MOČE[†]	with raised dagger

TABLE 6.2 Coptic stem pattern and their diacritics

N.B. The terminology used in this grammar diverges from the traditional one in two respects. First, the nominal and pronominal state together will be referred to as the construct state in this grammar, since both stem patterns require adjacency between the verb and its direct object. Second, in line with current linguistic terminology, the traditional label "qualitative" is replaced by the term "stative", which describes the static-resultative meaning of this stem pattern in a more accurate way.

The different surface forms or stems of a given verbal lexeme are derivationally related through the consonant structure of the root, but formally distinguished through vowel change (*abs. st.* **MIČE** /mi.se/ vs. *stat.* **MOČE** /mo.se/) and syllabification (bisyllabic *abs. st.* **MIČE** /mi.se/ vs. monosyllabic *nom. st.* **MEČ-** /mes/). Such vowel alternations, which correlate with different verbal meanings, are known in the linguistic literature under the term "apophony". In Coptic, apophony is a morphologically fully productive process that encodes various verbal categories.

The basic stem patterns of transitive verbs can be classified along two dimensions, a syntactic and a semantic one. The semantic dimension involves situation aspect, which concerns the internal temporal structure or inherent dynamism of the situation described by the verbal predicate. The absolute state **MIČE** and the nominal and pronominal states **MEČ-** and **MEČT=** 'to deliver' are associated with an eventive reading and describe dynamic situations that change over time. The stative **MOČE[†]** 'to be bred', on the other hand, has a non-dynamic reading and indicates temporary conditions or states that last for some time, without involving any change.

The syntactic dimension of Coptic stem patterns concerns the structural dependency between the verb and the direct object. In the construct state, both constituents are necessarily adjacent, e.g. e.g. **MEČ** **ΠΩΡΖΟΟΥΤ** 'to deliver (MEČ-) the male child (ΠΩΡ-ΖΟΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13), while the direct object relation is registered by the preposition **IN-** in the corresponding absolute state. To illustrate the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of verb derivation, an example of each stem pattern is given in table 6.3 below.

STEM PATTERN	SEMANTIC DIMENSION	SYNTACTIC DIMENSION	
ABS. ST. MICE	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECTS	<p>Α ΤΩΔΑΥΛΕ ΜΙΣΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ 'the she-camel (Τ-ΔΑΥΛΕ) delivered (Α ... ΜΙΣΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ Ν-CΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:33-34)</p>
NOM. ST. ΜΕC-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	ADJACENCY OF THE VERB AND THE DIRECT OBJECT NOUN	<p>ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑCΜΕC ΠΥΡΖΟΟΥΤ 'she (ΤΑΙ) who had borne (ΝΤ-Α-C-ΜΕC) the male child (ΠΥΡ-ΖΟΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13)</p>
PRON. ST. ΜΕCΤ-	EVENT [+ CHANGE OF STATE]	CLITICIZATION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN	<p>ΠΥ[ΟΡΠ] ΕΤΕCΝΑΜ[ΕCΤC] 'the first (child) (Π-ΠΥΡΠ) that she is going to deliver (ΕΤΕ-C-ΝΑ-ΜΕCΤ-C)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:25-26)</p>
STAT. ΜΟCΕ†	STATE [- CHANGE OF STATE]	INTRANSITIVE (OBJECTLESS)	<p>ΕΡΕ ΝΧΑΧ ΜΟCΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'while the sparrows (Ν-ΧΑΧ) are bred (ΕΡΕ ... ΜΟCΕ) inside them (the cedars) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Psalm 103:17)</p>

TABLE 6.3 Semantic and syntactic aspects of Coptic stem patterns

A more detailed discussion of the eventive-stative alternation will be offered in section 6.2. In section 6.3, the construct state and the absolute state pattern will be identified with two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case.

6.1.3 Root and stem extensions

This section is about lexeme-formational processes that generate derived verbs by adding different types of affixes to the consonantal root. Such root extensions fall into two classes, viz. reduplicative suffixes that contain one or two consonants of the root morpheme and

lexical prefixes that are phonologically unrelated to the root. Another topic of this section are prosodically driven adjustment procedures, which affect the size and the composition of the stem template.

a) Reduplicative verb extensions

The Coptic lexicon comprises a considerable number of reduplicated and geminated verbs, which are morphologically derived by the full or partial copying of the consonantal root, e.g. **ϣΟΡϣ** /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/ 'to destroy, overturn' (</ʃ-r/), **ϣΜΟΜ** /hmom/ 'to be hot' (</h-m/). In the vast majority of cases, the original intensive or repetitive meaning of such reduplicated verb forms in Pre-Coptic Egyptian has been lost beyond recognition in Coptic Egyptian. For this reason, simplex verbs and their reduplicants are by and large synonymous. Thus, 'compare: **ΟΥΩΤ** /wɔt/ 'to be fresh, green' vs. **ΟΥΩΤΟΥΕΤ** /wɔt.wɔt/ 'to be green, pallid' (</wt/), **ϣΩΧ** /hɔtʰ/ 'to be in straits' vs. **ϣΩΧϣ** /hɔtʰ.hɔtʰ/ 'to be distressed, restricted' (</h-tʰ/), **ΚΕΖ** /keh/ 'to make level, smoothe' vs. **ΚΑΖΚΖ** /kah.kəh/ 'to hew out, smoothe' (</k-h/).

Full morpheme reduplication interacts in interesting ways with syllable structure and stress placement. The stem template of such reduplicated verbs is composed of two identical syllable positions $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$. Yet, the characteristic stem vowel is only retained in the stressed syllable, while the nucleus position of the unstressed syllable contains a reduced vowel or schwa /ə/: *abs. st.* **ϣΟΡϣ** /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/, *nom. st.* **ϣΡϣΡ-** /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/, *pron. st.* **ϣΡϣϣΡ** = /ʃɔr.ʃɔr.ə/, *stat.* **ϣΡϣϣΡ†** /ʃɔr.ʃɔr/.

Gemination involves the copying of the final root consonant. Very often, geminated verbs are degeminated in the stative. Thus, consider: *abs. st.* **ϣΜΟΜ** /hmom/ 'to be hot' vs. *stat.* **ϣΗΗ†** /hem/, *abs. st.* **ϣΝΟΝ** /kʰnon/ 'to be soft, weak' vs. *stat.* **ϣΗΗ†** /kʰen/, *abs. st.* **ΚΜΟΜ** /kmom/ 'to be black' vs. *stat.* **ΚΗΗ†** /kem/, *abs. st.* **ΤΡΡΕ** /tɔr.re/ 'to be afraid' vs. *stat.* **ΤΡΕΙΩΟΥ†** /trejɔw/.

b) Lexical causatives

Coptic has lexical and analytic causatives for the expression of causative events, which describe a cause and its effect. The subject of a causative verb designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity that brings about some event or activity without necessarily participating in it, while the direct object is semantically interpreted as the CAUSEE, i.e. the entity

that performs the event in question, e.g. **ΝQTMΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΙΚ** 'and he shall nourish (N-Q-TMΕ) a poor one (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) with bread (N-ΟΙΚ)' (Test. Is. 235:21-22).

Analytic causatives are biclausal structures with two verbal predicates, one designating the causing event and the other the caused even (see below, section 6.4.3). Lexical causatives, by contrast, function as single verbs that appear in mono-clausal structures. They are formed with the causative prefixes **τ-** and **ϙ-**, which can be combined with transitive and intransitive verbs. Such lexically derived causatives have one argument more than the base verb from which they are derived, e.g. **ΤΜΜΟ** 'to feed, nourish' (< **τ** + **ΟΥΜ** 'to eat'), **ΤΑΖΟ** 'to make stand, set up' (< **ωζε** 'to stand'), **ΤCABO** 'to make wise, teach' (< **CABE** 'to be wise'), **ΤCΑ(Ε)ΙΟ** 'to make beautiful' (< **CΑΕΙΕ** 'to be beautiful'), **ΤΟΥΧΑΙ** 'to save' (< **ΟΥΧΑΙ** 'to be safe, sound'), **ΧΠΟ** 'to beget, bring forth' (< **τ** + **ΩΠΙΕ** 'to become'), **CMINE** 'to establish, set right' (< **ΜΟΥΝ** 'to stay, remain'), **CAANQ** 'to make live' (**ΩΝΖ** 'to live'), **CMINE** 'to establish, set right' (< **ΜΟΥΝ** 'to stay, remain').

It is possible to derive lexical causatives from reduplicated verbal roots, implying that reduplication precedes affixation in the course of verbal derivation, e.g. **CPQPEQ** /s-rof.ref/ 'to let fall, dissipate' (< **s-** + /r.f.rf/), **CTPTP** /s-tər.tər/ 'to tremble' (< **s-** + /tr.tr/).

c) Epenthesized "weak" verbs

Bi- and triliteral verbs come in two varieties, a strong and a weak one. The weak variety is characterized by a stem-final vowel **ε** /e/ after the last root consonant, e.g. **MICE** /mi.se/ 'to deliver' (< /m-s/), **COBTE** /sob.te/ 'to make ready' (< /s-b-t/). No such prosodic material is added to the template of strong verbs, whose stem-final segment is the second or third root consonant, e.g. **KOT** /kət/ 'to build' (< /k-t/), **COTM** /sə.təm/ 'to hear' (< /s-t-m/).

What we are dealing with is a lexically governed form of vowel epenthesis. Epenthesis is a prosodically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra segmental material to an input form to meet certain wellformedness requirements regarding the size and composition of words. In Sahidic vowel epenthesis, a biconsonantal root like /m-s/ "procreating" would normally surface as a monosyllabic stem /mis/, with no further measures being taken. However, by adding the default vowel **ε** /e/ to the second root consonant, an extra syllable position is

created, the result being a bisyllabic verb stem **MICE** /mi.se/, which represents a prosodically optimal form. It should be kept in mind, however, that vowel epenthesis and prosodic optimisation is quite restricted in Sahidic Coptic and applies only to a subdomain of the verbal lexicon. In other words, vowel epenthesis accommodates only those verbal items that are lexically specified as being "weak".

d) Verbs with underlying glottal stop

Several "strong" and "weak" verbs contain a geminated vowel after the first root consonant. As we have seen in section 1.3.1.4 of Unit 1, Sahidic vowel gemination is an orthographical expression of a 'broken' vowel, i.e. a stressed lengthened vowel that is interrupted by a glottal stop /ʔ/. Since vowel breaking reflects the presence of a glottal stop /ʔ/ in the underlying representation, we are dealing with another class of "weak" verbs that have a glottal stop as the second root consonant, e.g. **QWOT** /ʃəʔət/ 'to cut, slay' (< /ʃ-ʔ-t/), **ΠΩONE** /pəʔo.ne/ 'to change, turn' (< /p-ʔ-n/), **MEYE** /meʔe.we/ 'to think' (< /m-ʔ-w/), **XOO=** /tʰəʔo-/ 'to say' (< /tʰ-ʔ-/).

e) The so-called second infinitive

A restricted number of verbs may assume a special form, traditionally referred to as the second infinitive (abbreviated 2nd inf.), since it alternates with the absolute state. Second infinitives have an inchoative meaning, describing the emergence of some state or condition, e.g. *abs. st.* **MOYK2** 'to afflict, oppress, sadden s.o.' vs. 2nd inf. **MK2** 'to become sad, grieved', *abs. st.* **MOYTN** 'to set at rest' vs. 2nd inf. **HTON** 'to relax, be at ease', *abs. st.* **ΠEΠE** vs. 2nd inf. **ΠΠE** 'to come forth (of light), shine upon'.

f) Remnant participles ("participium conjunctum")

Coptic has no productive participle formation. There are but a handful of remnant participles, which are distinguished morphologically from the base verb by an /a i/ or /a/ vowel pattern. Remnant participles are restricted to nominal compounds (see above, section 3.1.2 of Unit 3). Particularly common participles are **MAI** /maj/ 'loving' (< **ME** 'to love'), e.g. **ΠΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΠΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ** 'the God-loving (Π-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) king (N-ΠΡΟ) Zênô' (Hil. 1:1), **QAI** /faj/ (< **QI** 'to carry'), e.g. **NEK-QAI-ΩINE**

'your messengers (lit. message-carriers)' (Camb. 5:17), $\chi\alpha\kappa\iota$ 'raising' (< $\chi\iota\epsilon$ 'to raise'), e.g. $2\mathbf{N}$ $\text{OYNO}\delta$ $\text{MMNT}\chi\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ 'with (2N) great ($\text{OY-NO}\delta$) arrogance ($\text{M-MNT-}\chi\alpha\kappa\iota\zeta\eta\tau$ lit. high-hearted)' (Eud. 36:17), $\mu\alpha\mathbf{N}$ /man/ 'pasturing' (< μOONE 'to pasture'), e.g. $\text{OY-}\mu\alpha\mathbf{N}$ - $\delta\alpha\mu\text{OY}\alpha$ 'a camel herd' (Mena, Enc. 37a:3). Passive participles were almost entirely lost as inflectional categories of the verb, the main survivor being the stative-adjectival participle $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ (sg:masc), $\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ (pl.) 'beloved' (< $\mu\epsilon$ 'to love'), e.g. $\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$ $\mathbf{N}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ 'Jacob, your beloved ($\mu\epsilon\kappa\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau$) son ($\mathbf{N-}\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$)' (Test. Is. 229:14).

g) Copto-Greek verbs

Greek loan verbs appear in a morphologically lighter form than their Greek models. The template of Copto-Greek verbs usually ends in an open syllable CV or CVV syllable, with the infinitival endings $-\epsilon\iota\nu$ /ein/ or $-\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ /est^hai/ being stripped off or phonologically reduced (see above, section 1.4.1.3 of Unit 1), e.g. $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$ (V. Pach. 294:10) 'to be at war with, quarrel' (< $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ /polemein/), $\alpha\pi\alpha\mathbf{N}\tau\alpha$ 'to encounter, meet' (Test. Is. 237:8) (< $\alpha\pi\alpha\mathbf{N}\tau\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ /apantan/), $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$ 'to grant' (Hil. 7:10) (< $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ /k^harizest^hai/). The restriction of Greek loan verbs to the absolute state stem pattern generally shows that they are only partially integrated into the Coptic verbal system.

6.1.4 Morphological classes of simple and derived verbs

Table 6.5 provides an overview of the apophonic patterns of major morphological classes of verbs. The various morphological classes of verbs are defined by the stem template of the absolute state form.

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
1 lit. vbs. [C1 V1], [V1 C1]	$\chi\iota$	$\chi\iota-$	$\chi\iota\tau=$	$\chi\eta\gamma^{\dagger}$	take
	$\omega\pi\tau$	$\epsilon\pi-$	$\text{O}\pi\tau=$	$\eta\pi\tau^{\dagger}$	count
strong 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2], [s C2 V1]	$\kappa\omega\tau$	$\kappa\epsilon\tau-$	$\kappa\text{O}\tau=$	$\kappa\eta\tau^{\dagger}$	build
	$\text{C}\zeta\alpha\iota$	$\text{C}\epsilon\zeta-$	$\text{C}\alpha\zeta\tau=$ $\text{C}\zeta\alpha\iota\tau=$	$\text{C}\eta\zeta^{\dagger}$	write
weak 2 lit. vbs. [C1 V1. C2 e]	$\mu\iota\text{C}\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\text{C-}$ $\mu\epsilon\text{C}\tau-$	$\mu\alpha\text{C}\tau=$ $\mu\epsilon\text{C}\tau=$	$\mu\text{O}\text{C}\epsilon^{\dagger}$	deliver
	$\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon$	$\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau-$	$\rho\epsilon\kappa\tau=$	$\rho\text{O}\kappa\epsilon^{\dagger}$ $\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon^{\dagger}$	bend, turn

CLASS	ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLO:
	$\mu\omega\delta\epsilon$		$\mu\text{O}\delta=$ $\mu\text{O}\gamma=$	$\mu\text{O}\gamma\epsilon^{\dagger}$	break
strong 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1.C2 a C3]	$\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon$	$\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon-$	$\zeta\text{O}\tau\epsilon=$	$\zeta\text{O}\tau\epsilon^{\dagger}$	kill
	$\rho\omega\zeta\tau$	$\rho\epsilon\zeta\tau-$	$\rho\alpha\zeta\tau=$	$\rho\alpha\zeta\tau^{\dagger}$	strike
	$\mu\text{OYK}\zeta$	$\mu\epsilon\kappa\zeta-$	$\mu\text{O}\kappa\zeta=$	$\mu\text{O}\kappa\zeta^{\dagger}$	afflict
	$\zeta\lambda\text{O}\delta$			$\zeta\lambda\text{O}\delta^{\dagger}$	be
weak 3 lit. vbs. [C1 V1 C2 C3 e]	$\mathbf{N}\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$	$\mathbf{N}\zeta\epsilon\tau-$		$\mathbf{N}\zeta\text{OY}\tau^{\dagger}$	sweet
	$\mu\text{OCT}\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\text{CT}\epsilon-$	$\mu\epsilon\text{CT}\omega=$		thrust
	$\text{C}\text{OCT}\epsilon$	$\text{C}\epsilon\text{CT}\epsilon-$	$\text{C}\epsilon\text{CT}\omega\tau=$	$\text{C}\epsilon\text{CT}\omega\tau^{\dagger}$	hate
glottal stop vbs. [C1 V1' V1. C2] [C1 V1' V1. C2 e]	$\chi\omega$	$\chi\epsilon-$	$\chi\text{O}\text{O}=$		prepare
	$\mu\omega\omega\mathbf{N}\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\epsilon\mathbf{N}\epsilon-$	$\mu\text{O}\text{O}\mathbf{N}\epsilon=$	$\mu\text{O}\text{O}\mathbf{N}\epsilon^{\dagger}$	say
	$\psi\omega\omega\tau$	$\psi(\epsilon)\tau-$	$\psi\alpha\alpha\tau=$	$\psi\alpha\alpha\tau^{\dagger}$	turn
redupl. vbs. [C1 V1 C2. C1 C2] [C1 C2 V1 C2]	$\psi\text{O}\psi\psi$	$\psi\psi\psi\psi-$	$\psi\psi\psi\psi=$	$\psi\psi\psi\psi^{\dagger}$	slay
	$\zeta\mu\text{O}\mathbf{H}$			$\zeta\mathbf{H}\mathbf{H}^{\dagger}$	destroy
lexical causatives [T-prefix + stem] [C-prefix + stem]	$\tau\alpha\zeta\text{O}$	$\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon-$	$\tau\alpha\zeta\text{O}=$	$\tau\alpha\zeta\eta\gamma^{\dagger}$	be hot
	$\tau\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}\text{O}$	$\tau\mathbf{M}(\mathbf{H})\epsilon-$	$\tau(\mathbf{H})\mathbf{H}\text{O}=$	$\tau\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}\eta\gamma^{\dagger}$	set up
	$\text{C}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}\mathbf{N}\epsilon$	$\text{C}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}-$	$\text{C}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}\tau=$	$\text{C}\mathbf{M}\mathbf{H}\tau^{\dagger}$	nourish
irregular vbs.	\dagger	$\dagger-$	$\tau\alpha\alpha=$	$\tau\omega^{\dagger}$	found
	$\epsilon\iota\text{P}\epsilon$	$(\epsilon)\text{P-}$	$\alpha\alpha=$	O^{\dagger}	give
	$\epsilon\iota\mathbf{N}\epsilon$	$(\epsilon)\mathbf{N-}$	$(\epsilon)\mathbf{N}\tau=$		make
	$\mu\epsilon$	$\mu\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon-$	$\mu\epsilon\text{P}\tau=$		bring
Greek vbs.	$\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$				love
	$\alpha\pi\alpha\mathbf{N}\tau\alpha$				grant
					meet

TABLE 6.5 Morphological classes of verbs

6.2 The eventive-stative alternation

In Coptic, the semantic contrast between relatively dynamic situations (events, activities, processes) and relatively static situations (states, results, conditions) is expressed by different stem allomorphs of one and the same verbal root. The semantic interpretation of a verbal stem is therefore compositionally derived from the basic lexical value of the underlying root and the event- or state-related viewpoint associated with a particular stem pattern.

6.2.1 Situation aspect

This section provides some background information on the grammatical expression of situation aspect. The term situation aspect (traditionally labelled as *Aktionsart* "mode of action") refers to a typology of verbal predicates.

A verbal predicate may designate a relatively dynamic situation, which involves some kind of change, or, alternatively, a relatively static situation, where some condition is said to last for some time, without any change being involved. Predicates of the former type are referred to as "eventive predicates" or simply "events" and predicates of the latter type as "stative predicates" or "states". The occurrence of an event generally involves some condition when it begins, is terminated and replaced by another condition. This contrasts with stative predications, which lack such an internal temporal structure and simply consist of a stretch in time. Thus, events have an internal temporal structure, whereas states do not.

A salient feature of the Coptic verbal system is the morpho-syntactic encoding of eventive and stative predicates by means of distinct verb stem patterns. That is to say that a given root receives an eventive interpretation when it surfaces in the absolute or construct state pattern, but it assumes a stative or resultative interpretation when it occurs in the corresponding stative.

Consider, for instance, *externally caused change of state verbs* such as *COBTE* 'to prepare, make ready', which describe a change of state that is caused by some external source rather than by an internal development. The absolute state form *COBTE* makes direct reference to some purposeful action or activity that leads to the desired change of state, e.g. *BOK 2N OYCEPH NGOBTE NAS NQTOOY NCTPATHAATHC MN CTTOOY NTBA MMATOI* (...) 'go (*BOK*) quickly (*2N OY-CEPH*) and make ready (*N-G-COBTE*) for her (*NA-C*) four (*N-CTTOOY*) generals (*N-CTPATHAATHC*) and (*MN*) forty thousand (*CTTOOY N-TBA*) soldiers (*M-MATOI*) (...) (Eud. 62:4-5). The stative variant *CBTWT* 'to be ready, prepared', on the other hand, denotes the resultant state of that event, e.g. *ANON NEK2M2AA TNCBTWT EBOK NHMAC* 'we (*ANON*), your servants (*NEK-2M2AA*), are ready (*TN-CBTWT*) to go (*E-BOK*) with her (*NHMA-C*)' (Eud. 62:1).

6.2.2 Situation aspect in lexical classes of verbs

This section examines the systematic alternations in meaning between the event-oriented absolute and construct state on the one hand, and the result-oriented stative on the other. By selecting one or the other stem pattern, a given situation is presented from different angles as emerging, but not yet accomplished or as having reached a particular result.

a) Verbs of creation

Transitive verbs of creation like *KOT* 'to build' and *C2AI* 'to write' describe complex events consisting of a process and a result. The process component is encoded by the absolute or construct state, which both describe an activity or process through which something comes to exist, e.g. *AIKOT NAI NOYMA NQWITE MAYAAT* 'I built (*A-I-KOT*) for me (*NA-I*) a place (*N-OY-MA*) to live (*N-QWITE*) (all) by myself (*MAYAAT*)' (Onnophr. 207: 11-12), *ICAAK DE ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΓC2AI ΝΤΕCΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ* 'the Patriarch (*Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ*) Isaac writes (*E-C2AI*) his will (*N-TECΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*)' (Test. Is. 228:4). The result component of creational verbs is indicated by the corresponding statives *KHT* 'to be built' and *CH2* 'to be written', which describe the existence of the newly created entity at some place, e.g. *2ENMA EYKHT* 'places (*2EN-MA*) which are (in a) built (state) (*E-Y-KHT*)' (Pist. Soph. 132:11-12), *QCCH2 ΓΑΡ 2N ΗCΑΙΑC* 'because (*ΓΑΡ*) it is written (*Q-CH2*) in (*2N*) (the book) Jesaias' (Onnophr. 211:25).

b) Agentive verbs of spatial configuration

When combined with the absolute and construct state pattern, *agentive verbs of spatial configuration* like *KW* 'to place, set down', *OYW2* 'to put, set' or *NOYXE* 'to throw, cast' have a dynamic "assume position" sense and describe a change in location of some entity or object through a volitional act of the subject referent, e.g. *MEWE NIM NTAKKA NECKEYH MPWME 2N ΛΩ MHA* '(you) so-and-so (*MEWE NIM*), in (*2N*) which (*ΛΩ*) place (*M-MHA*) did you put (*NT-A-K-KA*) the property (*NE-CKEYH*) of that man (*M-Π-PWME*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), *A NEPWME DE MΠHA ETIMAY AYUYE2 PCWMA MΠMAKAPIOC APA MHNA [ETEC]HT 2N ΠCAMOYΛ* 'the people (*NE-PWME*) of that (*ETIMAY*) place (*M-Π-MHA*) let (*A-Y-OYE2*) the body (*Π-CWMA*) of the blessed (*M-Π-MAKAPIOC*) Apa Mena down (*ETECHT*) from (*2M*) the

camel (π-δαμογλ) (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), ντανογλq βθαλασσα 'and I throw it (the corpse) (ντα-νογλ-q) into the sea (ε-θαλασσα)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:6-7). Stativised agentive verbs of spatial configuration have non-agentive simple position sense, describing the present location of the subject, e.g. σεκη 2m πανι 2a τογερντε mπαδλοδ 'they (the properties) lie (σε-κη) in (2m) my house (πα-νι) under (2a) the foot (τ-ογερντε) of my bed (m-πα-δλοδ)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:28-29), mνnca φомте δε нромпе εσογн2 2m пma εтнмаγ 'after (mνnca) she (Hilaria) remained (ε-с-ογн2) in (2m) that (εтнмаγ) place (п-ma) for three (φомте) years (н-ромпе) (...)' (Hil. 6:20-21), νεqннх пe 2ixm пка2 εqмнн εβολ 'he (Pachôm) continued (ε-q-мнн εβολ) to lie down (не-q-ннх) on (2ixm) the ground (п-ка2)' (V. Pach. 87:25).

c) Verbs of inherently directed motion

Motion verbs come in two varieties. On the one hand, there are verbs like μοογε 'to walk' and нннве 'to swim', which specify a manner of motion but not a direction of motion. On the other hand, there are verbs like βωκ 'to go' and πω2 'to reach', which specify a direction but not a manner of motion. More precisely, πω2 has a progressive meaning and describes motion towards a particular goal, e.g. нтерογπω2 δε επβнма (...) 'when they had reached (нтер-ογ-πω2) the tribunal (ε-π-βнма) (...)' (KHML I 83:22), while its antonym ογε describes motion away from some point of origin, e.g. λγογε εβολ mнои нбi неτ† ογβн 'they who fought me (н-ετ-† ογβн-i) have withdrawn (λ-γ-ογε) from (εβολ) me (mно-i)' (Pist. Soph. 154:19).

Verbs of inherently directed motion differ systematically from verbs of manner of motion in being compatible with both the absolute state and the stative stem pattern. However, stativised motion verbs lose their inherent dynamic meaning and function as positional verbs, e.g. πσοογн γар тнрq тпн2 εχοοq ερωτн (...) 'since (γар) the full (тнр-q) knowledge (π-σοογн), I have come (to the point) (†-пн2) to tell it (ε-χοο-q) to you (ερω-тн) (...)' (Pist. Soph. 220:14-15), λnon δε тноγнγ нкнме н2ме нмiон 'we (λnon δε) are forty (2me) miles (н-miон) away (тн-ογнγ) from Egypt (н-кнме)' (Hil. 5:20-21). In present tense sentences, the selection of the stative is mandatory, e.g. εрвнк ετων 'where (ε-των) are you (woman) going to (ε-p-внк)?' (Mena, Mir. 27b:22).

d) Internally caused verbs of change of state

Internally caused verbs of change of state like 2ко 'to hunger', ειβα 'to thirst' and ογχα 'to be safe' assume an inchoative meaning in the absolute state and describe the emergence of some mental or physical condition, e.g. εγψαν2ко εγνα2ε ετροφн των εγψανειβε εγνα2ε εμοογ των εσω 'if they (the hermits) become hungry (ε-γ-ψαν-2ко), where (των) will they find (ε-γ-να-2ε) food (ε-τροφн), (or) if they become thirsty (ε-γ-ψαν-ειβε), where (των) will they find (ε-γ-να-2ε) water (ε-μοογ) to drink (ε-σω)?' (Onnophr. 211:12-14), ερε нgenea εтннγ ναογχα εβολ 2п πεqсωma мн πεqсноq 'the generation (н-genea) to come (εт-ннγ) will be saved (ερε ... на-ογχα) through (2m) his body (πεq-сωma) and (мн) his blood (πεq-сноq)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17).

While the absolute state of internally caused verbs of change of state carries the implication that the relevant property changes over time, the corresponding statives 2κλειτ 'to be hungry', οβε 'to be thirsty' and ογох 'to be cured' describe the present state of the subject without anticipating a clearly defined endpoint, e.g. τε2κλειτ τεοβε мпоεи мн пмоογ 'you (woman) hunger (τε-2κλειτ) (and) thirst (τε-οβε) for bread (м-п-οεи) and (мн) water' (π-моογ)' (Sh. III 204:4), †ογох εψωνε 'I am cured (†-ογох) of affliction (ε-ψωνε)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

e) Verbs of occurrence and existence

Verbs of occurrence like φωπτε 'to happen, to become' and existence like ωн2 'to live' have an inherently locative meaning, with the term locative including spatial as well as temporal reference. In the absolute state, verbs of occurrence and existence describe the presence of the subject at some place as being temporally bound by a starting or an endpoint, which may be contextually implied, e.g. нγωπте нммаи мпмто εβολ мπειаномос 'and stay (н-γ-ωπте) with me (нмма-i) in the presence (м-п-мто εβολ) of this criminal (м-пεί-аномос)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4), λсωн2 2н кемнтснооγс енромпе (for нромпе) 'she (Hilaria) lived (λ-с-ων2) for (2n) another twelve (ке-мнтснооγс) years (ен-ромпе)' (Hil. 12:18). Stativised verbs of existence and occurrence, on the other hand, such as φооп 'to exist, to be' and он2 'to be alive' have no such temporal boundary, e.g. εиc

ΖΗΝΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ (...) 'since (ΓΑΡ), behold (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΝΤΕ), I am (ΤΩΟΠ) with you (woman) (ΝΗΜΕ) (...) ' (Eud. 52:13), ΦΟΝΖ ΝΘΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ 'as God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ) lives (Φ-ΟΝΖ)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

Consider, finally, the verb of disappearance ΜΟΥ 'to die', which makes explicit reference to the process of dying in the absolute state, e.g. ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ (read ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) 'you will surely die (lit. in (ΖΝ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1). The resultant "dead" state is designated by the stative counterpart ΜΟΟΥΤ 'to be deceased', e.g. ΕΣΦΑΝΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΕ ΚΟΝΖ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΙΤΕ ΕΚΜΟΟΥΤ 'but if she dies (Ε-ΣΦΑΝ-ΜΟΥ) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you (ΝΤΟΚ) are alive (Κ-ΟΝΖ) (or) be it (that) (ΕΙΤΕ) you are deceased (Ε-Κ-ΜΟΟΥΤ)' (KRU no. 67:90, 213:9-10).

6.2.3 The present tense restriction of statives

Stative verb forms have a limited syntactic distribution and can only appear in present tense contexts, including the preterit as a present-in-the past, e.g. ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) is, (as far as) I (ΑΝΟΚ) (am concerned), my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (so) bold (ΝΑΨΤ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7), ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΝΟΘ ΝΨΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΠΥΓΗ 'and (ΑΥΩ) big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΘ) trees (Ν-ΨΗΝ) were growing (ΝΕ ... ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (Τ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). To make sense of these limitations, we have to briefly consider the semantics of the present tense. Present tense sentences describe events that are in progress while the sentence is being uttered or present a situation as holding for all times. Under either interpretation, present tense reference does not include the endpoint of the event under consideration. The exclusion of such an endpoint is, however, a defining property of the stative that describes situations that do not change over time. Since only present tenses are associated with an unbound event reading, they are the only verbal tenses suitable for stative predicates.

A question remains with respect to the obligatory stativization of verbs of inherently directed motion in the present tense. Locating a motion event at the present moment comes down to pinpointing the current location of the subject. This locative meaning is expressed by the stative rather than the absolute state stem pattern, e.g. ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΑ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ) to the

shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mēna to pray (ΝΤΑ-ΦΑΛΑ)' (Mena, M 27b:23-25). Sometimes, stativized verbs of inherently directed motion come close in meaning to the present perfect, describing the accomplishment of the motion event before the present moment, e.g. ΕΚΝΗΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΟΝ 'where (ΤΩΝ) have you come (Ε-Κ-ΝΗΥ) (from), my brother (ΠΑ-ΟΝ)?' (Ac. A&P 198:64-65). We come back to the internal temporal structure of present tense sentences in section 6.3.2.

6.3 Direct object syntax and case marking

This section deals with the syntactic dimension of the Coptic verbal system and examines some basic predicate-argument configurations. In section 6.3.1, the two major transitive verbal patterns, the construct state and the absolute state, will be identified with two different case-marking strategies for the direct object argument, namely accusative and oblique (prepositional) case, respectively. Section 6.3.2 shows that the selection of either case-marking pattern correlates with a particular aspectual viewpoint concerning the termination of the event that is described. Section 6.3.3 deals with the functional equivalents of the English passive construction (e.g. *John was killed in an accident*). Section 6.3.4 completes this survey on verbal constellations by taking a closer look at the syntax of intransitive verbs.

6.3.1 The absolute state/construct state alternation

When the dependency between phrasal constituents is signalled morphologically, the marking may occur either on the head or on the dependent element of that phrase. In the Coptic verbal system, the construct state represents the head-marking and the absolute state the dependent-marking pattern for the morphological expression of the direct object relation: *nom. st.* ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΜ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114) vs. *abs. st.* ΟΥΩΗ ΜΠΕΥΚΟΥ ΝΟΕΙΚ '(when they had finished) eating (ΟΥΩΗ) their small (Μ-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥ) (portions) of bread (Ν-ΟΕΙΚ)' (V. Pach. 137:4). In the absolute state pattern, the dependent constituent, the direct object, is syntactically encoded as a prepositional phrase. Since the original locative or directional meaning of the preposition that is used has been lost beyond recognition, it functions as a fully grammaticalised case marking device.

STEM PATTERN	EXPRESSION TYPE	VERBAL HEAD	DIRECT OBJECT
CONSTRUCT STATE	HEAD-MARKING	ΟΥΜ eat	ΝΚΑ something
ABSOLUTE STATE	DEPENDENT-MARKING	ΟΥΩΜ eat	Η-ΠΕΥΚΟΥ Ν-ΘΕΙΚ their small (portions) of bread

FIGURE 6.1 Head-marking vs. dependent-marking morphology

Coptic uses these relation-marking strategies to distinguish the nominal that bears the direct object role from other verbal arguments and adjuncts. In signalling grammatical relations, the head marking construct state and the dependent-marking absolute state instantiate two different types of objective case, namely accusative and oblique case. Accusative case involves the adjacency between the case-assigning verb and the direct object, while oblique case involves the introduction of a semantically vacuous case-assigning preposition.

6.3.1.1 Morpho-phonological behaviour

The morpho-phonological alternations in the shape of verb in the absolute and in the construct state can be directly related to the head-marking and dependent-marking expression type of the direct object relation they are associated with.

In the nominal state, the stem vowel is replaced by the vowel *e* /e/, e.g. ΟΥΕΜ /wem/ ΛΕ (for ΛΕ) 'to eat (ΟΥΕΜ) meat (ΛΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.14, 3:12) or reduced to *schwa* /ə/, e.g. ΟΥΜ /wəm/ ΝΚΑ 'to eat (ΟΥΜ) something (ΝΚΑ)' (praec. Pach. 114), indicating that the verbal stem bears no stress, while the phonologically intact direct object nominal does attract stress: ΟΥΕΜ ΛΕ /wem.'av/ and ΟΥΜ ΝΚΑ /wəm.ən.k'a/. Thus, the nominal state - direct object complex counts as a single domain for stress assignment.

Pronominal state verbs, on the other hand, must bear stress, since the bound pronouns are not susceptible to stress assignment. The cliticisation of the object pronoun may trigger a change in the vowel height of the stem vowel and the resyllabification of the resulting complex, e.g. ΕΟΥΜΗ /e.w'o.məf/ '(a vessel) to eat from (Ε-ΟΥΜΗ-Η)' (Onnophr. 211:8).

Absolute state marked verbs lack special relation-marking morphology, since the syntactic dependency of the direct object argument is registered by a special case preposition. Yet, in transitive

verb constructions vowel epenthesis applies to the absolute, but not the construct state forms of "weak" biliteral verbs, e.g. ΜΙΣΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΡΕ ΝΕΖΙΜΕ 'to deliver (ΜΙΣΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Mena, Mir 10b:33-34) vs. ΜΕΣ ΠΩΡΖΟΥΤ 'to deliver (ΜΕΣ-) the male chick (ΨΡ-ΖΟΥΤ)' (Apoc. 12:13). Vowel epenthesis is not resorted to in the construct state, since the verb and the adjacent direct object form a prosodic constituent that is large enough. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the prepositional object does not supply the verb with extra prosodic weight. To conform to the bisyllabic minimality requirement on the size of the "weak" verbs, an epenthetic vowel *e*- must be added after the final root consonant.

6.3.1.2 Word order

The different morphophonological behaviour of the construct state and the absolute state has a syntactic correlate in different rules for the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles.

a) Enclitic discourse markers

It is never possible for prosodically weak function words and particles to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the verb and the adjacent direct noun or pronoun in the construct state, e.g. ΝΕΑΥΡ ΟΥΧΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΕΥΟΥΩΜ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΩ 'for (ΓΑΡ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (ΝΕ-Α-Υ-Ρ) the appearance (ΟΥ-ΧΟΤ)) as if (ΧΕ) they were eating (ΝΕ-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) drinking (ΝΕ-Υ-Ω)' (KHML I 80:21-22). Such enclitics may, however, intervene between the verb and the prepositional object in the absolute state, e.g. ΕΥΩΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΜΗΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤΖΜΗΗ (...) 'if the (other) residents (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΜ-Π-Η) judge (Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ΜΗΟ-Ι) (...)' (praec. et instit. Pach. 17).

b) Clause-internal negation

Roughly the same distributional pattern obtains in negated sentences, in which the negation adverb *AN* 'not' comes after the direct object in the construct state, e.g. ΟΥΔΕ ΝΑΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΝ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) he does not work (lit. he does not (ΑΝ) do (Ν-Α-Ρ) work (ΖΩΒ))' (AP Chaîne no.153, 33:25-26), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΝΑΨΕΠ ΖΙΣΕ ΑΝ ΟΥΕΨ (read ΝΟΥΕΨΝ) ΝΟΥΘ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) can I not (ΑΝ) accept (Τ-ΝΑ-ΨΕΠ) suffering (ΖΙΣΕ) without (ΝΟΥΕΨΝ) being angry (ΝΟΥΘ)' (V. Pach. 2:14). In

the corresponding absolute state, the negation marker $\Delta\mathbf{N}$ is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. \mathbf{NNEIXW} (for \mathbf{NELXW}) $\Delta\mathbf{N}$ \mathbf{NNAI} $\mathbf{ZNNOYMNTXACI}$ (for \mathbf{ZN} $\mathbf{OYMNTXACIZHT}$) \mathbf{OYAE} $\mathbf{ZNNOYMNTWOYWO}$ (for \mathbf{ZN} $\mathbf{OYMNTWOYWO}$) 'I do not ($\Delta\mathbf{N}$) say ($\mathbf{N-E-I-XW}$) these (words) ($\mathbf{N-NAI}$) in (\mathbf{ZN}) an arrogant ($\mathbf{OY-MNT-XACI-ZHT}$) and (\mathbf{OYAE}) in (\mathbf{ZN}) an self-satisfied manner ($\mathbf{OY-MNT-WOYWO}$)' (V. Pach. 89:2-3)

c) Verb-particle combinations

A related set of placement rules applies to the absolute state and construct state form of verb-particle combinations like \mathbf{XWK} \mathbf{EBOA} 'to complete' and \mathbf{EINE} \mathbf{EBOA} 'to bring out, remove'. In the absolute state, the particle is placed between the verb and the prepositional object, e.g. $\mathbf{WANTEXWK}$ \mathbf{EBOA} $\mathbf{N2WB}$ \mathbf{NIM} $\mathbf{ENTAI2WN}$ \mathbf{NMOOY} \mathbf{ETOOTE} 'until you (woman) finish ($\mathbf{WANTE-XWK}$ \mathbf{EBOA}) everything ($\mathbf{N-2WB}$ \mathbf{NIM}) that I ordered ($\mathbf{ENT-A-I-2WN}$) to you (\mathbf{ETOOTE})' (Eud. 52:13-14), but follows the verb-direct object complex in the construct state, e.g. $\mathbf{NNEAAAY}$ \mathbf{NCOYPE} \mathbf{EBOA} \mathbf{NPATQ} \mathbf{NPOME} 'no one (\mathbf{AAAY}) shall remove ($\mathbf{NNE} \dots \mathbf{EINE}$ \mathbf{EBOA}) a thorn (\mathbf{COYPE}) from anybody's ($\mathbf{N-POME}$) foot ($\mathbf{N-PAT-Q}$)' (praec. Pach. 96).

N.B. Verb-particle combinations often convey idiomatic meanings, which are listed in Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* under the relevant verbal entry.

The systematic structural differences between the construct state and the absolute state with respect to the placement of prosodically weak function words and particles provide *prima facie* evidence for two types of locality conditions. In the construct state, the verbal stem and the nominal or pronominal object must be adjacent to one another. This is why enclitic elements must always follow the entire verb-direct object complex. No such adjacency requirement seems to be involved in its absolute state counterpart, where enclitic elements may intervene between the verb and the prepositional object, cf. figure 6.3.

CONSTRUCT STATE	DIRECT OBJECT	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE
\mathbf{WENT} receive	\mathbf{ZICE} suffering	$\Delta\mathbf{N}$ not
$\mathbf{N-}$ bring	\mathbf{COYPE} thorn	\mathbf{EBOA} out

ABSOLUTE STATE	FUNCTION WORD/PARTICLE	PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT
\mathbf{COOYN} know	$\Delta\mathbf{N}$ not	$\mathbf{N-POME}$ man
\mathbf{XWK} finish	\mathbf{EBOA} up	$\mathbf{N-2WB}$ \mathbf{NIM} everything

FIGURE 6.3 Particle placement

The morphological and syntactic differences between the absolute state and the construct state considered so far are indicative for two distinct strategies of objective case assignment (i.e. the case associated with the direct object argument of a transitive verb). In the construct state, accusative case is assigned purely on the basis of the structural configuration in which the direct object argument appears, namely in the complement position of the verb. For this reason, the assignment of structural accusative case requires adjacency between the case assigning verb and the case-marked direct object argument. The absolute state, on the other hand, represents an oblique case configuration, where the selected locative or directional preposition makes no contribution to the semantic interpretation of the prepositional object, but rather makes it visible as an argument of the preceding verb.

6.3.1.3 Direct object selection

Most transitive verbs are compatible with both the accusative case pattern of the construct state and the oblique case pattern of the absolute state. Yet, there are several transitive verb constructions which appear either in one or the other objective case-marking pattern:

a) Verbs of perception

A particularly clear case for lexically governed selectional restrictions are *verbs of perception* that select prepositional objects with $\mathbf{E-}$, $\mathbf{EPO-}$. The prepositional object has no directional meaning and simply designates the perceived individual, object, or location. The perception verb itself uniformly appears in the absolute state, e.g. \mathbf{KNAQ} \mathbf{EPOI} \mathbf{EIQWNE} 'you find ($\mathbf{K-NAQ}$) me ($\mathbf{EPO-I}$) sick ($\mathbf{E-I-QWNE}$)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), \mathbf{AINAQ} \mathbf{EMMA} \mathbf{NQWITE} $\mathbf{NNEFYXOQYE}$ \mathbf{THPOY} 'I say ($\mathbf{A-I-NAQ}$) the dwelling ($\mathbf{N-QWITE}$) places ($\mathbf{E-M-MA}$) of all ($\mathbf{THP-OY}$) souls

(*ni-ne-ψυχουε*)' (Ac. A&P 198:73), *nim ne prōme eqnaōwt nca peqōhrē eqbnk nemtō* (...) 'who (*nim*) (is) the man (*prōme*) who will watch (*ε-φ-να-ωψτ*) his son (*nca peq-ōhrē*) going (*ε-φ-βhk*) to drown (*n-εmtō*) (...)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90), *aisōtm ēymnhē ēyōw ēbol ēyrime zen* (for *zn*) *ketopos* 'I heard (*α-ι-ωtm*) a crowd (*ε-γ-μnhē*) crying out (*ε-γ-ωψ ēbol*) (and) weeping (*ε-γ-ρime*) in (*zen*) another place (*ke-topos*)' (Ac. A&P 204:139).

b) Light verb constructions

Coptic makes productive use of so-called light verb constructions like *p zote* 'to fear' (lit. to make (p-) fear (*zote*)). Light verbs generally occur in the construct state with a "bare" noun complement, e.g. *nesp zote gar ne ēwōk enemonasthion mpēycantion* 'since (*gar*) she (Hilaria) was (*ne-c-p*) afraid (*zote*) to go (*ε-βwk*) to the monasteries (*ε-ne-monasthion*) of Byzantium (*m-p-ēycantion*)' (Hil. 2:12-13), *aq† m epwōy* 'he (Constantine) kissed (lit. give (†) kiss (*m*)) them (the Persians) (lit. on their mouth (*ε-ρw-oy*))' (Eud. 48:15). If, on the other hand, the nominal complement is an indefinite noun phrase, the absolute state becomes available as a marked alternative, e.g. *plhn oye2 ca2ne nai taēipe noucōwe mpeknto ēbol zn tmhte mpeimnhē thpq* 'rather (*plhn*), bid (*oyē2 ca2ne* (lit. to place (*oyē2*) an order (*ca2ne*)) me (*nai*) to make (*ta-ēipe*) a mockery (*n-oy-cōwe*) before you (*m-pek-nto*) in (*zn*) the midst (*t-mnhē*) of this entire (*thp-q*) crowd (*m-peimnhē*)' (Ac. Isidor. 131:2-3). We return to light verb constructions in section 6.4 below.

c) Negative contexts

In the context of negation, there is a clear statistical preference for combining indefinite pronouns with construct state marked verbs, e.g. *nne laay xi laay neidos ntn rōme axm peqpmnhēi* 'no one (*laay*) shall take (*nne ... xi*) any (*laay*) property (*n-ēidos*) (away) from (*ntn*) anybody (*rōme*) without (*axm*) his steward (*peq-pmnhēi*)' (praec. Pach. 106), *oyte on nne rōme wβ rōme ēy2moos* 'and (*oyte*) also (*on*) shall nobody (*rōme*) shave (*nne ... wβ*) anybody (*rōme*) sitting (*ε-γ-2moos*)' (praec. Pach. 97). The encoding of indefinite pronouns as prepositional objects and the concomitant

selection of the absolute state is only marginally attested, e.g. *n†cooy n nprōme zn tepolix* 'I do not (*n*) know (*n-†-cooy*) anybody (*n-rōme*) in (*zn*) this city (*tei-polix*)' (Hil. 4:23).

d) Wh-in-situ objects

When the *wh*-interrogative phrase *oy* 'what' remains *in-situ* in the direct object position, the selection of the construct state seems to be mandatory, e.g. *ayw nēwakoym oy* 'and (*ayw*) what (*oy*) did you usually eat (*ne-wa-k-oy*)?' (Onnophr. 206:34-207:1), *akp oy zn neitōw* 'what (*oy*) have you been doing (*α-κ-ρ*) in (*zn*) these districts (*nei-tōw*)?' (KHML II 31:26).

e) Object-drop constructions

The object of transitive verbs may sometimes be left unexpressed, the result being an object-drop construction. Despite its lack of phonetic content, the omitted object pronoun (indicated as '___' in the Coptic examples) is semantically interpreted as a free-choice pronoun. Due to the absence of an overt pronoun, the verb of such object-drop constructions always occurs in the absolute state, e.g. *penxoeic gar na† ___ kata pek2ht* 'Our Lord (*pen-xoeic*) will (*na*) give (†) (no matter what) according to (*kata*) your desire (*pek-2ht*)' (V. Pach. 136:11-12), *†naēipe ___ kata pekwalxe* 'I shall do (†*na-ēipe*) (anything) according to (*kata*) your word (*pek-walxe*)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), or as a discourse anaphor, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. *†mcteyē ___ pxoeic* 'I believe (it) (†*mcteyē*), (oh) Lord (*p-xoeic*)' (Eud. 52:3-4), *ntereqcwtm ___ Δε νοι pnoō nppo kwstantinos* (...) 'after the great (*p-noō*) king (*n-ppo*) Constantine had heard (*ntere-q-cwtm*) (it) (...) ' (Eud. 44:25).

The distribution of the absolute state and the construct state among different transitive verb constructions is summarized in table 6.6 below

VERBAL CLASS OR PATTERN	ABSOLUTE STATE	CONSTRUCT STATE
PERCEPTION VERBS	yes	no
LIGHT VERBS	marked option	yes
NEGATIVE CONTEXTS	marked option	yes
WH-IN-SITU OBJECTS	no	yes
OBJECT-DROP	yes	no

TABLE 6.6 Direct object selection

Not only do different types of objects fit into different verbal patterns, they also impose different aspectual interpretations on the clause in which they occur, as we will see next.

6.3.2 The aspectual underpinning of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In present tense sentences, transitive verbs generally appear in the absolute state, while the corresponding construct state seems to be systematically absent. This selectional restriction is known as the Stern-Jernstedt Rule in Coptic language studies.

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE

Present tense sentences are incompatible with the construct state pattern.

The unavailability of the construct state in present tense contexts is illustrated in table 6.7. The right-hand column contains examples of the construct state in non-present tense sentences. The left-hand column shows the corresponding absolute state construction that must be selected in present tense contexts.

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
<p>FUTURE TENSE</p> <p>ΠΧΟΣΙC ΝΑΧΝΕ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΜΝ ΠΑCΕΒΗC 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟCΙΩ) will (ΝΑ) examine (ΧΝΕ) the righteous (Π-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) and (ΜΝ) the criminal (Π-ΑCΕΒΗC)' (Psalm 10:5)</p>	<p>PRESENT TENSE</p> <p>ΝΕCΒΟΥΖΕ ΧΝΟ ΝΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ 'his (God's) eyelids (ΝΕCΒΟΥΖΕ) examine (ΧΝΟ) the sons (Ν-ΝΨΗΡΕ) of men (Ν-ΝΡΩΜΕ)' (Psalm 10:4)</p>

CONSTRUCT STATE	ABSOLUTE STATE
<p>PERFECT TENSE</p> <p>ΑΙΧΙ ΤΕCΦΥΧΗ 'I took (Α-Ι-ΧΙ) <u>his</u> (Elias)' <u>soul</u> (ΤΕCΦΥΧΗ)' (Pist. Soph. 12:18)</p>	<p>PRESENT TENSE</p> <p>†ΧΙ ΝΟΥΗΡ ΝΕΥΚΗ (for ΒΕΚΕ) ΝΖΙCΕ ΕΠΕCΗΑ 'I receive (†-ΧΙ) <u>many</u> (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) wages (Ν-ΕΥΚΗ) of grievance (Ν-ΖΙCΕ) in return (Ε-ΠΕC-ΗΑ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 57:10-11)</p>
<p>PERFECT TENSE</p> <p>ΑCΚΑ ΠΕCΤΟΠΟC ΝCΩC 'she (the Pistis Sophia) <u>left</u> (Α-C-ΚΑ) <u>her</u> position (ΠΕC-ΤΟΠΟC) behind (ΝCΩ-C)' (Pist. Soph. 75:10)</p>	<p>PRETERIT (PRESENT-IN-THE-PAST)</p> <p>ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΚΩ ΝΡΩC ΝΟΥCΕΩ ΝΗΜ 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (the senior monk) <u>kept</u> (ΝΕ-C-ΚΩ) <u>his</u> <u>mouth</u> (Ν-ΡΩ-C) (shut) all (ΝΗΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥCΕΩ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:30)</p>

TABLE 6.7 The Stern-Jernstedt Rule

In its present form, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule describes a distributional restriction on transitive verb constructions in present tense contexts. Given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case and the absolute state as an oblique case pattern, this rule can be reformulated in terms of case compatibility:

THE STERN-JERNSTEDT RULE (revised version)

Present tense sentences are incompatible with accusative case marking on referential direct objects.

In the construct state, the accusative case-marked object designates the entity that is totally affected by the verbal action and undergoes some change of state. It thus provides a potential endpoint for the event or activity denoted by the main verb. The delimitative or bound event reading is, however, incompatible with the imperfective meaning of the present tense, which excludes reference to the event's termination. In the oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state, the degree of affectedness of its referent is left unspecified. Since the prepositional object does not provide a temporal bound for the event, the absolute

state can be associated with an unbound event reading and is therefore compatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences.

There are apparent counterexamples to the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, where the nominal state form of a transitive verb is found in a present tense sentence:

a) Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions are tolerated in present tense sentences, since the nominal complement acts as the semantic predicate, designating the event or state under consideration, e.g. *ἐκκι ποοῦψ ζαρὸν* 'and take (ἐ-κ-κι) care (ποοῦψ) of us (ζαρὸν)' (Hil. 9:30-31), *ἐγρ πμεεῦε ννδὸν μπχοεῖς νταφαλῶ μν πρρο κωσταντινὸς* 'and they remember (lit. *they make* (ἐ-γ-ρ) the thought (π-μεεῦε)) the miracles (ν-ν-δὸν) of the Lord (μ-π-χοεῖς), which he had done (ντ-α-γ-α-γ) for (μν) King (π-ρρο) Constantine' (Eud. 44:3-4).

b) Event-related direct object questions

In direct object questions like *ἐρε τιποῖς ρ οὔ* 'what (οὔ) is ((ἐρε ... ρ) the city (Alexandria) (τ-ποῖς) (like)?' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6-7), the interrogative pronoun οὔ 'what' has an event-related reading. This generally shows that the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule apply only to transitive verb constructions with *referential* (i.e. entity-denoting) direct objects, since only such referential objects measure out some event in time.

6.3.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

Coptic is a language without a morphological passive. Yet, there are several sentence constructions displaying the semantic characteristics of passive voice, in particular, the patienthood of the subject and the implicitness of the agent argument. The most important functional equivalents of the English passive construction are the following:

a) Impersonal active sentences

Impersonal active sentences have as their subject a third person plural pronoun that has no concrete referent in the previous discourse, but rather indicates an indeterminate [+human] agent, e.g. *σενανοῦτε ἐρος χε τεςζιμε* 'she will be called (lit. *they will call*

(σε-να-μοῦτε) her (ἐρο-ς) "woman" (τε-ςζιμε)' (Abbatōn 236:12-13), *μεῖδὸν ἀρικε γαρ ἐλαλῶ χε μπερεψ ἑωρεῖ μπρη τηρῶ* 'since (γαρ) nobody would be blamed (lit. *they would not blame* (με-γ-δὸν ἀρικε) anybody (ἐ-λαλῶ)), because (χε) he was not able (μπε-γ-εψ) to observe (ἑωρεῖ) the entire (τηρ-ῶ) sun (μ-π-ρη)' (Zen. 200:26-27).

The identity of the implicit agent is often recoverable from the previous context or from world knowledge, e.g. *μπωρ παψηρε μπουτοψκ γαρ εἰοικονομία ἀλλὰ ντα πῶς τοψκ εὔκολα ννεσνῆγ ετοῦλαβ ετσοοπ ζμ πχαῖε* 'no (μπωρ), my son (πα-ψηρε)! For (γαρ) you have not been destined (lit. *they have not destined* you (μπ-οὔ-τοψ-κ) for this service (ε-ἰ-οικονομία), but (ἀλλὰ) the Lord (π-χοεῖς) has destined you (ντ-α ... τοψ-κ) as a comfort (ε-γ-κολα) for the holy (ετ-οῦλαβ) brothers (ν-ν-σνῆγ) who live (ετ-σοοπ) in (ζμ) the desert (π-χαῖε)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1), *καν ποοῦ καν ραετε τνναμοῦ λῶω σενακολαζε μμον ζν<ζεν>κολαεῖς εὔναψτ* 'either (καν) today (ποοῦ) or (καν) tomorrow (ραετε) we may die (τν-να-μοῦ) and (λῶω) we will be punished (lit. *they will punish* (σε-να-κολαζε) us (μμο-ν)) by (ζν) hard (ε-γ-ναψτ) torments (ζεν-κολαεῖς)' (Onnophr. 208:1-3).

The impersonal active construction can be expanded by an overt agent expression, which takes the form of an instrumental adjunct phrase. In this construction, the third person plural pronoun serves as a purely grammatical filler of the subject position without independent reference, e.g. *καν εψχε νταγαιμαλωτίζε μμοσ ζιτν ννεαρβαρος* (read *νεαρβαρος*) *καν εψχε νταγταρπς ζιτν νεθῡριον* (for *νεθῡριον*) 'or (καν) whether (εψχε) she (Hilaria) had been enslaved (lit. *they had enslaved* (ντ-α-γ-αιμαλωτίζε) her (μμο-ς)) by (ζιτν) the barbarians (ν-εαρβαρος) or (καν) whether (εψχε) she had been carried away (lit. *they had carried her away* (ντ-α-γ-ταρπ-ς)) by (ζιτν) wild animals (νε-θῡριον)' (Hil. 7:31-32), *ψαῡτ τοοτν ζιτν νενσνῆγ* '(if we are weak), we are helped (lit. *they give* (ψα-γ-τ) our hands (τοοτ-ν)) by (ζιτν) our brothers (νεν-σνῆγ)' (Onnophr. 211:7), *εὔναχποῦ ζν οὔπαρεθνος εσοῦλαβ εῡμοῦτε ἐπεσραν χε μαρία* 'he (Jesus) will be born (lit. *they will bear him* (ε-γ-να-χπο-ῦ)) by (ζν) a holy (ε-ς-οῦλαβ) virgin (οὔ-παρεθνος) who is called (lit. *they call* (ε-γ-μοῦτε) her (ἐρο-ς) by name (ε-πεσ-ραν) Maria' (Test. Is. 231:8-9).

b) Passively interpreted statives

Transitive-based statives in Coptic come close in meaning to adjectival passives in English (e.g. *the pillow remained stuffed*). The subject of such statives is semantically interpreted as the holder of some state or condition, while there is no implication of an agent, e.g. **ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΧΕ CΕ2ΟΒC ΕΡΩΤΗΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΟΥ** 'not (ΑΝ) because (ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ) they (i.e. the ascetic achievements of Apa Zenobius) are hidden (CΕ-2ΟΒC) (away) from you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) until (ΖΑΘΗ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 199:9-10), **ΑΥΩ QCΜΑΜΑΛΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΤΩCΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) the good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) plant (Π-ΤΩCΕ) is blessed (Q-ΜΑΜΑΛΤ)' (V. Pach. 136:5-6), **CΕC2ΟΥΟΡΕΤ ΑΥΩ CΕC2ΟΥΟΡΕΤ ΑΝ** 'they are cursed (CΕ-C2ΟΥΟΡΕΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) they are not (ΑΝ) cursed (CΕ-C2ΟΥΟΡΕΤ)' (Sh. III 154:3).

c) The "passive" light verb **χι**

The light verb **χι** 'to receive, get' may be used as a passive auxiliary, since the subject designates the affectee or beneficiary of the activity referred to by the nominal complement, e.g. **ΕQΕΧΕΙ** (for **ΕQΕΧΙ**) **ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΥΚΑΝΟΝ** (for **ΝΕΥΚΑΝΩΝ**) 'he (the disobedient monk) shall be reprimanded (lit. he shall receive (Ε-Q-Ε-ΧΕΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) in accordance with (ΚΑΤΑ) their rules (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΝΟΝ)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 17), **ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC** 'and (ΑΥΩ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC) was glorified (lit. **χι** (receive) ΕΟΟΥ (glory))' (Eud. 40:27-28). Comparable to the impersonal active construction, **χι**-passives may be construed with an instrumental agent phrase, e.g. **ΑΧΙ CΒΩ ΝΚΩΤ** (read **ΝΝΚΩΤ**) **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΤΕΛΙΟC** (for **ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC**) 'I was taught (lit. I received (Α-Π-ΧΙ) teaching (CΒΩ)) the precepts (Ν-Ν-ΚΩΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) by (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) great (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) perfect ones (Ν-ΤΕΛΙΟC)' (Onnophr. 210:27-29).

6.3.4 Classes of intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs seem to constitute a homogenous class of verbal predicates with a single argument. The uneven distribution of intransitive verbs among the four basic stem patterns provides *prima*

facie evidence for a subdivision into three classes of intransitives: so-called unergative, unaccusative, and variable behaviour verbs.

a) Unergative verbs

In the unergative class of intransitive verbs, the sole argument is semantically interpreted as the agent of the verbal action. Typical unergative verbs are *verbs of sound emission* (e.g. **ΚΡΗΡΗ** 'to murmur', **ΠΙΜΕ** 'to cry', **ΚΑΚΚC** 'to whisper'), *verbs of bodily activity or expression*, (e.g. **ΡΑΩΕ** 'to rejoice', **(Ε)ΝΚΟΤΚ** 'to sleep'), and *verbs of manner of motion* (e.g. **ΝΗΗΒΕ** 'to swim', **ΜΟΟΩΕ** 'to walk', **CΟCΟ(Ε)C** 'to dance'). Unergative verbs are restricted to the absolute state.

b) Unaccusative verbs

The single argument of unaccusative verbs has a non-agentive interpretation. Moreover, the unaccusative subject displays some morpho-syntactic properties of the direct object, in that it appears in the complement position of a construct state marked verb. Thus, the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' and **ΜΝ** '(there) is not' that introduce existential-locative sentences with indefinite subjects, e.g. **ΟΥΝ <ΟΥ>CΟΝ ΜΗΜΟΝΟΧΟC** (for **ΜΗΜΟΝΑΧΟC**) **ΜΠΑΖΟΥ** '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΟΧΟC) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12).

Adjectival verbs with the lexical formative **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-** mindicate permanent properties, such as size, amount or quality: **ΝΑΛ-**, **ΝΑΛ=** 'to be great', **ΝΑΝΟΥ-**, **ΝΑΝΟΥ=** 'to be good, fair', **ΝΑΩΕ-**, **ΝΑΩΩ=** 'to be numerous', **ΝΕCΕ-**, **ΝΕCΩ=** 'to be beautiful'. Like statives, adjectival verbs can only appear in present tense sentences, e.g. **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟQ** 'the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟQ-Q) is good (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Hil. 4:35). (A more detailed analysis of head-initial sentences with existential and adjectival verbs will be offered in section 10.2 of Unit 10).

c) Variable behaviour verbs

Coptic has an extensive class of variable behaviour verbs, so called because they are compatible with either the absolute state or the stative. In the absolute state, they behave semantically as unergative verbs with agentive subjects. In the corresponding stative, variable

behaviour verbs behave more like unaccusatives, because the subject receives a non-agentive interpretation as the holder of some state or condition. Typical variable behaviour verbs are *verbs of smell emission* (e.g. $\kappa\eta\sigma(\sigma)\epsilon$, $\kappa\eta\sigma\epsilon^\dagger$ 'to stink, to rot'), *verbs of light emission* (e.g. $\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$, $\pi\pi\epsilon\omega\upsilon^\dagger$, $\pi\sigma\epsilon^\dagger$ 'to shine'), *verbs of inherently directed motion* (e.g. $\beta\omega\kappa$, $\beta\eta\kappa^\dagger$ 'to go', $\pi\omega\zeta$, $\pi\eta\zeta^\dagger$ 'to reach'), *internally caused verbs of change of state* (e.g. $\sigma\upsilon\beta\alpha\psi$, $\sigma\upsilon\beta\omega\psi^\dagger$ 'to become white', $\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$, $\sigma\beta\epsilon^\dagger$ 'to get thirsty'), and *verbs of existence, occurrence and (dis)appearance* (e.g. $\omega\eta\zeta$, $\sigma\eta\zeta^\dagger$ 'to live', $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$, $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi^\dagger$ 'to happen, occur', $\mu\omicron\gamma$, $\mu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\tau^\dagger$ 'to die'). Table 6.7 presents an overview of the distributional behaviour of different classes of intransitive verbs:

LEXICAL CLASS	ABS. ST.	CONST. ST.	STAT.
UNERGATIVE VERBS			
<i>Verbs of manner of motion,</i> e.g. $\sigma\omicron\sigma\sigma(\epsilon)\epsilon$ 'to dance'	+	—	—
<i>Verbs of sound emission,</i> e.g. $\kappa\pi\eta\mu\pi$ 'to murmur'	+	—	—
UNACCUSATIVE VERBS			
<i>Adjectival verbs,</i> e.g. $\eta\epsilon\sigma\epsilon-$, $\eta\epsilon\sigma\omega-$ 'to be beautiful'	—	+	—
<i>Copular verbs,</i> e.g. $\sigma\upsilon\eta-$ '(there) is', $\eta\eta$ '(there) is not'	—	+	—
VARIABLE BEHAVIOUR VERBS			
<i>Verbs of inherently directed motion,</i> e.g. $\beta\omega\kappa$, $\beta\eta\kappa^\dagger$ 'to go'	+	—	+
<i>Verbs of existence and appearance,</i> e.g. $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$, $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi^\dagger$ 'to happen, occur'	+	—	+
<i>Verbs of change of state,</i> e.g. $\epsilon\iota\beta\epsilon$, $\sigma\beta\epsilon^\dagger$ 'to get thirsty'	+	—	+

TABLE 6.7 Classes of intransitive verbs

6.4 Complex predicates

Complex predicates are composed of more than one lexical or grammatical element (either morphemes or words) that function as a single predicative expression. This section takes a closer look at verb-noun and verb-verb compounds. Coptic has two types of verb-noun compounds, light verbs like ρ $\zeta\omega\beta$ 'to work' and noun-incorporation constructions like ρ $\rho\pi\sigma$ 'to become king', which differ from each other both syntactically and semantically. Another topic of this section are analytical causatives, which have a clause-like structure, e.g. e.g. $\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\eta\lambda\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\sigma\lambda$ '(since you have come to this city) you made (a-κ-τρε) the blind (η-βαλε) see (ηλγ εβσλ)' (KHML I 5:3-4) (section 6.3.3).

6.4.1 Light verb constructions

Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its nominal complement represents the semantic predicate. Coptic has several of such light verbs: ρ 'to do', \dagger 'to give', $\chi\iota$ 'to carry', $\chi\iota$ 'to take' (with a passive interpretation), and $\sigma\eta$ 'to find'. They combine with an event or state describing nominal that is generally left undetermined, e.g. $\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\iota\pi$ $\psi\pi\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 'I ($\lambda\eta\sigma\kappa$), was ($\lambda-\iota-\rho$) very ($\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$) surprised (lit. *make* (ρ) *wonder* ($\psi\pi\eta\epsilon$))' (Onnophr. 218:4), $\psi\alpha\kappa\rho$ $\zeta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\omega\omega\kappa$ 'will you be ($\psi\alpha-\kappa-\rho$) afraid (lit. *make* (ρ) *fear* ($\zeta\sigma\tau\epsilon$)), too ($\zeta\omega\omega-\kappa$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 35, 7:7:5). This is, however, by no means a rule, since a number of light verb are construed with a definitely or possessively determined noun phrases, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\upsilon\rho$ $\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ $\rho\omega$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\sigma\upsilon\eta$ $\kappa\sigma\sigma\mu\sigma$ $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$ 'they (the hermits) *do not* ($\eta\epsilon-\upsilon-\rho$) even ($\rho\omega$) remember (lit. *make* (ρ) *the thought* ($\pi-\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (there) is ($\sigma\upsilon\eta$... $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$) a world ($\kappa\sigma\sigma\mu\sigma$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), $\alpha\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha\sigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\alpha\tau^\dagger$ $\pi\epsilon[\chi]\sigma\upsilon\gamma\sigma\iota$ 'Andrew went forth ($\lambda-\alpha-\tau^\dagger$) (lit. *give* (\dagger) *his course* ($\pi\epsilon\chi-\sigma\upsilon\gamma\sigma\iota$))' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153), (with a quantificational expression) $\eta\alpha\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma$ \dagger $\zeta\alpha\zeta$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ 'is it good ($\eta\alpha\eta\sigma\upsilon\gamma$) to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. *give* (\dagger) much ($\zeta\alpha\zeta$) *repentance* ($\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$))?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1).

Since the verb and the event/state noun function as a single predicative expression semantically, the burden of determining the number of arguments in the clause and their case-marking properties is

not borne by the verb alone, but is shared by the noun. In the vast majority of cases, the direct object argument of the event/state nominal is syntactically encoded as a nominal or pronominal possessor, e.g. $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲱⲭⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲱⲭⲏⲗⲁ}}$ 'I am ($\text{\text{ⲧⲣ}}$) in need (lit. *make* ($\text{\text{ⲣ}}$) need ($\text{\text{ⲭⲓⲁ}}$)) of your prayers ($\text{\text{ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲱⲭⲏⲗⲁ}}$)' (Hil. 11:14-15), $\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲣⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ}}$ 'to take ($\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲣⲓ}}$) care ($\text{\text{ⲡⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ}}$) of my body ($\text{\text{ⲛⲡⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ}}$)' (Onnophr. 216:6), $\text{\text{ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲩⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲡⲥ ⲉⲭⲱⲛ}}$ 'so that ($\text{\text{ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ}}$) he (Apa Mena) remembers ($\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲩⲛⲁⲉⲣ}}$) us (lit. to *make* ($\text{\text{ⲣ}}$) our remembrance ($\text{\text{ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ}}$)) and prays ($\text{\text{ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲡⲥ}}$) for us ($\text{\text{ⲉⲭⲱⲛ}}$)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6b:11-14) (with reflexively used pronouns) $\text{\text{ⲁⲣⲓⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲁ ⲟⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲩⲱⲛ}}$ 'maybe ($\text{\text{ⲁⲣⲓⲱⲩ}}$) the Lord ($\text{\text{ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ}}$) would ($\text{\text{ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲛⲁ}}$) visit him (lit. *pay* ($\text{\text{ⲟⲙ}}$ -) his visit ($\text{\text{ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲛⲉ}}$)) on ($\text{\text{ⲉⲙ}}$) the day ($\text{\text{ⲡⲉⲉⲁⲟⲟⲩ}}$) of Sabbath ($\text{\text{ⲛⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲩⲱⲛ}}$)' (V. Pach. 88:13-14).

Light verb constructions with the ditransitive verb $\text{\text{ⲧ}}$ 'to give' are syntactically realised as double object constructions, e.g. $\text{\text{ⲗⲗⲗⲗ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲧ ⲥⲱⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲣⲱⲉⲛⲧ}}$ (for $\text{\text{ⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲣⲱⲉⲛⲧ}}$) 'on the contrary ($\text{\text{ⲗⲗⲗⲗ}}$), I used to ($\text{\text{ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲣⲧ}}$) teach (lit. *give* ($\text{\text{ⲧ}}$) teaching ($\text{\text{ⲥⲱⲱ}}$)) him ($\text{\text{ⲛⲁⲓ}}$) with ($\text{\text{ⲉⲙ}}$) indulgence ($\text{\text{ⲟⲩⲙⲛⲧⲁⲣⲱⲉⲛⲧ}}$)' (V. Pach. 89:25-26), $\text{\text{ⲡⲁⲉⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲧ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲃ}}$ 'my father ($\text{\text{ⲡⲁⲉⲱⲧ}}$), I have ($\text{\text{ⲁⲣⲧ}}$) troubled (lit. *give* ($\text{\text{ⲧ}}$) trouble ($\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲉ}}$) to) your holiness ($\text{\text{ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲗⲗⲁⲃ}}$)' (Hil. 5:33).

6.4.2 Noun incorporation

Coptic has yet another type of verb-noun compounding with the light verb $\text{\text{ⲣ}}$, in the nominal complement is a referring expression, e.g. $\text{\text{ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲁ}}$ 'he ($\text{\text{ⲡⲁⲓ}}$) of such nature ($\text{\text{ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ}}$) will not ($\text{\text{ⲙⲉⲣⲉ}}$) master (lit. *make* ($\text{\text{ⲉⲣ}}$) master ($\text{\text{ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ}}$)) any ($\text{\text{ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ}}$) passion ($\text{\text{ⲛⲡⲁⲑⲟⲥ}}$) ever ($\text{\text{ⲉⲛⲉⲁ}}$)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9) $\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲓⲓⲱ ⲕⲁⲉ}}$ 'he (the corpse) dissolved ($\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱⲗ}}$) dust ($\text{\text{ⲕⲁⲉ}}$)' (Onnophr. 206:2).

Noun incorporation structures of this kind have an inchoative meaning, describing the endpoint of some transformational process that changes the physical condition or social status of the subject. The light verb $\text{\text{ⲣ}}$ is semantically interpreted as an existential verb 'to become', e.g. $\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱ ⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲓⲱⲗ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ}}$ 'he (Diocletian) became ($\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱ}}$ -) blind ($\text{\text{ⲃⲗⲗⲉ}}$) on both ($\text{\text{ⲥⲛⲁⲩ}}$) his eyes ($\text{\text{ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲓⲱⲗ}}$)' (Eud. 36:22-23), $\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲭⲓ ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ}}$ 'he

(Apa Mena) became ($\text{\text{ⲁⲓⲓⲱ}}$ -) a martyr ($\text{\text{ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ}}$) for ($\text{\text{ⲉⲭⲓ}}$) the name ($\text{\text{ⲡⲣⲁⲛ}}$) of our Lord ($\text{\text{ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ}}$) Jesus ($\text{\text{ⲓⲥ}}$) Christ ($\text{\text{ⲡⲉⲭⲥ}}$)' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a: 12-14).

The incorporation of a time-indicating nominal gives rise to a more complex construction type, where the verb-noun sequence functions as an aspectual auxiliary of duration, while the following adjunct clause describes the event or activity that is temporally measured out, e.g. $\text{\text{ⲗⲡⲣ ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲣ ⲉⲗⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ}}$ 'they (Apa Theodor and Apa Lucianus) spent ($\text{\text{ⲁⲩⲩⲱ}}$ -) fifty ($\text{\text{ⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ}}$) years ($\text{\text{ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ}}$) misleading ($\text{\text{ⲉⲩⲩⲱ}}$ -) their own ($\text{\text{ⲙⲙⲓⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ}}$) thought ($\text{\text{ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ}}$)' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9), $\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲓⲱⲣ ⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛⲉⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲱⲱ}}$ 'he (the disobedient monk) shall spend ($\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲓⲱⲣ}}$ -) three ($\text{\text{ⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ}}$) days ($\text{\text{ⲛⲉⲁⲟⲟⲩ}}$) repenting ($\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ}}$) daily ($\text{\text{ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ}}$) in accordance with ($\text{\text{ⲕⲁⲧⲁ}}$) their rule ($\text{\text{ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲱⲱ}}$)' (praec. et. instit. Pach. no. 12).

6.4.3 Analytical $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ -causatives

Analytical $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ -causatives are typical exemplars of complex predicates involving two verbal heads, one of which describes the causing event ($\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ -) and the other the caused event.

6.4.3.1 The morpho-phonological behaviour of $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ -causatives

The conjugational base $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ is a lexical causative of the light verb $\text{\text{ⲉⲓⲣⲉ}}$: $\text{\text{ⲧ}} + \text{\text{ⲉⲓⲣⲉ}} \rightarrow \text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ 'to make, let' (lit. cause to do). With the exception of the first person singular form $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲁ}}$, the pronominal paradigm of analytical causatives is entirely regular, cf. table 6.8.

ⲧⲣⲉ-CAUSATIVES		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ⲧⲣⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2 nd masc.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
2 nd fem.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
3 rd masc.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲓ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ
3 rd fem.	ⲧⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	
Before noun	ⲧⲣⲉ- ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ	

TABLE 6.8 Analytical $\text{\text{ⲧⲣⲉ}}$ -causatives

From a morpho-phonological point of view, the base **τρε-** is clearly an affix, since it never occurs in isolation as a separate word and does not attract stress. Akin to various verbal tenses and aspects, it can be phonologically reduced: **τρε-γ-σωτη** /trɛf.s'ɔ.tɛm/ → **τρ-γ-σωτη** /trɛf.s'ɔ.tɛm/, e.g. **ετρεῖς με** **επειράν** 'to tell (ε-τρ-γ-σω) me (να-ι) his name (η-πε-γ-ραν)' (Onnophr. 210:17). Yet, despite its affixal behaviour, **τρε** exhibits some of the characteristic properties of verbs. Firstly, it is inflected in the construct state pattern and occupies the same syntactic position as regular verbs. Secondly, in contrast to morphological causatives, the base form **τρε** and the lexical verb do not form a verb-verb complex, but remain two separate sentence elements, which occupy different syntactic positions. Thirdly, in much the same way as "normal" transitive verbs, **τρε** is associated with a particular syntactic frame or argument structure: its subject argument designates the CAUSER, i.e. the entity which brings about or initiates some event and its direct object argument specifies the caused event.

6.4.3.2 The biclausal structure of analytical **τρε**-causatives

Analytical causatives are biclausal structures, where the causative predicate **τρε** functions as the main verb and the associated lexical verb as the embedded verb. They differ, however, from other types of clausal embedding in that the main verb and the embedded verb have one argument in common, the CAUSEE, which designates the entity that is forced, persuaded or permitted by the CAUSER to be engaged in a certain event or activity. The shared CAUSEE argument simultaneously fulfils two grammatical functions: it is the direct object of the causative verb **τρε** and the subject of the embedded clause.

Figure 6.4 below gives a schematic representation of the syntax of analytic causatives with the example of **ακτρε νεαλε ναυ εβολ** 'you made (α-κ-τρε) the blind (ν-εαλε) see (ναυ εβολ)' (KHML I 5:3-4). (Arrows indicate syntactic functions like subject, direct object; S₁ stands for main clause and S₂ for embedded clause; brackets indicate clause boundaries).

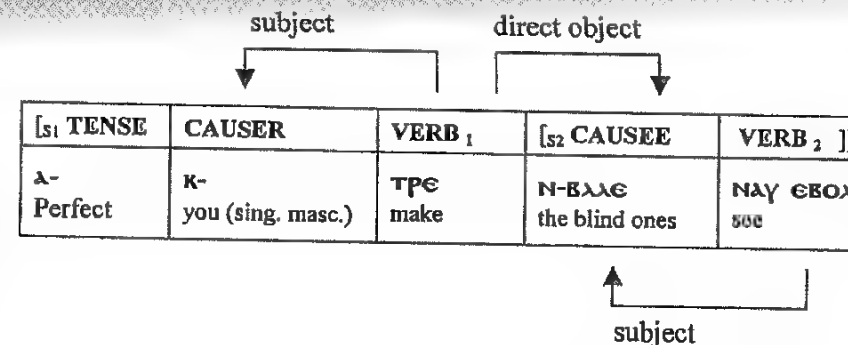


FIGURE 6.4 The biclausal structure of analytical causatives

6.4.3.3 Syntactic distribution

Analytical **τρε**-causatives display a broad syntactic distribution and appear in various finite (tensed) and non-finite (infinitival) verb constructions. A more detailed analysis of infinitival clauses will be offered in Unit 12.

a) Finite clauses

The causative meaning of the form **τρε** is fully present in finite clauses, whose subjects are semantically interpreted as the CAUSERS of the event referred to by the embedded verb, e.g. **α πενειωτ παζωη τρε νεσνηυ ειρε νημαγ νογνοδ μνντμαicon** 'our father (πεν-ειωτ) Pachôm let (α ... τρε) the brothers (νε-σνηυ) practise (ειρε) great (ν-ογ-νοδ) compassion (μ-μντ-μα-ι-con) with him (the foreign monk)' (V. Pach. 136:26-27), **ψαqtρε ναγγελος διακωνει ναυ ντεγτροφη** 'he (God) makes (ψα-γ-τρε) the angels (ν-αγγελος) serve (διακωνει) them (the hermits) their food (ν-τεγ-τροφη)' (Onnophr. 211:22-23).

Analytic causatives can also be used in the impersonal active construction, e.g. **ατρεγεine νας εζογν ννεγνοδ ναρχιερεγς** 'she (Eudoxia) let their (the Jews) principal (ν-νεγ-νοδ) priests (ν-αρχιερεγς) be brought (α-α-τρε-γ-εine εζογν) to her (να-α)' (Eud. 64:7-8), **μπειτρεγτσok νηρη προγζε (...)** 'I do not let them make you drink (μπ-ει-τρε-γ-τσο-κ) wine (ν-ηρη) at night (ν-προγζε) (...)' (KHML II 35:14).

b) Infinitival purpose clauses

In adjunct purpose clauses governed by the directional preposition *ε*- 'to', non-finite analytical causatives indicate the purpose or goal of the main clause event, e.g. *αβωκ δε ντεγνογ' νοι νεστρατθαλθς ντε τδον ετρεγντq* 'the generals (νε-στρατθαλθς) of (ντε) the army (τ-δον) went (α-γ-βωκ) immediately (ντεγνογ) [*to fetch him (ε-τρε-γ-ντ-q)* (Constantine)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), *ανοκ δε λιβωκ εβολ επτοογε ετρανηστεγε (...)* 'I (ανοκ) went (α-ι-βωκ) out (εβολ) into the desert (ε-π-τοογε) [*to fast (ε-τρα-νηστεγε)*]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96).

c) Infinitival complements of volitional verbs

Volitional verbs like *ογωψ* 'to want' can take infinitival clauses as their direct objects. Analytical causatives must be selected whenever the subject of the embedded clause differs from the subject of the matrix clause, e.g. *τογωψ ετρεκει νμμαι εψιητ* 'I want (τ-ογωψ) [*you to come (ε-τρε-κ-ει)* with me (νμμαι-ι) to Shiêt (ε-ψιητ)]' (Hil. 4:26), *παιωτ ειογωψ ετρεκβαπτιζε μμοι* 'My father (πα-ειωτ), I want (ε-ι-ογωψ) [*you to baptize (ε-τρε-κ-βαπτιζε)* me (μμοι-ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:35-31b:2).

d) Nominalised causatives

Analytical causatives may take the form of definite noun phrases. In combination with locative prepositions, such nominalised causative constructions are used as temporal clauses, e.g. *zm πτραβωκ εμαγ (...)* 'when (zm) I went (π-τρα-βωκ) there (εμαγ) (...)' (KHML I 142:17), *zm πτρεqαcπaζε δε μμοι (...)* 'when (zm) he had welcomed (π-τρε-q-αcπaζε) me (μμοι-ι) (...)' (KHML I 143:5).

Key Terms:

Root	represents an abstract lexical item, which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. Coptic verb stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. The basic stem patterns are the so-called absolute state, the construct state (i.e. the nominal and the pronominal states together) and the stative.	§6.1.3
Reduplication	is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4
Epenthesis	is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4
Aspect	is a category of verbal semantics, which refers to the internal temporal structure or dynamism of the situation reported on in a sentence.	§6.2.1
Eventive and stative sentences	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Accusative vs. oblique case	In Coptic, there are two distinct cases-marking patterns for the direct object. In the construct state, the direct object receives accusative case from the adjacent verb. In the absolute state, on the other hand, the direct object is assigned case by a desemanticised locative or a directional preposition.	§6.3.1

describes a selectional restriction of present tense sentences, which cannot be combined with construct state verbs with referential direct objects. Since the construct state verb and an accusative case-marked direct object are associated with a bound event reading, it is incompatible with the aspectual semantics of present tense sentences. §6.3.2

Functional equivalents of the passive

Although Coptic lacks a morphological passive, there are several sentence patterns that come close in meaning to the English passive construction, viz. (i) the impersonal active construction, (ii) transitive-based statives, and (iii) the "passive" light-verb $\chi\iota$ - 'to get, receive'. §6.3.3

Light verb constructions

derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate. §6.4.1

Analytical causatives

are complex predicates consisting of two verbs: the causative verb $\tau\pi\epsilon$ 'to make' and the embedded verb form described the caused event. Both predicates share one argument, which functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb. §6.4.3

Exercises

6.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.

- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:

1. Coptic verb stems can be decomposed into three morphemes: the root, the vowel melody and the stem template.
2. Vowel epenthesis is restricted to biconsonantal roots.
3. In Coptic, the contrast between stative and eventive predication is marked by different stem patterns
4. The third person plural impersonal active construction fulfils similar functions as the English passive construction.
5. Analytical causatives are monoclausal structures.

6.2 Root and pattern morphology

Complete the following table by inserting the correct stem allomorph into the blank cells.

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	STAT.	GLOSS
	$\eta\lambda\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma-$			to be good, fair
$\kappa\omega$				to place, put
		$\chi\omicron\omicron=$		to say
		$\lambda\lambda=$		to do, make
$\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$				to pass
			$\tau\omega^\dagger$	to give
	$(\epsilon)\eta-$			to bring
$\tau\lambda\eta\epsilon$				to inform
	$\omicron\eta-$			to find
$\omicron\omega\eta\tau$				to become angry
		$\eta\lambda\psi\omega=$		to be numerous
			$\lambda\psi\epsilon^\dagger$	to hang
$\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$				to know

6.3 The Eventive-Stativ alternation

- A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options (diacritics are omitted).
- (1) **Ε-Ϛ-___** **ΜΜΟϚ** **ΝΖΑΖ** **ΝϚΜΟΤ** 'he (the demon) *changed* himself (**ΜΜΟ-Ϛ**) into many (**Ν-ΖΑΖ**) (different) forms (**Ν-ϚΜΟΤ**)' (KHML II 53:7)
☐ **ΨΙΒΕ** ☐ **ΨΟ(Ο)ΒΕ** (< **ΨΙΒΕ** 'to change')
 - (2) **ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ** **ΓΑΡ** **ΝΑ** ___ **ΝΑΚ** **ΚΑΤΑ** **ΠΕΚΖΗΤ** 'Our Lord (**ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ**) will (**ΝΑ**) *give* to you (**ΝΑ-Κ**) according to (**ΚΑΤΑ**) your desire (**ΠΕΚ-ΖΗΤ**)' (Pach. 136:11-12)
☐ **†** ☐ **ΤΟ** (< **†** 'to give')
 - (3) **ΕΥΖΚΑΕΙΤ** **Ε-Υ-___** 'when they are hungry (**Ε-Υ-ΖΚΑΕΙΤ**) (and) *thirsty*' (Pist. Soph. 182:3)
☐ **ΕΙΒΕ** ☐ **ΟΒΕ** (< **ΕΙΒΕ** 'to become thirsty')
 - (4) **Ε-Ι-___** **ΨΑ** **ΠΕΝΤΑϚΤΗΝΟΟΥΤ** 'I *am on my way* to (**ΨΑ**) the one who has sent me (**ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ϛ-ΤΗΝΟΟΥ-Τ**)' (Test. Is. 230:11)
☐ **ΒΩΚ** ☐ **ΒΗΚ** (< **ΒΩΚ** 'to go')
 - (5) **ΤΑΨΩΠΕ** **Ε-Ι-___** **ΖΙ** **ΖΑΠ** **ΝΑΖΡΗ** **ΠΧΟΕΙΣ** 'and I become (**ΤΑ-ΨΩΠΕ**) subject (lit. bound) (**Ε-Ι-___**) to (**ΖΙ**) judgement (**ΖΑΠ**) before (**ΝΑΖΡΗ**) the Lord (**Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ**)' (Pach. 92:14-15)
☐ **ΜΟΥΡ** ☐ **ΜΗΡ** (< **ΜΟΥΡ** 'to bind, oblige')
- B. Explain the meaning difference between the absolute state form **ΨΩΠΕ** and the corresponding stative **ΨΟΟΠ** in the following sentence pair.
- (1) **ΝΓΨΩΠΕ** **ΝΗΜΑΙ** **ΗΠΗΤΟ** **ΕΒΟΛ** **ΗΠΕΙΑΝΟΜΟΣ** 'may you *be* (**Ν-Γ-ΨΩΠΕ**) with me (**ΝΗΜΑ-Ι**) in the presence of (**Η-Π-ΗΤΟ**) **ΕΒΟΛ** **Η-**) this criminal (**ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ**)' (Victor, Martyrd. 27:3-4).
 - (2) **ΕΙΣ** **ΖΗΗΤΕ** **ΓΑΡ** **†ΨΟΟΠ** **ΝΗΜΕ** 'since (**ΓΑΡ**), behold (**ΕΙΣ** **ΖΗΗΤΕ**), I *am* (**†ΨΟΟΠ**) with you (**ΝΗΜΕ**)' (Eud. 52:13)

6.4 Direct object syntax and case marking

- A. Fill in the correct form of the verb (cited in the absolute state form) by selecting one of the two options.
- (1) **Α** **ΠΑ[ΙΑΒ]ΟΛΟΣ** ___ **ΠΕϚΖ[ΗΤ]** 'the devil (**Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ**) *filled* his heart (**ΠΕϚ-ΖΗΤ**)' (Mena, Mir. 13b:27-29)
☐ **ΜΕΖ** ☐ **ΜΗΖ** (< **ΜΟΥΖ** 'to fill')
 - (2) **ΑΠΖ** **Ν-___-Ϛ** 'I managed (**Α-Ι-ΠΖ**) to (**Ν-**) *do* it' (Ac. A&P 198:71)
☐ **Ρ** ☐ **ΑΑ** (< **ΕΙΡΕ** 'to do')
 - (3) **ΝΑΝΟΥ** ___ **ΑΒ** [for **ΑϚ**] **ΕϚΕ** **ΗΡΠ** 'it is good (**ΝΑΝΟΥ**) to *eat* meat (**ΑΒ**) and drink (**Ε-ϚΕ**) wine (**ΗΡΠ**)' (AP, Chafne no.14, 3:12)
☐ **ΟΥΕΗ** ☐ **ΟΥΩΗ** (< **ΟΥΩΗ** 'to eat')
 - (4) **ΝΨΩΡΠ** **ΗΕΝ** **Α-Ϛ-___-ΟΥ** **ΝϚΖΑΙ** **ΚΑΤΑ** **ΠΑΞΙΩΜΑ** **ΝΤΗΝΤΗΝΟΒ** 'in the first place (**Ν-ΨΩΡΠ**), he (Zeno) *taught* them (his daughters) to write (**Ν-ϚΖΑΙ**) according to (**ΚΑΤΑ**) their high (**Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΝΟΒ**) rank (**Π-ΑΞΙΩΜΑ**)' (Hil.2:6-7)
☐ **ΤϚΑΒΕ** ☐ **ΤϚΑΒΟ** (< **ΤϚΑΒΟ** 'to teach')
 - (5) **Α-Ι-___** **ΝΤΙΠΥΓΗ** (for **ΝΤΙΠΗΓΗ**) **ΜΗΟΟΥ** **ΗΝ** **ΤΕΙΒΗΝΕ** **ΗΝ** **ΠΕΙΣΠΥΛΑΙΟΝ** (for **ΣΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ**) 'I *found* this well (**Ν-ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ**) of water (**Η-ΜΟΟΥ**), this date-tree (**ΤΕΙ-ΒΗΝΕ**) and (**ΗΝ**) this cavern (**ΠΕΙ-ΣΠΥΛΑΙΟΝ**)' (Onnophr. 208:10-11)
☐ **ΩΙΝΕ** ☐ **ΩΗ** (< **ΩΙΝΕ** 'to find')
 - (6) **ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-___** **ΝΑΙ** **ΔΕ** **ΝΘΙ** **ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ** 'when (**ΝΤΕΡΕ-**) the angel (**Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**) had *said* these (**ΝΑΙ**) (words) ...' (Test.Is. 230:12)
☐ **ΧΩ** ☐ **ΧΕ** (< **ΧΩ** 'to say')
- B. Complete the following Coptic sentences by selecting one of the two options for the syntactic encoding of the direct object relation given in brackets. Keep in mind that the construct state stem pattern is incompatible with present tense sentences (the Stern-Jernstedt Rule).

- (1) $\alpha\eta\tau \text{ } \mu\alpha\varsigma \text{ } (\text{N-}\sigma\upsilon\pi\iota/\sigma\upsilon\pi\iota) \text{ } \zeta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\psi\alpha\text{ } \mu\pi\pi\eta\varsigma \text{ } \eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ 'he (Apa Pambo) gave ($\alpha\text{-}\eta\text{-}\tau$) her (Hilaria) ($\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$) a cell next to him ($\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\psi\text{-}\alpha$), south ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$) of the church ($\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$)' (Hil 6:15)
- (2) $\alpha \text{ } \tau\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma \text{ } \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \mu\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\alpha \text{ } \mu\alpha\gamma \text{ } (\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon/\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\varsigma\omega\eta\eta\epsilon) \text{ } \epsilon\alpha[\eta]\eta\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \text{ } \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\pi\omicron$ 'the mother ($\tau\text{-}\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma$) of ($\mu\text{-}$) the sailor ($\mu\text{-}\eta\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$) saw ($\mu\alpha\gamma$) her son coming ($\epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma$) from ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \text{ } \epsilon\text{-}$) the river bank ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\pi\omicron$)' (Ac. A&P 194:4-7)
- (3) $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon \text{ } \lambda\upsilon\epsilon\eta \text{ } (\mu\text{-}\mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma/\mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma) \text{ } \lambda\pi\alpha \text{ } \mu\alpha\zeta\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\pi\omicron\eta$ 'then ($\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$) they brought ($\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\eta$) the holy Apa Nahrow to the theatre ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\pi\omicron\eta$)' (KHML I 4:6-7)
- (4) $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma} \text{ } \mu\alpha \text{ } \theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \text{ } (\kappa/\mu\mu\omicron\kappa) \text{ } \mu\eta \text{ } (\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\eta\epsilon/\mu\epsilon\kappa\omega\eta\eta\epsilon)$ 'Jesus will ($\mu\alpha$) heal ($\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$) you and ($\mu\eta$) your son' (Ac. A&P 196:29-30)
- (5) $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \text{ } \varsigma\epsilon\psi\iota\eta\epsilon \text{ } (\mu\varsigma\alpha \text{ } \zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon/\zeta\epsilon\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon) \text{ } \mu\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon$ 'but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) they (the worldly philosophers) are looking ($\varsigma\epsilon\text{-}\psi\iota\eta\epsilon$) for new ($\mu\text{-}\beta\pi\pi\epsilon$) words' (Hil. 1:18-19)
- (6) $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\beta\iota\tau$ (for $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\alpha\iota\tau$) ($\text{-}\kappa/\mu\mu\omicron\kappa$) $\epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\psi\epsilon \text{ } \mu\eta \text{ } \mu\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\alpha \text{ } \epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\beta\iota\tau$ 'I will carry ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\beta\iota\tau$) you to jubilation ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\psi\epsilon$) and ($\mu\eta$) delight ($\mu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\alpha$)' (Test. Is. 229:22-23)
- C. Translate the following Coptic sentences, which have a passive meaning.
- (1) $\lambda\upsilon\tau\omega\zeta\eta \text{ } \Delta\epsilon \text{ } \zeta\omega\omega\alpha \text{ } \mu\pi\zeta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \lambda\pi\alpha \text{ } \mu\eta\mu\alpha \text{ } [\epsilon]\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta \text{ } \epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma[\omega\mu\eta] \text{ } \eta\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau[\alpha\tau\gamma]\rho\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \zeta\iota\tau\eta \text{ } \tau\epsilon[\chi\alpha]\rho\iota\varsigma \text{ } \mu\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ } \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$ (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:22-29)
- (2) $\eta\varsigma\eta\zeta \text{ } \gamma\alpha\pi \text{ } \zeta\eta \text{ } \eta\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (Onnophr. 211:25)
- (3) $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\beta\iota$ (for $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\alpha\iota$) $\mu\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\alpha \text{ } \eta\theta\epsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$ (for $\eta\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$) $\zeta\eta \text{ } \mu\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota \text{ } \zeta\eta \text{ } \mu\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \mu\pi\psi\alpha$ (Pach. 91:6-7) (N.B. the auxiliary verb $\mu\alpha$ "go" indicates future time reference)

(4) $\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon\tau\omega\tau \text{ } \epsilon\beta\omega\kappa \text{ } \eta\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$ (Eud. 62:1)

(5) $[\lambda\gamma]\kappa\omega\tau \text{ } \epsilon\pi\omicron[\alpha] \text{ } \mu\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\gamma\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\eta \text{ } \epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$ (Mena, Martyrd. 10a:30-32)

6.5 Complex predicate formation

A. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a light verb or a noun incorporation construction:

(1) $\lambda\alpha\pi\tau \text{ } \eta\eta\tau \text{ } \lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ (Eud. 38:27-28)

(2) $\lambda\alpha\pi\tau \text{ } \zeta[\alpha\lambda] \text{ } [\eta]\mu\omicron\alpha$ (Mena, Mir. 11a:14-15)

(3) $\lambda\gamma\omega \text{ } \lambda\alpha\chi\iota \text{ } \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \text{ } \mu\omicron\iota \text{ } \mu\pi\alpha\eta \text{ } \mu\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ } \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma} \text{ } \mu\epsilon\chi\bar{\omega}$ (Eud. 40:27-28) (N.B. The focus marker $\mu\omicron\iota$ marks a postverbal nominal subject in the inversion construction; it can best be left untranslated)

B. Consider the following two examples of analytical causative constructions. Determine which noun or pronoun represents the shared causee argument of the causative verb $\tau\pi\epsilon$ and the embedded verb.

(1) $\lambda\gamma\omega \text{ } \eta\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\mu \text{ } \eta\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha \text{ } \lambda\alpha\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\psi\omicron\tau \text{ } \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota \text{ } \epsilon\chi\eta \text{ } \mu\chi\omicron\iota$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) he (the devil) let the waves ($\eta\text{-}\zeta\omicron\epsilon\iota\mu$) of the sea ($\eta\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$) become heavy ($\lambda\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\eta\psi\omicron\tau$) against ($\epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota \text{ } \epsilon\chi\eta$) the ship ($\mu\text{-}\chi\omicron\iota$)' (BMisc. 160:18-19)

(2) $\lambda\alpha\tau\pi\epsilon \text{ } \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma \text{ } \eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \zeta\omega\omega\kappa\epsilon \text{ } \mu\mu\omicron\alpha \text{ } \epsilon\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon$ 'he (the pagan king) let ($\lambda\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\tau\pi\epsilon$) six ($\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) torturers ($\eta\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\eta\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$) whip ($\zeta\omega\omega\kappa\epsilon$) him (Apa Nahrow) ($\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\alpha$)' (KHML I 5:25-26)

Absolute tenses

The previous unit was largely concerned with the aspectual underpinning of Coptic verb derivation. The various formal classes of verbs or stem patterns were shown to express basic aspectual oppositions, such as the contrast between events and states. We now turn to the grammatical expression of another basic category of verbal semantics, which is tense. Tense is a deictic category, which grammaticalises the location of a situation on the time axis. The concern here is with absolute tenses, which are tense categories that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. The linear ordering of events with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses, the present, the past and the future, which locate the time of the event at, prior to or after this temporal reference point.

In Coptic, present, past and future time reference is accomplished via morphemes in the inflectional system. Such time-indicating morphemes often come in pairs, whose members share the same temporal value, but differ from one another with respect to other categories of verbal meaning, such as aspect and mood. Thus, both the Perfect marker λ and the Preterit auxiliary NE refer to past events. But while the Perfect indicates the past location of accomplished events, the temporal auxiliary NE is specifically used to describe past states. Compare: λ $\text{NEPOMÉ DE MPMA ETMMAY AYOEZ PCOMA MPMAKAPIOC APA MIMA [EPES]HT ZM POMOYA}$ 'the people (NE-POMÉ) of that (ETMMAY) place (M-PI-MA) let (λ - Y-OYEZ) the body (PI-COMA) of the blessed (M-PI-MAKAPIOC) Apa Mena down (EPESHT) from (ZM) the camel (PI-POMOYA)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20) vs. $\text{NEQNHX PE ZIXH PKAZ EQMHN EBOL}$ 'he (Pachôm)

continued (ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) *to lie down* (ⲛⲉ-ⲓ-ⲛⲏⲗ) *on* (ⲓⲛⲏ) *the ground* (ⲡⲓ-ⲕⲁⲓ) (V. Pach. 87:25). The following description of Coptic absolute tenses addresses questions concerning the morpho-syntactic behaviour of various tense inflections as well as their semantic contribution to the clause in which they occur. It consists of three parts. Section 7.1 starts out with a general introduction to the syntax of tense-aspect-mood markers. The focus of section 7.2 is on the paradigmatic split of the absolute tense system in two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. Section 7.3 reviews the temporal, aspectual and modal meaning components of present, past and future tenses.

7.1 The morpho-syntax of ^{TAM}tense-aspect-mood marking

Coptic has a large variety of conjugation patterns (i.e. patterns in which verbal stems can appear) for the grammatical expression of tense (i.e. the location of events in time), aspect (i.e. the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (i.e. the commitment of the speaker towards the truth of the reported events). Each conjugation pattern is characterised by a distinctive tense, aspect or mood marker (from now on TAM marker). This section outlines the main syntactic characteristics of the Coptic conjugation system. Section 7.1.1 deals with the proclitic behaviour of Coptic TAM markers, which form a prosodic unit with the following sentence constituent (the subject or the verbal predicate). Section 7.1.2 reviews the internal composition of various conjugation patterns, with particular attention for the relative order of the TAM marker with respect to the subject and the main verb.

7.1.1 The proclitic behaviour of TAM markers

Coptic TAM markers are inflection words, which are morphologically independent of the verb. They appear in two syntactic positions, one preceding the subject and another following the subject and preceding the main verb. Both groups differ morphologically from one another in that preverbal TAM markers have invariant forms, while pre-subject TAM markers may have different forms or allomorphs, depending on whether a nominal or pronominal subject follows. The Habitual Present, for instance, has a long form ⲱⲁⲣⲉ and a short form ⲱⲁ-, which are selected

in the context of nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲏⲧⲕⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲏⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲏⲧⲉ 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲏⲛⲉ) yields (ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲏⲧ-ⲕⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲏⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲏⲧⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13) vs. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲕⲣⲱⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲓⲧⲕⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Apa Pambô) would go (ⲱⲁ-ⲓ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲡⲓ-ⲕⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 6:16).

Even TAM markers that lack the allomorphic opposition between long and short forms show a consistent syntactic behaviour in that they do not allow prosodically weak function words to disrupt the syntactic continuity between the clause-initial TAM marker and the adjacent subject. For this reason, enclitic particles and function words like ⲁⲉ and ⲟⲛ 'also, too' appear in clause-third position, following both the TAM expression and the subject nominal, e.g. ⲁ ⲧⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲣⲉⲉⲥ 'his sister (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲕⲱⲛⲉ) gathered (ⲁ ... ⲱⲁ) his bones (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲕⲉⲉⲥ)' (Mena, Martyrd., 4a:1-2), ⲁ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲕ 'somebody else (ⲕⲉ-ⲟⲩⲁ) brought (ⲁ ... ⲉⲓⲛⲉ) his son (ⲙ-ⲡⲉⲓ-ⲕⲱⲛⲉ) to him (Pachôm) (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲓ)' (V. Pach. 141:21). A somewhat different situation obtains with pronominal subjects, which form a prosodic unit with the verbal stem. Enclitic function words are therefore placed in postverbal position, e.g. ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲧ 'they made (ⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ) a silver (ⲛ-ⲓⲁⲧ) coffin (ⲛ-ⲟⲩ-ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:27-28).

7.1.2 Templates for TAM markers

TAM formatives are subject to strict word order rules that align them to a particular syntactic position. The fixed linear order of certain positional classes of TAM markers gives rise to three basic word order patterns or templates that may be expanded to the left to derive compound tense forms.

7.1.2.1 Head-initial order (the so-called prefix conjugation)

The dominant word order is head-initial, meaning that the TAM marker is placed in front of the subject and the verbal predicate. Typical exemplars of the head-initial pattern are the Perfect ⲁ-ⲓ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ 'he heard' and the Jussive conjugation ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲓ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ 'may he hear'. The head-initial template in figure 7.1 below is referred to as the prefix conjugation in

Coptic grammars, because of the proclitic behaviour of the pre-subject TAM formative.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
A PERFECT	π-ρΩΗΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man heard
	-q- he		He heard
ΜΑΡΕ JUSSIVE	π-ρΩΗΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	May the man hear
	-q- he		May he hear

FIGURE 7.1 The head-initial template (the so-called prefix conjugation)

7.1.2.2 The null morpheme of the present tense

In Coptic, as in many other languages, present tense reference has no morphological correlate. Yet, despite the absence of overt tense marking, present tense sentences are associated with a specific time value and indicate the coincidence of the time of some event or state with the present moment, that is, the time at which the sentence is uttered. This means that present tense reference is grammaticalised as a null morpheme, i.e. a tense marker that lacks phonetic content (indicated by ∅). In a sense, then, the First Present q-CΩΤΗ 'he hears, he is hearing' instantiates a "hidden" head-initial pattern, as shown in figure 7.2.

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
∅ PRESENT TENSE	π-ρΩΗΕ the man	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is hearing
	q- he		He is hearing

FIGURE 7.2 The null morpheme of the First Present

7.1.2.3 The clause-internal placement of the motional auxiliary NA

The First Future q-NA-CΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' is characterized by a fully grammaticalised form of the motional auxiliary (AUX) verb NA 'to go'. As shown in figure 7.3 below, the TAM marker NA is sandwiched between the nominal or pronominal subject and the main verb:

SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
π-ρΩΗΕ the man	NA "GO" AUX	CΩΤΗ hear	The man is going to hear
q- he			He is going to hear

FIGURE 7.3 The clause-internal template of the First Future

The auxiliary verb NA and the lexical verb form a verbal complex that cannot be broken up by an enclitic particle, e.g. TENAZE Γ. Ε<Υ>ΡΩΗΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ 'you will find (TE-NA-ZE) someone (Ε-Υ-ΡΩΗΕ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) my clan (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ)' (Eud. 54:7), but may be expanded by another auxiliary verb, for instance, the modal auxiliary (Ε)Ω- 'can, to be able to', e.g. ΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΖΕ ΡΩ ΕΓΝΑΨΝΟΥΖΗ ΝΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΟΙΧ 'in what (Ν-ΑΨ) manner (Ν-ΗΕ), then (ΡΩ), will he be able to save (Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΝΟΥΖΗ) them (the Christians) (Ν-ΝΑΙ) : (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) my hands (ΝΑ-ΟΙΧ)?' (Eud. 36:16).

7.1.2.4 Compound tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are morphologically marked by single TAM expression, which appears either in front of the subject or front of the main verb. Both the preverbal as well as the pre-subject position are filled with grammatical formatives in so-called compound tenses, such as the Conditional conjugation Ε-Γ-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ 'if he hear' and the Third Future Ε-Γ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he shall hear'. The Ε- prefix actually a relativising morpheme, which recurs in certain Second Tense modal auxiliary ΨΑΝ, whose meaning is difficult to render into English. The Third Future is a locative construction built around the direction preposition Ε- 'to, towards': Ε-Γ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he (is) towards hearing'. The templates for the Conditional and the Third Future with pronominal subjects are presented in figure 7.4 below. (REL stands for 'relative marker' and PREP for 'preposition').

	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	ε-	-q- he	-ϣAN- MODAL AUX	CΩTH hear	If/when he hears
	REL	SUBJECT PRONOUN	PREP	VERB	GLOSS
THIRD FUTURE	ε-	-q- he	-ε- TO	CΩTH hear	He shall hear

FIGURE 7.4 The Conditional and the Third Future with subject pronouns

In the context of nominal subjects, both conjugation patterns have a different word order pattern. In the Conditional, the modal auxiliary ϣAN is incorporated into the long form εPE of the initial relative marker: εPE NP_{subject} ϣAN VERB → εP-ϣAN NP_{subject} VERB. No such incorporational process takes place in the Third Future, where the directional preposition ε- 'to' disappears entirely from the surface structure of the clause: ε- → ∅ / ____ NP_{subject}. See figure 7.5 for further illustration.

	REL + TAM	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	GLOSS
CONDITIONAL CONJUGATION	εP-ϣAN	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	If the man hears
	REL	SUBJECT NOUN	VERB	
THIRD FUTURE	εPE	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH hear	The man shall hear

FIGURE 7.5 The Conditional and Third Future with nominal subjects

The three absolute tenses (i.e the First Present, the First Perfect and the First Future) share the ability of being used as embedded forms under the Preterit auxiliary NE. The internal structure of the resulting Preterit Present NE-q-CΩTH 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past (Pluperfect) NE-α-q-CΩTH 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future NE-q-NA-CΩTH 'he was going to hear' is shown in figure 7.6 below (PRET AUX stands for 'Preterit auxiliary verb').

	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PRESENT	NEP ε	∅ PRESENT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man heard
	NE-		-q- he		He heard
	PRET AUX	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT PAST (PLUPERFECT)	NE-	α PERFECT	π-PΩME the man	CΩTH	The man had heard
			-q- he		He had heard
	PRET AUX	SUBJECT	TAM	VERB	GLOSS
PRETERIT FUTURE	NEP ε	π-PΩME the man	NA "GO" AUX	CΩTH	The man was, going to hear
	NE-				He was going to hear

FIGURE 7.6 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary NE is to establish a new temporal reference point besides the present moment, from which temporal interpretations can be made. A more detailed analysis of Preterit tenses will be offered in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.

7.1.3 TAM-markers as auxiliary verbs

A question remains with respect to the categorial status of Coptic tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers; are they free functional morphemes or rather auxiliary verbs? The clause-initial or medial position of TAM markers, their morphological independence from the verb, as well as their agreement behaviour (variant forms for nominal and pronominal subjects, for instance, ϣAPE and ϣA- in the Habitual Present) provide prima facie evidence for their syntactic status as auxiliary verbs.

Additional support for an auxiliary verb analysis of Coptic TAM expressions comes from their compatibility with more than one syntactic position. In the following example, there are two instances of the Habitual Present, one in front of the left-dislocated topic constituent and the other in front of the resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. αγω ϣAPE ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΗΟΟΥ ϣΑQAICΘANE KATA TEQΦYCIC 'and (αγω) each one (ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΗΟΟΥ) perceives (ϣAPE ... ϣA-q-AICΘANE)

according to (κατα) his nature (τεq-φycic)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17). It generally appears, then, that Coptic TAM markers behave syntactically like auxiliary verbs. Yet, due to their semantic erosion, these markers have a fully grammaticalised meaning and function and are used to indicate various aspectual, temporal and modal categories. In this respect, they behave like inflectional elements distinct from the lexical category "verb".

7.2 First and Second Tenses

With more than twenty different verb conjugations, the tense-aspect-mood system constitutes one of the most complex areas of Coptic grammar. At the foundation of this richness of morpho-semantic distinctions is a subdivision of the absolute tenses into two conjugational classes, traditionally referred to as First and Second Tenses. The morphological derivation of Second Tenses will be dealt with in section 7.2.1. Section 7.2.2 surveys the main sentence constructions in which Second Tenses are grammatically allowed or required.

7.2.1 A paradigmatic split in the absolute tense system

Coptic has four absolute tenses that describe present, past and future situations: the Present, the Habitual, Perfect, and the Future. These absolute tenses come in pairs of so-called First and Second Tenses.

	FIRST TENSES	SECOND TENSES	GLOSS
PRESENT	q-cwTH	ε-q-cwTH	He hears, he is hearing
FUTURE	q-na-cwTH	ε-q-na-cwTH	He is going to hear
PERFECT	λ-q-cwTH	NT-λ-q-cwTH	He heard, has heard
HABITUAL	ψλ-q-cwTH	ε-ψλ-q-cwTH	He usually hears

TABLE 7.1 First and Second Tenses in Sahidic Coptic

There is a clear morphological relationship between the two sets of tenses in table 7.1: Second Tenses are derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding a relative marker in front of the verbal cluster. This system of concatenative operations is organized around a marked value, represented

by the Second Perfect marker NT-, and a default value, instantiated by the relative marker ε-, which is spelled out in all other contexts.

7.2.2 Syntactic distribution

First and Second Tenses have exactly the same temporal interpretation, but differ systematically from each other with respect to their syntactic distribution. Second Tenses replace pragmatically unmarked First Tenses in a range of interrogative and declarative focus sentences.

a) Yes/no questions

Coptic yes/no questions come in two varieties, viz. with or without a dedicated question particle (see above, section 4.2.2 of Unit 4). In the latter group, Second Tense morphology provides a cue for the interrogative interpretation of the clause within its scope, e.g. εΤΕΤΝΗΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΧΩΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΝ 'do you think (ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΗΕΕΥΕ) that (ΧΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) stronger (ΟΥ-ΧΩΡΕ) than us (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-Ν)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΓΚΛΑΤ ΖΝ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑCIC 'will you go (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and leave me (Ν-Γ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) in (ΖΝ) these punishments (ΝΕΙ-ΚΟΛΑCIC)?' (Ac. A&P 202:118). Second Tenses can, however, not be analyzed as lexicalised question cues for two reasons. Firstly, Second Tenses appear in clause types other than interrogative sentences, for instance, in relative clauses and declarative focus constructions. Secondly, it is possible to have Second Tenses and dedicated question particles like ΜΗ within the same interrogative sentence, e.g. ΜΗ ΕΙΤΑΙΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'am I more (ΕΖΟΥ(Ε)) honourable (ε-Ι-ΤΑΙΗΥ) than (ε-) my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΚΑΑΤ ΝCΩΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'will you abandon (ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) me (ΝCΩ-Κ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) one thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:81-82).

b) Wh-in-situ questions

Coptic has several interrogative patterns for constituent or *wh*-questions. In so-called *wh*-in-situ questions, the questioned constituent is placed in exactly the same syntactic position as in its declarative counterpart. As we can see from the following set of data, Coptic *wh*-in-situ questions demonstrate a straightforward correlation between the clause-internal position of the question word and the presence of this special kind of

inflectional morphology. In other words, *wh*-in-situ does not come for free, but requires the presence of Second Tense marking to be grammatical. Furthermore, there are no asymmetries between questioned arguments and adjuncts in *wh*-in-situ questions.

Examples: (*wh*-in-situ subject questions) ΝΤΑ ΝΙΜ ΧΠΟ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΙΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ (...)' *who* (ΝΙΜ) *has achieved* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΠΟ) for himself (ΝΑ-Υ) such endurance (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ) (...)?' (Hil. 12:29), ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΦΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΡΡΟ '*what* (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΦΩΠΕ) to you (ΜΜΟ-Κ), our lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) (and) king (Π-ΠΡΟ)?' (Eud. 36:24), (*wh*-in-situ object questions) ΕΙΝΑΡ ΟΥ ΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ ΧΣ '*what* (ΟΥ) *shall I* therefore (ΘΕ) *do* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ρ) for the goodness (Ν-Τ-ΜΙΝΤ-ΑΓΑΘΟΣ) of my Lord (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧΣ)' (Eud. 64:12), ΕΙΝΑΧΕ ΟΥ ΝΑΚ '*what* (ΟΥ) *shall I* say (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΧΕ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25), ΠΑΕΩΤ ΕΚΦΑΧΕ ΗΝ ΝΙΜ 'my father (ΠΑ-ΕΩΤ), with (ΗΝ) *whom* (ΝΙΜ) *are you talking* (Ε-Κ-ΦΑΧΕ)?' (Test. Is. 230:19), (*wh*-in-situ adverb questions) ΕΝΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΘΕΩ 'through (ΖΗ) *what* (ΟΥ) *shall we be saved* (Ε-Ν-ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in this time (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΘΕΩ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 271, 83:21), Ω ΠΑΕΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΕΦΑΚΥΝΑΓΕ ΤΩΝ ΜΠΣΒΒΑΤ.Ν ΗΝ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 'oh (Ω) my holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΕ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΩΤ), *where* (ΤΩΝ) *do you usually celebrate* (the Eucharist) (Ε-ΦΑ-Κ-ΥΝΑΓΕ) on Saturday (Η-Π-ΣΒΒΑΤ.Ν) and (ΗΝ) Sunday (Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ)?' (Onnophr. 214:19-20), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕ '*how* (lit. in which (Ν-ΑΥ) manner (Ν-ΖΕ)) *did you come* (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 206:29), (embedded *wh*-in-situ questions) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΦΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΚ 'and (ΑΥΩ) I do not know (Ν-Τ-ΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ) [*what* (ΟΥ) *has happened* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΦΩΠΕ) to her (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]?' (Hil. 7:30-31), ΜΠΕΧΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΑΛΑΥ ΤΩΝ 'he (the deceased) did not say (ΜΠΕ-Υ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) [*where* (ΤΩΝ) *he had put it* (the deposit) (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΑΛ-Υ)]?' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 65:18).

That the in-situeness of the question word is, indeed, the relevant factor motivating Second Tense selection is evident from the diametrically opposite interrogative pattern of *wh*-fronting, in which the question word is moved to the left periphery of the clause. In such *wh*-fronting structures, the tense marker appears in its neutral form, e.g. ΝΙΜ ΑΓΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ '*who* (ΝΙΜ) *has brought you* (Α-Υ-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (KHML I 3:7-8), ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'from *whence* (ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ) *did you come* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΕΙ) here (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (Onnophr. 220:8).

c) Replacive focus

Second Tenses are not restricted to interrogative sentences, but may also appear in a range of declarative focus contexts. Question-answer pairs have been widely used as diagnostic tools for focushood: the focus identified with the sentence element that answers the question. The focus in the answer replaces, so to speak, the interrogative pronoun of the preceding question and is therefore called replacive focus. In Coptic, replacive focus is manifested by the presence of Second Tenses in both the *wh*-in-situ question and the corresponding answer, e.g. ΕΚΦΩΝΕ ΕΧ (...) ΠΧΣ ΕΙΦΩΝΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ 'from *what* (Ε-ΟΥ) *do you suffer* (Ε-Κ-ΦΩΝΕ)? – Lord (Π-ΧΣ), *I am suffering* (Ε-Ι-ΦΩΝΕ) from *my* *living* (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30), ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΝ (.. ΕΝΧΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '*whereto* (Ε-ΤΩΝ) *do you bring* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΙ) this man (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)? – *We bring* (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (ΜΜΟ-Υ) to the *shrine* (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6).

d) Contrastive focus constructions

Contrastive focus represents a different semantic focus type, where the speaker rejects a previous utterance and offers an alternative option as its appropriate rectification. The "NOT X ΑΛΛΑ (but) Y construction provides the prototypical syntactic frame for contrastive focus in Coptic. Contrastive focus falls on the rectifying affirmative clause, as witnessed by the presence of Second Tenses, e.g. ΜΠΩΡ ΠΑΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΤΟΥΚ ΓΑΙ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΣ ΤΟΥΚ ΕΥΣΟΛΑ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΛΙΕ 'no (ΜΠΩΡ), my son (ΠΑ-ΩΗΡΕ)! For (ΓΑΡ) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you (ΜΠ-ΟΥ-ΤΟΥ-Κ) for *this service* (Ε-Τ-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) the Lord (Π-ΧΣ) *has appointed you* (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥ-Κ) as a *comfort* (Ε-Υ-ΣΟΛΑ) for the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΛΕ) brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΝΗΥ) who live (ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΛΙΕ) (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

e) Presentational focus

Second Tenses may also signal presentational (new information) focus, which corresponds to information that is not shared by the speaker and the addressee. Presentational focus introduces new referents into the discourse, e.g. ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦΣΟΡΗ ΖΗ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΧΕ (...) '*a* (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) *hermit*

(*Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ*) got lost (*Ε-Γ-ΣΟΡΗ*) in (2*N*) the desert (*Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-Γ*) to himself (*ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Γ*) that (*ΧΕ*) (...)’ (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29). In quantificational statements, the Second Present is widely used to mark quantified noun phrases as presentational foci, e.g. *ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΕΡΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΦΟΟΠ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ [Ω ΠΜ]ΗΝΑ [ΠΜΑΡ]ΤΥΡΟΣ ΖΝ [ΟΥΜΕ] ΝΠΕΧΧ* ‘truly (*ΑΛΗΘΩΣ*), all (*ΝΙΜ*) good (things) (*ΑΓΑΘΟΝ*) happen (*ΕΡΕ ... ΦΟΟΠ*) to those who will come (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ*) to your shrine (*Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΤΟΠΟΣ*), oh (*Ω*) *Mēna*, the true (*ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ*) martyr (*Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ*) of Christ (*Ν-ΠΕ-ΧΧ*)’ (Mēna, Mir.16b:1219), *ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΓΤΩΒΣ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΜΜΟΓ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ* ‘the Lord (*Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ*) also (*ΟΝ*) urges (*Ε-Γ-ΤΩΒΣ*) everybody (*ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ*) who loves (*ΕΤ-ΜΕ*) him (*ΜΜΟ-Γ*) through (*ΖΗ*) the Gospel (*Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ*)’ (V. Pach. 3:6-7).

f) The narrative use of Second Tenses

Second Tenses are occasionally used out-of-the-blue, without any indication of replative, contrastive or new information focus. On closer inspection, it appears, however, that such examples are associated with anticipatory focus, which signals a new development in the story line. The narrative use of Second Tenses is particularly common in portions of a text that introduce a *leitmotiv* for what is to be communicated next, e.g. (why do (woman) you weep all the time?) *ΝΤΑ ΠΑΖΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΕΛΑΧΙ ΝΟΥΒΟΙΑΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΑΥΩ ΝΠΕΓΧΟΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΓΚΑΛΛ ΤΩΝ* ‘my husband (*ΠΑ-ΖΑΙ*) has passed away (*ΝΤ-Α ... ΜΟΥ*), having taken (*Ε-Α-Γ-ΧΙ*) a deposit (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΒΟΙΑΕ*) from (*ΝΤΕ*) someone (*ΟΥΑ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) he did not say (*ΜΠΕ-Γ-ΧΟΟ-Σ*) when he was going to die (*Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*) where (*ΤΩΝ*) he had placed it (*ΝΤ-Α-Γ-ΚΑΛΛ-Γ*)’ (AP Chaîne no.235, 65:22-24). In the following example, the reason adverbial *ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ* ‘because of my sins’ designates the topic that is elaborated on in the subsequent narrative episode dealing with the amoral past of the first-person singular narrator: *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΖΩ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΗΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΚΖΕ* (for *ΝΤΕΚΖΕ*) *ΕΙΦΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΕΛΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ* ‘I (*ΑΝΟΚ*) myself (*ΖΩ*) (am) a hermit (*ΟΥ-ΡΗΝ-ΤΟΟΥ*) like you (*Ν-ΤΚ-ΖΕ*). *I live* (*Ε-Ι-ΦΟΟΠ*) in (*ΖΗ*) this desert (*ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ*) because of (*ΕΤΒΕ*) my sins (*ΝΑ-ΝΟΒΕ*)’ (Onnophr. 210:13-14).

7.3 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

As a technical term of grammar, “absolute tense” is used to refer to tenses that take the present moment as their main temporal reference point or deictic centre. Present tense means that the time of the event coincides with the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. Past tense means that the time of the event occurs prior to the present moment and future tense means that the time of the event is located after the present moment. A blueprint of the absolute tense system is presented in section 7.3.1. Sections 7.3.2 to 7.3.6 explore the semantic and pragmatic distinctions between the individual present, past and future tenses. These verbal tenses will be shown to be portmanteau morphemes that convey various modal and aspectual meaning connotations besides their basic temporal value.

7.3.1 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Although the ternary distinction between present, past and future tense lies at the centre of the absolute tense system, it does not exhaust the entire repertoire of tense categories. Coptic makes more fine-grained semantic distinctions in the temporal domain than those captured by a simple tripartite system. With respect to future time reference, two future tenses are employed side by side. On the one hand, there are the First and Second Future *Γ-ΝΑ-ΣΩΤΗ* and *Ε-Γ-ΝΑ-ΣΩΤΗ* ‘he is going to hear’, which indicate progression from the present to the future; on the other hand, there is the Third Future *Ε-Γ-Ε-ΣΩΤΗ* ‘he shall hear’, with no such link with the present moment. Both future tense patterns differ from one another not only with respect to their temporal but also with respect to their modal features, assigning different degrees of likelihood, desirability or necessity to a forthcoming situation (see below, section 7.3.3).

Absolute time reference is not always determined with respect to the present moment, but may also be established with respect to another reference point, which provides a secondary deictic centre on which temporal interpretations can be based. In Coptic, this secondary deictic centre is located prior to the present moment and grammaticalised by means of the Preterit auxiliary *ΝΕ* (for its syntax, see above, section 7.1.2.5).

Figure 7.7 presents a blueprint of the Coptic absolute tense system. The dotted line indicates the shift of the deictic centre that is the result of the demarcation of a second temporal reference point. (TRP stands for 'temporal reference point').

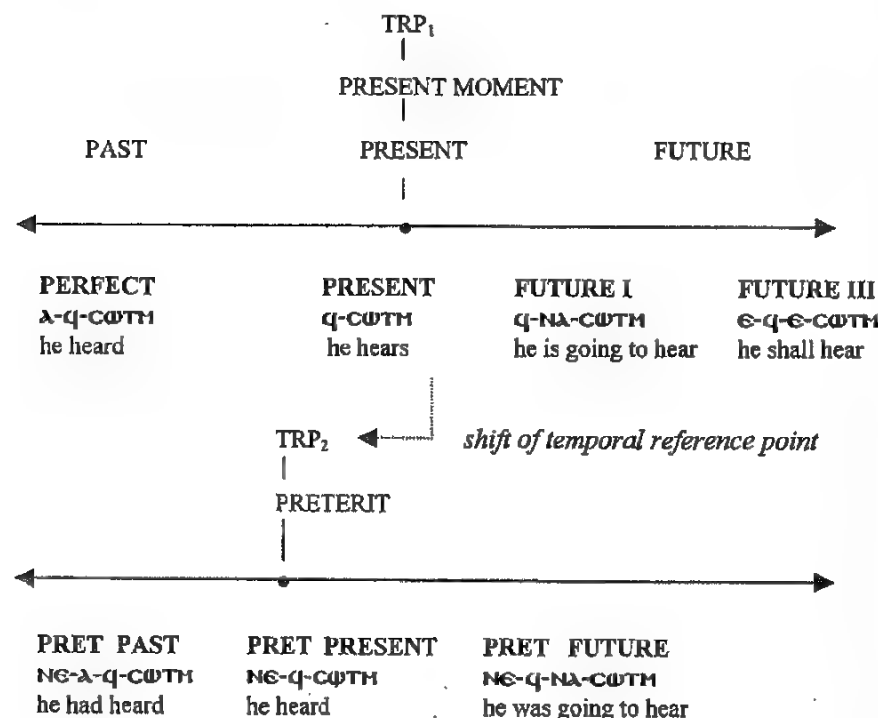


FIGURE 7.7 A blueprint of the absolute tense system

Absolute tenses interact in complex ways with verbal aspect, which concerns the point of view or perspective from which a given situation is described: it may indicate the temporal boundaries of events or the frequency of their occurrence.

7.3.2 Present Tense

The present tense indicates the coincidence of the time of the event with the present moment, but at the same time the ongoing state of that event. In Coptic, present tense reference is accomplished via a null morpheme, cf. table 7.2. The prefix forms of bound pronouns are selected in the First

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Present, while the corresponding suffix pronouns appear in the Second Present, where the subject pronoun is attached to the relative marker.

	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT
1 st sing.	†-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-†-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲕ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲕ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲧⲉ(ⲡ)-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲡⲉ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
3 rd sing. masc.	ϣ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϣ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
3 rd sing. fem.	ϣ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϣ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
1 st plural	ⲧⲏ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲛ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
2 nd plural	ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
3 rd plural	ϣⲉ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉ-ϣ-ϣⲱⲧⲙ
Before noun	ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ϣⲱⲧⲙ	ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲛⲉ ϣⲱⲧⲙ

TABLE 7.2 The First and Second Present

7.3.2.1 Copula Support

Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences in context of indefinite subjects including "bare" nouns. This rule triggers the insertion of the copular verbs ⲟⲩⲛ '(there) is' in the affirmative ⲛⲏ '(there) is no' in the negative, e.g. ⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲣⲱⲛⲉ ⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ '(there) is (ⲟⲩⲛ) a nobleman (lit. a great (ⲟⲩ-ⲛⲟⲃ) 1 (ⲛ-ⲣⲱⲛⲉ)) in (ⲩⲱⲛ) the palace (ⲡⲓ-ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲟⲛ) *being sick* (ⲩⲱⲛⲉ)' (10:27-28), ⲛⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲛⲏⲛⲁⲕ '*are* (there) (ⲟⲩⲛ) thoughts (ⲛⲉⲉⲩⲉ) *troubling* (ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ) you (ⲛⲏⲛⲁ-ⲕ)?' (AP Chaîne 181, 44:16-17), ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲏ ⲁⲗⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲁ (...)' *and* (ⲁⲩⲱ) (there *not* (ⲛⲏ) anyone (ⲁⲗⲁⲩ) (who) *knows* (ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) the place (ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲙⲁ) (. (V. Pach. 96:5-6). Copula support does not apply to Second Tense constructions, e.g. ⲩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲩⲱⲱⲩ 'as if (ⲩⲱⲥ variegated tunic (ⲟⲩ-ϣⲧⲭⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ) *were placed* (ⲉⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲟ) on 1 (ⲩⲱⲱ-ϣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

7.3.2.2 Semantic restrictions

Stative verb forms are restricted to present tense contexts. As argued in section 6.2.4 of the preceding unit, this temporal restriction has an aspectual source: the Stative is used specifically to describe states :

conditions, which lack a clearly defined endpoint. The exclusion of an endpoint, however, is part of the grammatical meaning of present tenses, e.g. $\varphi\omicron\eta\varsigma \ \eta\delta\iota \ \pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$ '(as) God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) Almighty ($\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$) *lives* ($\varphi\text{-}\omicron\eta\varsigma$)' (Onnophr. 215:27).

The Stern-Jernstedt Rule has an aspectual underpinning as well, given that the construct state instantiates an accusative case pattern, where accusative case is associated with a bound event reading. Bound events are, however, semantically incompatible with the temporal meaning of the present tense, which describes situations that have not yet reached their culmination point. The oblique case-marking pattern of the absolute state is available as an alternative, e.g. $\dagger\chi\iota \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho \ \nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\eta$ (for $\beta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$) $\eta\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\alpha$ '*I receive* ($\dagger\text{-}\chi\iota$) many ($\eta\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\rho$) payments ($\eta\text{-}\beta\gamma\kappa\eta$) of grievance ($\eta\text{-}\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) in return ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\chi\alpha$)' (AP Chaire no. 210, 57:10-11), $\dagger\rho\eta\eta\eta \ \mu\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \eta\tau\alpha\varrho\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \dagger\ddagger \ \mu\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\eta\tau\eta$ 'the peace ($\dagger\rho\eta\eta\eta < \tau\text{-}\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta\eta$) of my Lord ($\mu\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) that he has given ($\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\varrho\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\text{-}\varsigma$) to me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$) *I give* ($\dagger\text{-}\ddagger$) to you ($\eta\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$)' (Test. Is. 230:10-11).

7.3.2.3 Types of present tense sentences

The present tense has been defined as a tense category that locates a situation at the present moment, at which the sentence is being uttered. However, situations that coincide with the present time are relatively rare. As we will see next, there are two sentence types that fall under this rubric, which are perception sentences and performative sentences. A much more common use of present tense sentences is to describe situations that occupy a much longer period of time, but nonetheless include the present moment within them.

a) Perception sentences

When formulated in the present tense, sentences containing perception verbs, such as $\eta\alpha\gamma$ 'to see' and $\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'to hear', describe instantaneous events without internal dynamism, e.g. $\dagger[\eta\alpha]\gamma \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \pi\alpha[\chi\omicron]\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \epsilon\gamma[\nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma]$ $\eta\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \ \eta\tau\epsilon \ \pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \gamma\eta \ \mu\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron$ 'for ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) *I see* ($\dagger\text{-}\eta\alpha\gamma$), my Lord ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) a great ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$) grace ($\eta\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$) of ($\eta\tau\epsilon$) God ($\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) your face ($\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\omicron$)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:6-9), $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon \ \lambda\omicron\eta\omicron\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\lambda \ \tau\eta\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'look ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$), we ($\lambda\omicron\eta\omicron\eta$), your servants ($\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\lambda$), *are listening* ($\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$)!' (Eud. 60:23). Reports on mental achievements are similar to perception events, e.g. $\dagger\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ '*I believe* (it) ($\dagger\text{-}\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$), (oh) Lord ($\pi\text{-}\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$)' (Eud. 52:3-4).

b) Performative sentences

Performative sentences are used to express performative speech where the action described by a sentence is performed by its utterance. Performative speech-acts are situated in ritualistic contexts, e.g. $\gamma\rho\alpha \ \gamma\eta \ \mu\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\eta \ \dagger\pi\omega\gamma\tau \ \eta\mu\epsilon[\iota]\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\tau \ \eta\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \epsilon\tau\gamma\omicron\lambda\omicron \ \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ 'in your name ($\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\rho\alpha\eta$) *I* (hereby) *pour* ($\dagger\text{-}\pi\omega\gamma\tau$) this cup ($\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\iota\text{-}\alpha$) of sweet ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\gamma\omicron\lambda\omicron$) water ($\eta\text{-}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) into the see ($\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Ac. 198:55-56). Issuing commands and making confessions may qualify performative speech-acts as well, e.g. $\dagger\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\gamma \ \varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\upsilon\gamma \ \eta\pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \eta\tau\pi\epsilon \ \mu\eta \ \mu\epsilon\varphi\bar{\chi}\varsigma \ \mu\eta \ \mu\epsilon\pi\bar{\eta}\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ '*I* (hereby) (lit. place ($\dagger\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\gamma$) an order ($\varsigma\alpha\gamma\eta\epsilon$)) them to worship ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\rho\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omega\mu$) the God ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) of heaven ($\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\mu\epsilon$), together with ($\mu\eta$) his C ($\mu\epsilon\varphi\text{-}\bar{\chi}\varsigma$) and ($\mu\eta$) the Holy ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon$) Spirit ($\mu\epsilon\text{-}\pi\bar{\eta}\alpha$)' (Eud. 40: $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa \ \gamma\omega \ \mu\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \dagger\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota \ \mu\pi\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron$ ($\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) '*I* ($\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$) myself ($\gamma\omega$) *admit* ($\dagger\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$) my sin ($\mu\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\eta$) in your presence ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:9-13).

c) Epistemic sentences

Epistemic sentences ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences, and expertise. Since epistemic sentences are semantically stative in describing psychological or mental states, they are always interpreted as holding for a longer time interval, including the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \omicron\gamma\chi\omega\omega\rho\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon \ \mu\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\omicron\eta$ '*you think* ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) he ($\mu\epsilon$) (is) stronger ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega\omega$) than us ($\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\text{-}\eta$)?' (Ac. A&P 202:110), $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho \ \mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \ \rho\omega \ \chi\epsilon \ \kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\tau$ 'they (the hermits) usually do not even ($\rho\omega$) remember (lit. make ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho$) thought ($\mu\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$) exists ($\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta \dots \psi\omicron\omicron\tau\tau$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), $\kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\omicron \ \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta \ \tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ 'because ($\kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\alpha\rho$) *you know* ($\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$) entire ($\tau\eta\rho\text{-}\varsigma$) mode of life ($\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\lambda\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), $\mu\eta \ \lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma \ \varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta \ \epsilon\pi\eta\mu\alpha \ \epsilon\eta\varphi\eta\gamma\eta\tau\iota\varphi$ (for $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\varphi\eta\gamma\eta\tau\iota\varphi$) $\psi\alpha \ \gamma\rho\alpha\iota \ \epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) (there) *is not* ($\mu\eta$) anyone ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$) (who) $\kappa\eta$ ($\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta$) the place ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$) where he (Pachōm) was ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon$) $\varrho\text{-}\eta\gamma\eta$ until ($\psi\alpha \ \gamma\rho\alpha\iota$) the present ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) day ($\eta\text{-}\gamma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)' (V. Pach. 96:5-7).

ἡμοῦ πε 'he (Pachôm's brother) was not (ἄν) far away (νε-ϣ-οὕη) from him (Pachôn) (ἡμο-ϣ)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb ἄν

The negation adverb ἄν 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb ἄν to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. εἵθε οὐ ἴναψεν ἕως ἄν οὐέω (read: νοέω) νοέω 'why (εἵθε οὐ) can I not (ἄν) suffer (lit. receive (ἴ-να-ψεν) suffering (ἕως)) without (οὐέω) getting angry (νοέω)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), ντῆνακαῶκ ἄν εἰ εἰζοῦν εἰσπολὶς εἵθε πείραν ἕ ἱϛ 'we will not (ἄν) allow you (ν-τῆ-να-καῶ-κ) to come (ε-εἰ) into (εἰζοῦν) our city (ε-τῆ-πολὶς) because of (εἵθε) this (disgraceful) name (πεί-ραν) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ἄν occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. ντῆκοῦν ἄν νρῶμε ἕν τειπολὶς 'I do not (ἄν) know (ν-τῆ-κοῦν) anybody (ν-ρῶμε) in (ἕν) this city (τει-πολὶς)' (Hil. 4:23), ντεῶνιε ἄν νσα παναρτύριον ' (why) do you (woman) not (ἄν) look (ν-τε-ῶνιε) for (νσα) my tomb (πα-μαρτύριον)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ἄν comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. ντῆνατ ἕως εἰζοῦε νᾶκ ἄν 'I will not (ἄν) burden (lit. give (ν-τῆ-να-τ)) you (νᾶ-κ) (with) a difficult (ε-ἰ-ζοῦε) job (ἕως)' (KHML II 33:14-15), ἡμον πνοῦτε ννεχρίστιανος νᾶνεχε ἡμοκ ἄν ντειζε ψαβολ 'if not (ἡμον), the God (π-νοῦτε) of the Christians (ν-νε-χρίστιανος) will not (ἄν) tolerate (νᾶ-νεχε) you (ἡμο-κ) in this manner (ν-τει-ζε) forever (ψα-βολ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ἀλλὰ νειναῦ εῖροῦ ἄν πε 'but (ἀλλὰ) I could not (ἄν) see (νε-ἰ-ναῦ) them (εῖρο-οῦ)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), νεῖνατῆναῦ (read νεῖνατῆνοῦ)

ψαροῖ ἄν πε 'he (Apa Poimên) would not (ἄν) have sent (a message) (νε-ἰ-να-τῆναῦ) to me (ψαρο-ἰ)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ἄν is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. νεῖκοῦν ἄε ἄν ἕ οὕζιμε τε 'he did not (ἄν) know (νε-ἰ-κοῦν) that (ἕ) she (τε) (was) a woman (οὕ-ζιμε)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ννεψαῦταζε τῆντερο γαρ ἄν νμπήγε ἕν ψαχε ἡ ἕν πᾶν (...) 'since (γαρ) they did not (ἄν) reach (ν-νε-ψα-γ-ταζε) the heavenly (ν-μ-πήγε) kingdom (τῆ-ντ-ε-ρο) by virtue of (ἕν) talk (lit. the word (π-ψαχε)) or (ἡ) a (good) reputation (π-πᾶν)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal *h*- or *n*-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous *n*- ... ἄν pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb *tm* 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωth he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωth he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-cωth he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT μηε-q-cωth he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT ντ-α-q-cωth he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-μηε-q-cωth he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωth he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωth he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-ογω ε-q-cωth he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE μηατε-q-cωth he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-cωth he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE νηε-q-cωth he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE cωth listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE μηπ-cωth do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-cωth 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-cωth 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ογρωμε νκοφοc μεqνεx [ψαξε] νιη εβολ zιnai αλλα ψαqt zτηq ε[νετcω]τη εροoy 'a wise (ν-κοφοc) man (ογ-ρωμε) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νιη) word.

(ψαξε) like that (zιnai) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (zτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-ν-ετ-cωth) to them (ερο-oy)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	με-ι-cωth	ε-με-ι-cωth	νε-με-ι-cωth
2 nd sing. masc.	με-κ-cωth	ε-με-κ-cωth	νε-με-κ-cωth
2 nd sing. fem.	μερε-cωth	ε-μερε-cωth	νε-μερε-cωth
3 rd sing. masc.	με-q-cωth	ε-με-q-cωth	νε-με-q-cωth
3 rd sing. fem.	με-c-cωth	ε-με-c-cωth	νε-με-c-cωth
1 st plural	με-ν-cωth	ε-με-ν-cωth	νε-με-ν-cωth
2 nd plural	με-τετν-cωth	ε-με-τετν-cωth	νε-με-τετν-cωth
3 rd plural	με-γ-cωth	ε-με-γ-cωth	νε-με-γ-cωth
before noun	μερε πρωμε-cωth	ε-μερε πρωμε-cωth	νε-μερε πρωμε-cωth

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερψαν ογα ναγ εροq μεqzηαq επ ογω ογδε εχιτq εzοyn ετεqρι 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερψαν ... ναγ) him (the brother) (ερο-q) he did not want (με-q-zηα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-p) reply (ογω)) and (ογδε) to take him (ε-χιτ-q) into (εzοyn) his cell (ε-τεq-ρι)' (AP Chafne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε zωωq νεμεqτωωε ναγ ααγ αλλα νεψαqzρωω νzητ εzραι εxωoy zη

ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΨΖΗΤ 'he (Pachōm (ΠΤΟQ), however (ΖΩΩ-Q), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Q-ΤΩΩΒΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Q-ΖΡΩΨ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΗ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) indulgence (Η-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΡΨ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΨΟΥΧ ΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΙΧΙΤQ 'when (Ε-C-ΨΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (Ψ-ΟΥΧ) from illness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ), I *will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕQΔΟΡΘ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΑ ΠΕQΖΔΕ ΝΗQΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Q-ΔΟΡΘ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΨΑ) his last (ΠΕQ-ΖΔΕ) breath (Ν-ΗQΕ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΨΑΧΕ (read ΕΨΑΧΕ) ΝΗΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤCΒΩ ΜΕQΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΨΑΧΕ Μ[ΜΥC]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-CΒΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): he *does not keep* (ΜΕ-Q-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Η-ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟC ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC) any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΟC)' (AP Chaine no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ CΘΘΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ΕCΖΗ ΠΕCΝΟQ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) they *do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (CΘΘΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-C-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-CΝΟQ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΜΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟC ΕΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΗ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΨΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΜ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-CΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!«' (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝCΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕQΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑQΡΩΚΖ ΝΗΡΕQΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-CΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΨΑ-Q-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕQ-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΜΠΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Q-CΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑQΑΑΝ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΝ ΘΟΜ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑQ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Q-ΑΑ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΜ) powers (ΘΟΜ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΜΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΜΠΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Q-CΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ε-, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as $\bar{\epsilon}\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\rho\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
1 st plural	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\nu\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd plural	$\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd plural	$\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$
Before noun	$\mu\pi\epsilon\text{ }\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\text{ }\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{ }\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\text{ }\omega\tau\eta$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\gamma\text{ }\Delta\epsilon\text{ }\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\text{ }\mu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa\text{ }\mu\kappa\omicron\gamma\epsilon\text{ }\zeta\iota\text{ }\zeta\alpha\tau\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\psi\iota\mu\epsilon\text{ }\mu\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\mu\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ 'why ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\omicron\gamma$) do you (woman) sleep ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) a couch (lit. a sleeping ($\mu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) place ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha$)) of gold ($\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) and ($\zeta\iota$) silver ($\zeta\alpha\tau$) and did not look ($\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\psi\iota\mu\epsilon$) for ($\mu\varsigma\alpha$) the place ($\mu\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of my resurrection ($\mu\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$)?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. $\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta\text{ }\epsilon\chi\eta\text{ }\mu\kappa\alpha\zeta\text{ }\mu\kappa\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\text{ }\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\text{ }\mu\kappa\omega\varsigma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\mu\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\text{ }\mu\pi\pi\omicron$ 'they (the Persians) did not again (lit. they did not place ($\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta$) their hands ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma$)) raise up ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$) against ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the country ($\mu\text{-}\kappa\alpha\zeta$) in all ($\tau\eta\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma$) the days ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of King ($\mu\text{-}\mu\pi\omicron$) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\text{ }\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma\text{ }\mu\chi\omicron\pi\text{ }\mu\eta\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota\text{ }\mu\pi\mu\tau\omicron\text{ }\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\text{ }\mu\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\text{ }\mu\eta\text{ }\mu\pi\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'I did not place ($\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$) any ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\gamma$) obstacle ($\mu\text{-}\mu\chi\omicron\pi$) for you ($\mu\eta\text{-}\tau\eta$) in front ($\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\tau\omicron$) of God ($\mu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) nor ($\mu\eta$) mankind ($\mu\text{-}\mu\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$ 'but', e.g. $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha\text{ }\mu\kappa\omicron\gamma\alpha\text{ }(\text{for } \mu\kappa\omicron\gamma\alpha)\text{ }\mu\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta\text{ }\epsilon\mu\epsilon\zeta\text{ }(\dots)\text{ }\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\text{ }\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\text{ }\mu\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\text{ }\mu\tau\epsilon\varrho\phi\gamma\chi\eta$ 'I never ($\epsilon\mu\epsilon\zeta$) reprimanded ($\mu\pi\text{-}\epsilon\iota\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\mu\alpha$) anyone ($\mu\kappa\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$) of you ($\mu\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$) (...) except ($\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the salvation ($\mu\text{-}\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$) of his soul ($\mu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varrho\text{-}\phi\gamma\chi\eta$)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), $\mu\pi\omega\pi\text{ }\mu\alpha\psi\eta\pi\epsilon\text{ }\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\omega\psi\kappa\text{ }\gamma\alpha\pi\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\text{ }\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\text{ }\mu\tau\alpha\text{ }\mu\chi\epsilon\text{ }\tau\omega\psi\kappa\text{ }\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha\text{ }\mu\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\mu\eta\gamma\text{ }\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta\text{ }\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\text{ }\zeta\eta\text{ }\mu\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$ 'No ($\mu\pi\omega\pi$), my son ($\mu\alpha\text{-}\psi\eta\pi\epsilon$)! For ($\gamma\alpha\pi$) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you ($\mu\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\tau\omega\psi\text{-}\kappa$) for this career ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$), but ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$) the Lord ($\mu\text{-}\chi\epsilon$) has appointed you ($\mu\tau\text{-}\alpha\text{ } \dots\text{ }\tau\omega\psi\text{-}\kappa$) as a comfort ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha$) for the holy ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$) brothers ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\mu\eta\gamma$) who live ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the desert ($\mu\text{-}\mu\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon$)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. $\eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon \lambda\phi\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon\beta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \eta\omicron\iota \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\varsigma \epsilon\mu\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'how ($\eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon$) did the Lord ($\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) of the universe ($\mu\eta\pi\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$) pass by us ($\lambda\phi\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon\beta\eta$) without us noticing ($\epsilon\mu\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), $\lambda\phi\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \lambda\phi\omega\eta\epsilon \eta\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\omega\eta \omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omega$ 'one day ($\eta\omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) he (the sick child) lay down ($\lambda\phi\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) sick ($\lambda\phi\omega\eta\epsilon$) (and) did not eat ($\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$) nor drink ($\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omega$)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. $\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma \chi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau\kappa \epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \mu\eta\omicron\eta \epsilon\iota\epsilon \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau$ 'and I see ($\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma$) whether ($\chi\epsilon$) he (the eagle) did not come ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$) because of you ($\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), if ($\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) not ($\mu\eta\omicron\eta$), then ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) because of me ($\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau$)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau\kappa \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \chi\epsilon \pi\varsigma\omicron\eta \psi\omicron\varsigma\eta \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ 'thus ($\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta$), he (the eagle) did not come ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) down ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$) because of you ($\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), because ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \chi\epsilon$) the brother ($\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\eta$) is angry ($\psi\omicron\varsigma\eta$) with you ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$)' (AP Chaîne, no. 192, 50:5-6), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta\eta \zeta\eta \lambda\psi \mu\mu\alpha$ 'in ($\zeta\eta$) what ($\lambda\psi$) place ($\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha$) have you (woman) not been defiled ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\omega\zeta\eta$)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta \lambda\eta$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta \lambda\eta$ pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. $\eta\tau\alpha \pi\alpha\iota \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \lambda\eta \epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau \lambda\eta\omicron\kappa \gamma\alpha\rho \lambda\eta\gamma \omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\gamma \lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \tau\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\alpha \mu\eta \eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \lambda \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\beta$ 'this ($\pi\alpha\iota$) did not ($\lambda\eta$) happen ($\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda \dots \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) for my sake ($\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\tau$), since ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) (as for) me ($\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$), I ($\lambda\eta\gamma$) (am) a nobody ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$), but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha$) for the sake of ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the widow ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\eta\rho\alpha$) and ($\mu\eta$) these orphans ($\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) had God

($\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) done ($\lambda \dots \epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) this thing ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\zeta\omega\beta$)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\eta\tau\kappa \eta\alpha\kappa \lambda\eta \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\gamma \lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ 'I have not ($\lambda\eta$) brought it (the wheat) ($\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\tau\text{-}\eta$) because of ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) anything ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$) but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha$) my salvation ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho \lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma \eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \eta\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ 'you have not yet become ($\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\rho$) worthy ($\lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma$) to talk ($\eta\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to him (Jesus Christ) ($\eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\eta$)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$ 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 st sing.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
1 st plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
2 nd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
3 rd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$
Before noun	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \varsigma\omega\tau\eta$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \varsigma\omega\tau\eta$

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *ἡπαῖτις οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἔτι εἰς τὰς κορυφὰς τοῦ ὄρους* 'I have not yet reached (ἡπαῖτις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) such (τὰς-κορυφὰς) heights (τοῦ-ὄρους) to take (εἰς-τὰς-κορυφὰς) a woman (κορυφὰς) into (εἰς-τὴν-κορυφὰν) my residence (εἰς-τὴν-κορυφὰν)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *ἀνοίγει ἡπαῖτις τὸν σάκκον τὸν χρυσοῦν* 'and (ἀνοίγει) look (εἰς-τὸν-σάκκον) I have not yet opened (ἡπαῖτις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) it (τὸν-σάκκον) (the sack with gold), my lord (πατριάρχῃ)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *ἐν ἐκκλησίαις πολλαῖς γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ μοναστηρίῳ* 'since (γὰρ) (there) were not yet (ἐν-ἐκκλησίαις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) many (ἐν-ἐκκλησίαις) monasteries (ἐκκλησίαις) in (ἐν) Egypt (ἡμετέρα)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα βαπτίσμα* 'but he (ὁ-βασιλεὺς), the king (βασιλεὺς), had not yet received (ἐν-ἐκκλησίαις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) baptism (βαπτισμῶν)' (Eud. 42:1), *ἐβόλῃ ἡ πατριάρχῃς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ* 'because (ἐβόλῃ) you have not yet perceived (ἡπαῖτις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) the peace (εἰρήνην) that we are hoping (ἐπὶ-τῇ-εἰρήνῃ) for (εἰς-τὴν-εἰρήνην)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *ἡπαῖτις(ε)-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν* no longer holds, e.g. *εἰς τὴν κορυφὰν ἐλθὼν ἡπαῖτις* 'I want

(εἰς-τὴν-κορυφὰν) to see (εἰς-τὴν-κορυφὰν) my sister (εἰς-τὴν-κορυφὰν) before I die (ἡπαῖτις-οὐκ-ἔφθασεν) (KHML I 75:20-21), *οὐτε νυνεὺς ἐξοὺς ἐβόλῃς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* 'and (οὐτε) they (the brothers) shall not go (νυνεὺς-ἐξοὺς) in (ἐξοὺς) (and) out (ἐβόλῃς) from (ἐν) the village (ἐν-τῇ-ἐκκλησίᾳ) before they ring (τὴν-ἐκκλησίαν) (the bell) (εἰς-τὴν-ἐκκλησίαν)' (praec. Pach. 90), *τὴν εὐδοξίαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἐξοὺς ἐπεκασπασμός ἡπαῖτις* *πάλαιον χρόνον* 'your servant (τὴν-εὐδοξίαν) Eudoxia wants (εἰς-τὴν-ἐκκλησίαν) to come (εἰς) inside (ἐξοὺς) to your welcome (εἰς-τὴν-ἐκκλησίαν) before the palace (ἐν-τῇ-ἐκκλησίᾳ) gets busy (ἡπαῖτις ... χρόνον)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *οὐκ-ἔσται* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *ἔσται* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐροῦν ἡμεῖς ἐκκλησίαν* 'and (ἀλλὰ) (the food) that you might desire (ἐκκλησίαν) for (ἐροῦν), you shall not eat (οὐκ-ἔσται-ἐσθῆναι) (rather) eat (ἐσθῆναι) what God has sent (ἐκκλησίαν) ... (ἐκκλησίαν-οὐκ-ἔσται-ἐσθῆναι) you (ἐκκλησίαν)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *οὐκ-ἔσται* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *οὐκ-ἔσται* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *οὐκ-ἔσται* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	NNA-CΩTM (rarely NNE-I-CΩTM)	NNE-N-CΩTM
2 nd masc.	NNE-K-CΩTM	NNE-TN-CΩTM
2 nd fem.	NNE-CΩTM	
3 rd masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTM	NNE-Y-CΩTM
3 rd fem.	NNE-C-CΩTM	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTM	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. NNEKPIKE OYΔE NNEKZE AAA EKNAΜATE MΦWB NTAKZI TOOTK EPQ 'you will not go astray (NNE-K-PIKE) or (OYΔE) fall (NNE-K-ZE), but (AAA) you will succeed (E-K-NA-MATE) in the work (MΦWB < H-Π-ZWB) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (NT-A-K-ZI) your hand (TOOT-K) on (EPQ-Q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. NNE AAY NPΩME OYM NKA NTQPI 'no man (AAY NPΩME) shall eat (NNE ... OYWM) anything (NKA) in his ccll (N-TEQ-PI)' (praec. Pach. 114), NNE AAY WAΞE HN NEQEPHY ZM ΠKAKE 'no one (AAY) shall talk (NNE ... WAΞE) with (HN) one another (NEQ-EPHY) in (ZM) the dark (Π-KAKE)' (praec. Pach. 94), NNEKZOTB NTCHBE (for NTCHQE) NNEKZOTB ON ZM ΠAAC 'you shall not kill (NNE-K-ZOTB) neither with the sword (N-T-CHBE) nor (ON) with (ZM) the tongue (Π-AAC)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), NNEKET TEIKYPI ZM ΠAOCIEIY

(...) 'this vault (TEI-KYPI) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (NNE-Y-KET)) in (ZM) my time (ΠA-OYOEIY) (...) ' (AP Chafne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. NNEIXIOYE NNEIP HNTPE NNOYX NNEIXI SOA 'I shall not steal (NNE-I-XIOYE), I shall not make (NNE-I-P) false (N-NOYX) witness (HNTPE), I shall not tell (NNE-I-XI) lies (SOA)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ANON OE ZΩWN NNEOYΩZ ETOOTN EP ΠOΛEMOC HΠNOYTE NTTE 'and we (ANON OE), in our turn (ZΩWN), we will not again (lit. set (NNE-N-OYΩZ) hand (ETOOT-N) to) make (E-P) war (ΠOΛEMOC) with the God (H-Π-NOYTE) of heaven (N-T-PE)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. NIOYΔAI AYTAPE TPIY (read TPIYH) ZM OYTAPO XEKA NNE NAΠOCTOΛOC EWBOK EZOYN ETΠOΛIC 'the Jews (N-IOYΔAI) strengthened (A-Y-TAPE) the gate (T-PIY) very strongly (ZM OY-TAPO) so that (XEKA) the apostles (N-AΠOCTOΛOC) could not go (NNE ... EWBOK) into (EZOYN) the city (E-T-ΠOΛIC)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ANI TEΦYXH NIOYΔAC EZPAI XEKA NNE ΠΔIABOΛOC ON ΛOIBE EXW (read EXWI) 'bring (ANI) the soul (TE-ΦYXH) of Judas up here (EZPAI) so that (XEKA) the devil (Π-ΔIABOΛOC) won't find (NNE ... ON) a pretext (ΛOIBE) against me (EXW-I)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), NCENOXO[Y] [E]XH ΠEQTAΦOC NCEZOBCQ XEKA NNE AAY NPΩME P ΠEQMEEYE 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (N-CE-NOX-O[Y]) on (EXH) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠEQ-TAΦOC) and cover it (N-CE-ZOBC-Q) so that (XEKA) no man (AAY N-POME) might remember it (lit. make (NNE ... P) its remembrance (ΠEQ-MEEYE))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μη-** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηρ-κοτ-κ**) to sin (lit. to do (**ε-ρ**) sin (**νοβε**))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηρρ ζοτε τπαρθενος ετογαλβ** 'don't be (**μηρ-ρ**) afraid (**ζοτε**), holy (**ετ-ογαλβ**) virgin (**τ-παρθενος**)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηρκαλτ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηρ-καλτ**) behind you (**νσω-κ**))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηερτρε λαλγ ειμε κε ντε ογςζιμε** 'don't let (**μηερ-τρε**) anybody (**λαλγ**) know (**ειμε**) that (**κε**) you (**ντε**) (are) a woman (**ογ-ςζιμε**)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μη-** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like '(oh) no, don't', e.g. **εκναδωψτ νσωι ειναβωκ επτακο μπωρ παχοεις** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μπωρ**), my Lord (**πα-χοεις**)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τι**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τι** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τι** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **αλλα κε αqψταμ ννεqβαλ ετηδωψτ εροq επτηρq** 'but (**αλλα**) because (**κε**) he closed (**αq-ψταμ**) his eyes (**ν-νεq-βαλ**) not to see (**ε-τι-δωψτ**) it (the sun) (**ερο-q**) at all (**επτηρq**)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδoμ ει εροι ζωστε ετητραλcεane επτηρq κε †ζκοειτ η †οβε** 'my strength (**τα-δoμ**) came (back) (**α ... ει**) to me (**εροι**) so that (**ζωστε**) I did not notice (**ε-τι-τρα-λcεane**) at all (**επτηρq**) that (**κε**) I was hungry (**†-ζκοειτ**) or (**η**) thirsty (**†-οβε**)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τι** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παζο μπμοναχοc πε τηxπε λαλγ νζγλη ναq** 'the treasure (**π-αζο**) of the monk (**μ-π-μοναχοc**) (is) not to acquire (**τη-xπε**) any (**λαλγ**) property (**ν-ζγλη**) for himself (**να-q**)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), **[ζωστε] ντ[ετ]μ [λαλγ] ε[ψoμ]δoμ ε[ναζ]μ[ε]q εβολ [ζν να]δix** 'so that (**ζωστε**) nobody (**λαλγ**) will be able (**ντε-τι ... εψ-δoμoμ**) to save himself (**ε-ναζμε-q**) from (**εβολ ζν**) my hands (**να-δix**)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τι** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **ψαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (**ε**)ψ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. **εψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοποc ναψωq** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (**ε-ν-ψαν-τι-ζαρεζ**), the place (**π-τοποc**) will be deserted (**να-ψωq**)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **ψαν** and the negative auxiliary **τι** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP_{subject} ψαν-τι → ερ-ψαν-τι NP_{subject}**, e.g. **ερψαντη πρωμε αποταcε νενκα νιμ ετζμ πκοcμoс νqнаψωψπε αν μμοναχοc** 'if a man (**π-ρωμε**) does not give up (**ερ-ψαν-τι ... αποταcε**) everything (**ν-ενκα νιμ**) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (**ετ-ζμ**)) the world (**π-κοcμoс**), he will not (**αν**) be able to become (**ν-q-να-ψ-ωψπε**) a monk (**μ-μοναχοc**)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τι**

The negative auxiliary verb **τι** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-q-τι-cωτι**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεqтμeψoμδoμ νοι πεδρακων εταγο επεcнт ннантoннioc** (for **нантoннioc**) **αqδoнт εροq μμiн μμoq (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-2αε), *when* the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-γ-τη-εψ-δμοομ) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεσιτ) Antony (νν-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-γ-δωντ) about himself (ερο-γ μμιν μμο-γ)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-γ-τη-σωτη

e.g. λγω λγζιογε νσωογ ψαντογτηκα λλγ επαζογ ετρεφογχαλ 'and (λγω) they smote (λ-γ-ζιογε) them (νσω-ογ) until they did not leave (ψαντ-ογ-τη-κα) anyone (λλγ) behind (επαζογ) to survive (ε-τρε-γ-ογχαλ)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-γ-ψαν-τη-σωτη and the Negative Relative Present ε-γ-τη-σωτη 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψαντηζαρεζ δε πτοπος ναψωγ 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-ν-ψαν-τη-ζαρεζ), the place (π-τοπος) will be deserted (να-ψωγ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εψωπε ετετνηδεπη ειρε ηπαι ζν ογμογ τετνημογ (read τετν-να-μογ) 'if you do not hasten (ε-τετν-τη-δεπη) to do (ε-ειρε) this (η-παι), you will surely die (lit. in (ζν) a dying (ογ-μογ) you will die (τετν-να-μογ))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive ν-γ-τη-σωτη

e.g. ντετη πζηκε ζωωγ κωτε ζμ πεφι η ζν νετζιτογωγ ψαντζε εογνοδ νταιο 'and would the poor (man) (π-ζηκε), in his turn (ζωω-γ), not seek (ντε-τη ... κωτε), in (ζμ) his (own) house (πεφ-η) or (η) in (ζν) (that) of his neighbours (ν-ετ-ζιτογω-γ) until he finds (ψαντ-γ-ζε) a great (ε-ογ-νοδ) gift (ν-ταιο)' (Eud. 72:13-14), νιμ πε πρωμε εφναδωτ νσα πεφωρε εφβηκ νεμτω νγτηβονθει ερογ 'who (νιμ) (is) the man (π-ρωμε) who will watch (ε-γ-να-δωτ) his son (πεφ-ωρε) drowning (lit. go (ε-γ-βηκ) to the depths (ν-εμτω)) and would not help (ν-γ-τη-βονθει) him (ερο-γ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary τη is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. λ πενειωτ παζων ζων ετοοτη ετηρ παι 'our father (πεν-ειωτ) Pachôm ordered us (ετοοτ-ν) not to do (ε-τη-ρ) this (παι)' (V. Pach. 139:31), μωνων (for μονον) ζαρεζ εροκ ετηρ νοβε επνογτε νταγμαιοκ 'but (μωνων) be careful (ζαρεζ) not to sin (lit. commit (ε-τη-ρ) sin (νοβε)) against the God (ε-π-νογτε) who has created you (ντ-λ-γ-ταμιο-κ)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer ν- and the negation adverb λν 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The μπαι(ε)-γ-σωτη pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle *N-*.
 - The negation adverb *AN* 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
 - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
 - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying *ΑΛΛΑ* ('BUT')-clause.
 - The Negative Third Future *NNE-Q-CΩTH* 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
 - TH*-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb *AN* 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker *AN* in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

- (1) *NCENAΨΩ* __ *ΘΜΘΜ* __ *ΕΒΕΛ ΝΕΙCΜΟΥ ΕΞΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ* 'they will not (*AN*) be able (*N-CE-NA-ΨΩ-ΘΜΘΜ*) to nullify (*Ε-ΒΕΛ*) these blessings (*ΝΕΙ-CΜΟΥ*) upon (*ΕΞΝ*) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) *NTNAZEΠ* __ *ΑΛΛΥ ΕΡΩΤΗ* __ 'I will not (*AN*) hide (*N-T-NA-ZEΠ*) anything (*ΑΛΛΥ*) from you (*ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ*)' (Abbatōn 231:19)
- (3) *ΑΛΛΑ NCZAPΕΖ* __ *ΕΠΤΕΒΟ* __ *NTMNTMONAXH* 'but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) she (the possessed girl) does not (*AN*) watch (*N-C-ZAPΕΖ*) the purity (*Ε-Π-ΤΕΒΟ*) of the monastic life-style (*N-T-MNT-MONAXH*)' (V. Pach. 141:13-14)
- (4) *ANOK ΔΕ NTNAΛΟ* __ *ΕΙΜΟΩΨΕ* __ *NMMHTN ΨΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ* *ΕΤCΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ* (for *ΕΤCΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ*) *ΗΠΕΙΑΩΝ* 'I (*ANOK*) will not (*AN*) cease (*N-T-NA-ΛΟ*) walking (*Ε-Ι-ΜΟΩΨΕ*) with you (*NMMH-TN*) until (*ΨΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ*) the completion (*Ε-Τ-ΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ*) of this era (*Η-ΠΕΙ-ΑΙΩΝ*)' (Abbatōn 230:13-15)

- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

- (1) *NQNAΨΩ ΤΩΟΥΝ AN ΖΑ ΝΕΑCANOC* (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (3) *NTCOOYN AN XE NTΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΗΜOC* (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (4) *NTNANAΥ AN ΕΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΨΙΝΕ ΝCΩΙ* (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (5) *TNNACΩTH NCOK AN* (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<i>NNACΩTH</i>		
<i>HTECΩTH</i>		
<i>NEMPATOCΩTH</i>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
ΜΠΕΡΙΘΕΝ ΟΕΙΚ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
ΝΝΕΚΟΥΟΜΙ	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
ΝΕΜΕΡΙΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΥ	(V. Pach. 5:18)
ΝΕΤΜΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
ΝΠΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ	(Eud. 50:21)
ΕΤΜΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΤΟΜ ΕΤΕ[ΤΝ]Ρ ΣΝΑΥ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) ___ on a mat (ε-τομ) with the two of you (ε-τετν-ρ σναυ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ΝΝΕΤΝΧΙ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΣΑ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕ ΙC '___ (it) (the garbage) to any (ε-λλαυ) place (ν-τοπος) (else) than (νσα) to the place (π-τοπος) of that Nazarene (μ-πι-ναζωραιος) Jesus (ιC)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) ΕΦΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ (for ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ) ΕΒΟΟΥΝΕ (read ΝΒΟΟΥΝΕ) ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΤΗΡΑ ΕΜΕΦΟΥΕΜ ΛΛΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΕΙΚ ΖΙ ΖΗΟΥ ΜΑΤΕ 'he was wearing (ε-φωρει) a garment (νν-ου-ψτην) of sackcloth (ν-βουυνε) all (τηρ-α) his time (μ-πεφ-ουοειψ) ___ anything (λλαυ) but (νσα) bread (οεικ) and (ζι) salt (ζηου) alone (ματε)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΛΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΡΙΤΗ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑΦ ΜΝ ΤΕΦΩΝΕ ΖΝ ΛΛΑΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antoniou) donated (α-φ-χαριζε) them (μμο-ου) to the people (ν-ν-ρωμε) of his village (μ-περ-ι-τη) so that (χεκας) ___ him (να-φ) and (μν) his sister (τεφωνε) in (ζν) any respect (λλαυ ν-ζωβ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΥΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΨΑ ΑΠΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ (read ΑΠΑ ΑΧΙΛΛΑΣ) ΝΟΙ^a ΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΑΛΟ. ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΝΤΑ^b ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΧΨ.^c ΠΕΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ^d ΤΑΡΙΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΩΝΗ.^e ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ (for ΝΤΣΡΟΦΤ) ΑΝ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΝΑΦ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤ^f ΠΡΑΝ ΕΒΟΟΥ^g ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΛΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΟΙΧ. ΛΦΟΥΨΒ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ^h ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΣΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΣΠΩΠΚ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΚΟΥΨ ΕΛΑΣ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΚ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΤΝΑΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΨ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΥΠΕΙⁱ ΖΩC^j ΝΤΣΡΟΒΤ ΑΝ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΤΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΑΥΨ ΠΗ^k ΝΑΣΩΛΠ ΜΠΝΟΥΖ^l ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΛΛΑ ΑΙΤΟΥΝΕC ΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΚΗ^m ΜΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ (for ΟΥΛΥΠΗ) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. ΝΟΙ subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ΟΥΝΤΑ-φ 'he had' c. Ε-φ-ΧΨ 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. ΑΒΩ 'drag-net' e. ΜΩΝΗ 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝΤ-φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. ΕΒΟΟΥ (< ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ 'apart, in private' i. ΑΥΠΕΙ 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ΖΩC 'since' k. ΠΗ 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) 1. $\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$ $\mu\pi\iota\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ($\sigma\omega\lambda\pi$) the rope ($\mu\pi\iota\nu\omicron\gamma\zeta$))' m. $\omega\kappa\mu$ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

- (1) $\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (for $\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$) $\omicron\mathbf{N}$ $\mathbf{N}\mathbf{N}\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\psi\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$ 'and ($\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) also ($\omicron\mathbf{N}$) *no one* ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) *shall shave* ($\mathbf{N}\mathbf{N}\epsilon$... $\psi\epsilon$) anyone ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) sitting ($\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma$)' (praec. Pach. 97).

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

- (2) $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$ $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\rho\omega$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\mathbf{N}$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$ $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ '*they* (the hermits) *usually do not even* ($\rho\omega$) *remember* (lit. make ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\rho$) thought ($\pi\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma$) exists ($\omicron\gamma\mathbf{N}$... $\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p>ΜΝΙΝCΑ †ΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ Α ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC † ΠΕCΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ 'after (ΜΝΙΝCΑ) five (†ΟΥ) days (ΝΖΟΥΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) went (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-†) his way (ΠΕC-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) priest (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) Απα Pambô' (Hil. 5:31-32)</p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC _{SU} -PRO _{SU} -V-O)	<p>ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ ΑϞ† ΠΕ[Ϟ]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for) <u>Andrew</u>, <u>he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-†) his way (ΠΕC-ΟΥΟΙ)' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153)</p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO _{SU} -O-S)	<p>ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΜΟΟC ΑϞ† ΠΕCΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΖΛΛΟ (...) 'when (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟC), <u>a</u> <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) <u>priest</u> (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) came (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-†) his way (ΠΕC-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14)</p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. Α ΟΥCΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...) 'a brother (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Απα Sarapion (...) (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-CΟΝ a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ Απα Sarapion

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker **νοι**. Compare, then: (S-V-O) **α νζαλο χοος κε (...)** 'the senior (monks) (N-ζαλο) said (α ... χοο-ς) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC_{SU}-PRO_{SU}-V-O) **ντοϥ ον αϥχοος κε (...)** '(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ντοϥ), he also (ον) said (α-ϥ-χοο-ς) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO_{SU}-O-S) **αϥχοος νοι νενειοτε ετβε ογα κε (...)** 'Our fathers (NEN-EIOTE) said (α-ϥ-χοο-ς) about (ετβε) someone (ογα) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. **α τεϥϥωνε δε ωλ ννεϥκεεϥ 'his** (Apa Mcna's) **sister** (τεϥ-ϥωνε) gathered (α ... ωλ) his bones (N-NEϥ-KEEϥ) (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:1-2), **πχοεϥ να βει** (for ϥι) **ννοϥνοϥ** (for νοϥνοϥ) **νεϥϥια ζη πεκχι ζη πεζοοϥ ηϥωα 'the Lord** (π-χοεϥ) will require (να-βει) a big (NN-Oϥ-NOϥ) sacrifice (N-Θϥϥια) from (ζη) your house (πεκ-χι) on (ζη) the day (πε-ζοοϥ) of the feast (η-π-ωα)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), **ζη τεϥνοϥ δε α πεϥλας ηεζ ϥωϥ αϥϥντ αϥμοϥ** 'suddenly (ζη τενοϥ), **his** (Diocletian's) **longue** (πεϥ-λας) filled (α ... ηεζ) his mouth (ϥω-ϥ), he was eaten by (lit. he became (α-ϥ-ϥ)) worms (ϥντ) (and) died (α-ϥ-μοϥ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. **ωαρε τειβννε ταϥε ηντϥνοοϥς ναοοϥ νενννε κατα ϥομηπε** 'this date-palm (TEI-BNNE) yields (ωαρε ... ταϥε) twelve (ηNT-ϥNOOϥς) bunches (N-ΛOOϥ) of dates (N-BNNE) per (κατα) year (ϥομηπε)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), **νερε διοκλη † ναϥ νζεναϥρον τερομηπε ετβε πεοοϥ ννεϥνοϥτε** 'Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗ) gave (NEPE ... †) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-ΖΕΝ-ΔΟΡΟΝ) annually (τε-ρομηπε) for (ετβε) the glorification (π-εοοϥ) of their gods (N-NEϥ-NOϥTE)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. **εϥωαν ογα ετι** (read αιτει) **ημοκ νοϥζωε (...)** 'if anyone (ογα) asks (εϥωαν ... ετι) you (ημο-κ) something (N-Oϥ-ΖΩΕ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 161, 36:14), **α οϥον ζη νετοϥαλε ϥ ζηε νζοοϥ νατοϥωη νατϥω** 'one (οϥον) of (ζη) the holy ones (N-ΕΤΟϥΑΛΕ) spent (α ϥ) forty (ζηε) days (N-ΖΟΟϥ) without eating (N-ΑΤ-ΟϥΩΗ) (and) drinking (N-ΑΤ-ϥω)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > Adv order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. **ϥοϥν ππετνανοϥϥ ην ππεθοοϥ** 'to know (ϥοϥν) **what is good** (π-π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟϥ-ϥ) and (ην) **what is bad** (ππεθοοϥ < π-π-ΕΤ-ΖΟΟϥ)' (Abbatōn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. **και γαρ τετνϥοοϥν ντααναστροφη τηϥς** 'since (και γαρ) you know (τετν-ϥοοϥν) **my** entire (τηϥ-ς) **mode of life** (N-ΤΑ-ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), **τετνϥοοϥν γαρ κε ηειϥεινε** (for ηειϥινε) **να παντον** 'since (γαρ) you know (τετν-ϥοοϥν) **that** (κε) I did not

look (ΜΕ-ΓΩΕΙΝΕ) for (ΝΑ) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΜΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαρίζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ψαρε πνούτε † ουζμοτ ννετναπιστεγε 'God (π-νούτε) will grant (ψαρε ... †) a favour (ΟΥ-ΖΜΟΤ) to those who will believe (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11), qnaχαρίζε hptallō ntaψερε ziti netnψαλα nacνη 'he (the Lord) will grant (q-na-χαρίζε) healing (h-pt-tallō) to my daughter (n-ta-ψερε) through (ziti) your prayers (netn-ψαλα), my brothers (na-cny)' (Hil. 8:12-13), mare† nnoyq nan 'he should give (mare-q-†) us (na-n) what is his (nnoy-q)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. ayw aqπωψ ebol nneqδix ezrai epnoyte zn oyrime nteψωη thpc xin royze wa ztooye 'and (ayw) he (Pachôm) lifted (a-q-πωψ) his hands (n-neq-δix) up (ezrai) to God (ε-π-νούτε) weeping (zn oyrimε) the entire (thp-c) night (n-te-yωh) from (xin) evening (royze) till (wa) dawn (ztooye)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. aq† nac noyri zitoγωq hpthс ntekκλhcia 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (a-q-†) her (Hilaria) (na-c) a cell (n-oy-pi) next to him (zitoγω-q), south (h-pt-phc) of the church (n-t-εκκλhcia)' (Hil 6:15), epzae de ay† naq zowq nzentn2 (for nzentn2) 'finally (ε-π-zaε), they gave (a-y-†) him (na-q) wings (n-zen-tn2), too (zow-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), ngψαλα exwc ψante pxoeic χαρίζε nac hptallō

'and you shall pray (n-γ-ψαλα) on her behalf (exw-c) until the Lord (π-xoeic) will grant (ψante ... χαρίζε) her (na-c) healing (h-pt-tallō)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. aqκατεχε nnecny zatiq qomnt nebot etbe teqψερε 'he (the king) kept (a-q-κατεχε) the brothers (n-ne-cny) with him (zati-q) (for) three (qomnt) months (n-ebot) because of (etbe) his daughter (teq-ψερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), a keoua de on eine hptqwhpe waroq 'somebody else (ke-oua) brought (a ... eine) his son (h-pt-q-whpe) to him (waro-q)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. anδρεac de aq† pe[q]oyoi '[TOPIC Andrew (anδρεac de), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (a-q-†) his way (peq-oyoi)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclassical topic and the intraclassical resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ἀνδρεῶς δὲ (As for) <u>Andrew</u>	α- PERFECT	-ῃ- <u>he</u>	ἰ give	περὶ-οὐτοῖ his way

FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker $\Delta\epsilon$ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) **Embedded left-dislocation**

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\text{NEKK\textbf{H}\textbf{C}\textbf{I}\textbf{A}}$ NCEKOTOU $\text{NCE}\textbf{q}\textbf{i}$ PROCFORA $\text{N}\textbf{Z}\textbf{H}\textbf{T}\textbf{O}\textbf{Y}$ $\text{Z}\textbf{H}$ $\text{PEI}\textbf{Z}\textbf{O}\textbf{O}\textbf{Y}$ PAI ‘and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) (concerning) the churches ($\text{N-}\textbf{EKK\textbf{H}\textbf{C}\textbf{I}\textbf{A}}$) they shall rebuild them ($\text{N-}\textbf{CE-KOT-OY}$) and celebrate ($\text{N-}\textbf{CE-q}\textbf{i}$) in them ($\text{N}\textbf{Z}\textbf{H}\textbf{T-OY}$) the Eucharist (PROCFORA) on ($\text{Z}\textbf{H}$) this very (PAI) day ($\text{PEI-ZO}\textbf{OY}$)’ (Eud. 40:9-10), $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\text{POM}\textbf{P}\textbf{W}\textbf{E}\textbf{I}\textbf{N}\textbf{E}$ (for $\text{POM}\textbf{P}\textbf{W}\textbf{E}\textbf{I}\textbf{N}\textbf{E}$) $\text{ETMMA}\textbf{Y}$ $\text{NEA}\textbf{Q}\textbf{W}\textbf{O}\textbf{P}\textbf{E}$ $\text{Z}\textbf{N}$ $\text{NCOOY}\textbf{ZC}$ THPOY $\text{NNEC}\textbf{N}\textbf{H}\textbf{Y}$ $\text{Z}\textbf{H}$ $\text{POY}\textbf{E}\textbf{Z}\textbf{C}\textbf{A}\textbf{Z}\textbf{NE}$ $\text{M}\textbf{I}\textbf{XO}\textbf{E}\textbf{I}\textbf{C}$ ‘and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) that ($\text{ET-MMA}\textbf{Y}$) affliction (P-OM-PWEINE) had occurred (NE-A-Q-WOPE) in ($\text{Z}\textbf{N}$) all (THP-OY) the convents ($\text{N-}\textbf{COOY}\textbf{ZC}$) of the brothers ($\text{N-}\textbf{NE-CNH}\textbf{Y}$) through ($\text{Z}\textbf{H}$) the order ($\text{P-OY}\textbf{E}\textbf{Z-C}\textbf{A}\textbf{Z}\textbf{NE}$) of the Lord ($\text{N-P-XO}\textbf{E}\textbf{I}\textbf{C}$)’ (V. Pach. 91:10-12), $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\text{NKEAP}\textbf{I}\textbf{O}\textbf{C}$ $\text{M}\textbf{PATE}\textbf{Q}\textbf{X}\textbf{E}\textbf{K}$ $\text{OYPO}\textbf{M}\textbf{PE}$ EBOA AQHOY ‘but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) also Arios ($\text{P-KE-AP}\textbf{I}\textbf{O}\textbf{C}$) died (A-Q-MOY) before finishing ($\text{M}\textbf{PATE-Q-XE}\textbf{K}$ EBOA) one year ($\text{OY-PO}\textbf{M}\textbf{PE}$) (as a bishop)’ (KHML II 50:6-7), XEKAC ANON HGN $\text{ETETNA}\textbf{NE}\textbf{ZCE}$ (for $\text{ETETNA}\textbf{NE}\textbf{ZCE}$) HMON EBOA $\text{Z}\textbf{H}$ $\text{PINO}\textbf{O}$ $\text{N}\textbf{Z}\textbf{I}\textbf{NH}\textbf{E}$ ‘so that (XEKAC), (as far as) we (ANON) (are concerned) you would awake ($\text{E-TETN-NA-NE}\textbf{ZCE}$) us (HMO-N) from ($\text{Z}\textbf{H}$) the deep (P-NOO) sleep ($\text{N-Z}\textbf{I}\textbf{NH}\textbf{E}$)’ (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΠΙΠΛΗ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ *'the Jews* (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΛΗ) solidly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΗΝΩC ΕΙC ΖΝΒΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΨΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝΩ-C) blind people (ΖΝ-ΒΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΨΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΨΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΨΗΜ ΝΕCΖΕΝ (for ΝΕCΖΝ) ΑΗΝΤΨΗΜΗΝΕ ΠΡΟΜΠΕ *'the little* (ΨΗΜ) *girl* (Τ-ΨΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-C-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΗΤ-ΨΗΜΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΠΟΜΠΕ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΤΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΦΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖQ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC *'the angel* (Π-ΑΤΕΛΟC) of the Lord (Η-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Φ-ΟΥΟΝΖ-Q) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΦΤΩC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΜΗΟQ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ *'the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-Φ-ΤΩC) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΜΕ) him (ΜΗΟ-Q) through (ΖΜ) the Gospel (Π-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΙΜΕΕΥC ΔΕ ΕΡΟQ ΑΙΛΑQ *'what I had thought* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥC) of (ΕΡΟ-Q) I have done (*it*) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-Q)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΝΖΑΚ ΨΑΥΤ ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩQ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ *'the prudent* (Ν-ΖΑΚ) *monk* (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) is given (lit. they give (ΨΑ-Υ-Τ)) a crown (ΚΛΟΜ) on him (ΕΧΩ-Q) on (ΖΜ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΜ ΤΕCΑΠΕ '(as for) this (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΖΜ) her head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) **Unbounded dependencies**

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΑΙΔΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΛΕΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΣΟΥΩΨ ΑΡΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΣ ΗΠΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΥΟΥΩΜ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the deacon (Π-ΠΑΙΔΑΚΟΝΟΣ) [s₁ fulfilled (Α-Γ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Η-ΠΕΣ-ΟΥΩΨ)], [s₂ took (Α-Γ-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Η-Π-ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Σ)], [s₃ (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΜ)]

together (ΜΗ ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ) on that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (Η-Π-ΖΟΟΥ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΦΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΦΜΟΟΨΕ ΜΗ ΠΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΗΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [_{S1} he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Φ-ΡΑΨΕ)] [_{S2} (and) travelled (Α-Φ-ΜΟΟΨΕ) with (ΜΗ) his servant (ΠΕΦ-ΖΜΖΑΛ)] [_{S3} until *he* reached (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΗΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΗ ΑΝ ΕΟΨΩΜ (read ΕΟΨΩΝ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is concerned), [_{S1} we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (Ν-ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) [_{S2} to open (Ε-ΟΨΩΝ) *it* (ΜΜΟ-Σ)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΛΗΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[_{Topic1} (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [_{Topic2} *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΑΝ '[_{Topic1} (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [_{Topic2} *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΛΑ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦΣΟΡΗ ΖΗ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ (...) '*a* (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-ΖΑΛΟ) *hermit* (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Φ-ΣΟΡΗ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΜΕΦΝΕΧ [ΨΑΧΕ] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΦΤ ΖΤΗΦ Ε[ΝΕΤΣΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ '*a wise* (Ν-ΣΟΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Φ-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙΜ) word (ΨΑΧΕ) like that (ΖΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΨΑ-Φ-Τ) his attention (ΖΤΗ-Φ) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΣΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), ΣΟΝ ΣΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '*two* (ΣΝΑΥ) *brothers* (ΣΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΤΟΠΟΣ ΦΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΑΛΔΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Απα Μena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (Η-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ΕΙΣ 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙΣ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ [ΑΦΟ]ΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ '*behold* (ΕΙΣ), *an angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) revealed himself (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΝΖ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙΣ ΟΥΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΟΥΨ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ '*look* (ΕΙΣ), *a knight* (ΟΥ-ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) together with (ΜΗ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΩ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extracausal topic does not correspond to any placeholding expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΗΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΗΙ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΗ) his colleagues' (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς π[μα] νογ[ωμ] Δε ννε ρωμε ψαχε εγογωμ 21 ρογ2ε* 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (*Ν-ΟΓΩΜ*) place (*Π-ΜΑ*), no one (*ρωμε*) shall speak (*ννε ... ψαχε*) when they are kneading (*ε-γ-ογωμ*) at (*21*) night (*ρoγ2ε*)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς νεχη Δε ννε λαγ ννεεϛ κα χοι εβολ 21 τεμρω αχμ πρωμε ντσοογ2ς (...)* 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (*Ν-ΕΧΗ*), no (*λαγ*) sailor (*Ν-ΝΕΕϛ*) shall set loose (*ννε ... κα εβολ*) a ship (*χοι*) at (*21*) the landing stage (*τεμρω*) without the man (i.e. the prior) (*π-ρωμε*) of the congregation (*Ν-Τ-ΟΟΥ2ς*)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. *α νερωμε Δε μπηα ετμμγ αγογ2ς πωμα μπημαριοϛ ατα μπηα [επεϛ]ητ 2η πδαμογλ* 'the people (*ΝΕ-ΡΩΜΕ*) of that (*ετμμγ*) place (*Μ-Π-ΜΑ*) let (*α ... α-γ-ογ2ς*) the body (*Π-ΩΜΑ*) of the blessed (*Μ-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟϛ*) Apa Mena down (*επεϛητ*) from (*2η*) the camel (*Π-ΔΑΜΟΓΛ*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), *αγω ψαρε πογλ πογλ μμοογ ψαϛαιϛθανε κατλ τεϛφγςιϛ* 'and (*αγω*) each one (*Π-ΟΓΛ Π-ΟΓΛ*) of them (*μμο-ογ*) perceives (*ψαρε ... ψα-ϛ-αιϛθανε*) according to (*κατλ*) his nature (*τεϛφ-ϛγςιϛ*)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), *αγω νερε πογοειν νεϛο μμινε μινε πε* 'and (*αγω*) the light (*Π-ΟΓΟΕΙΝ*) was (*νερε ... νε-ϛ-ο*) of diverse sorts (*Μ-ΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ*)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. *αγω ειθεωρει μμοογ μν νεγκαρποϛ ειϛ ϛτοογ νωηρε ψμμ λγει μπογ2ε* 'and (*αγω*) while I was looking (*ε-ι-θεωρει*) at them (the trees) (*μμο-ογ*) and (*μν*) their fruits (*ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟϛ*), look (*ειϛ*), four (*ϛτοογ*) young (*ψμμ*) fellows (*Ν-ΩΗΡΕ*) came (*α-γ-ει*) from a distance (*μ-Π-ΟΥΕ*)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), *αϛωπε Δε μπε2οογ ντκυριακη α πρρο βωκ ετϛναϛιϛ μν τρρω μν τεϛψεερε ϛεντε τμακαρια Δε 2λλαρια αϛϛι ννεϛβαλ ε2ραι ετπε εϛχω μμοϛ χε (...)* 'it happened (*α-ϛ-ωπε Δε*) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (*μ-πε-2οογ*) of Sunday (*Ν-Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ*)) (that) the king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*) went (*α ... βωκ*) to the Eucharist (*ε-Τ-ϛΝΑϛΙϛ*) together with (*μν*) the queen (*Τ-ΡΡΩ*) and (*μν*) his two (*ϛεντε*) daughters (*τεϛψεερε*). The blessed (*Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ*) Hilaria (*2λλαρια*) looked (lit. carried (*α-ϛ-ϛι*) her eyes (*Ν-ΝΕϛ-ΒΑΛ*)) up (*ε2ραι*) to heaven (*ε-Τ-ΠΕ*) and said (*ε-ϛ-χω μμοϛ*) that (*χε*)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *α 2οινε ει νογοειψ 2η οηβαιϛ ψα ογ2λλο εγνταγ μμγ νογλ εϛο μδαμωνιον χεκαϛ εϛεταλδοϛ π2λλο Δε ντερογκωρψ εροϛ μματε πεχαϛ μπδαμων χε (...)* 'some people (*2οινε*) came (*α ... ει*) once (*Ν-ΟΓΟΕΙψ*) from (*2η*) the Thebais (*ΟΗΒΑΙϛ*) to (*ψα*) an old monk (*ογ-2λλο*) and they had (*ε-γντα-γ*) someone (*Ν-ΟΓΛ*) (with them) who was possessed (*ε-ϛ-ο*) by a demon (*Ν-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ*) in order that (*χεκα-ϛ*) he would heal him (*ε-ϛ-ε-ταλδο-ϛ*). The old monk (*Π-2λλο*), when they beseeched (*ντερ-ογ-κωρψ*) him (*ερο-ϛ*) very much (*μματε*) said (*πεχα-ϛ*) to the demon (*μ-Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ*) that (*χε*)(...)' (AP Chaine, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΟΓΩΣΑ
 ΗΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΗΝΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zēnō)
 had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΜΟΟΣ) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the
 throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΕΡΟ), he
 annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΣΑ) the sinful (Μ-ΜΗΤ-ΑΣΕΒΗΣ) ordinances
 (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ
 ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΗΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ 'as for him (Pachōm)
 (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΥ) to him
 (ΨΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΗΕ) in the neighbourhood
 (ΕΤ-Η-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes.
 The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two
 active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g.
 ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΨΑΦΒΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΨΛΗ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ)
 (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts
 (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΩ-Φ),
 (managed to) repel them (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers
 (ΝΕ-ΨΛΗ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΨ ΔΕ [ΕΙΣ] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ω[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[Ρ]ΟΜΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off
 (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΨ) look (ΕΙΣ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna stood
 (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)
 (Mēna, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former
 (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom
 (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Η-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mēna,
 Martyr. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to
 avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument
 position, e.g. ΠΡΩΗΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΟΑ]ΜΟΥΑ
 [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΘΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑΦ]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΗΕ) to
 whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mēna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels
 (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΘΑΜΟΥΑ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a barren (Ν-ΑΦΡΗΝ) she-camel
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΘΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mēna, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΝΤΗΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) to believe
 (Ε-Φ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΗ)
 his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) heir
 (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)
 (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-
 taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g.
 ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΣΨΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
 ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ †ΟΥΨ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΛΤ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ
 ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΨΘΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΩΨ
 ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΟΥΨΦ (for ΑΣΟΥΨΨ)
 ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΙΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ
 ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΕΡΕ 'the blessed
 (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΑΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-Σ-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the
 priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambō, saying (Ε-Σ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Σ) »My
 Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΨ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΑΛ-Τ) a
 monk (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) said
 (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-Σ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is
 no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΨΘΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-ΩΨ) with us
 (ΖΑΘΗ-Ν) (...)». The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)
 answered (Α-Σ-ΟΥΨΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Σ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I
 have come (ΝΤ-Α-Τ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΙ-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my
 heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΔΕ) was impressed
 (Α-Φ-Ρ ΨΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ)
 girl (Ν-ΨΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for
 instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the
 main storyline, e.g. ΑΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ]
 ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΨ] ΖΩ ΕΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΨΛΗΑ
 (...) ΑΡΗΥ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΜΗΑΛΒ ΝΨΕ
 ΝΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΨΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich
 Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-ΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) of Apa
 Mēna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want

(τ-οὐωψ) to go (ε-εωκ) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος) of Apa Mēna and pray (ντα-φλη) (...). Maybe (αρηγ) he will remember me (lit. will make (q-na-ep) my remembrance (πα-μμεγε))«. He (ντοq) stood up (α-q-τωογν), took (α-q-qi) three thousand (η-μααβ ν-ψε) *solidi* (ν-νομισμα) and went (α-q-ει) out (εβολ), travelling (α-q-μοοψε) (all) by himself (μαγαα-q)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), ANON ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ [μαρενσπο]υδαζε ερ αναq ηπνουτε ΖΙΤΝ ΖΗΠΡΑΞΙC (for ΖΕΝΠΡΑΞΙC) ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ 'let us (ANON ΔΕ), in our turn (ζωω-ν), be zealous (μαρε-ν-σπουδαζε) to please (ε-ρ ανα-q) God (η-π-νουτε) through (ΖΙΤΝ) good (ε-νανου-ου) deeds (ΖΗΠΡΑΞΙC)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. παειωτ ετβε ου ανοκ παζητ ναψτ 'My father (πα-ειωτ), why (ετβε ου) is, (as far as) I (ανοκ) (am concerned), my heart (πα-ζητ) (so) bold (ναψτ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. ANON ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ '(as for) us (ANON ΔΕ)] because of (ετβε) our sins (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ), let us lock up ourselves (μαρ-ν-οπτ-ν εζουν) alone (μαγαα-ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΕΦΟΥΩΨ ΑΝ ΕΧΙ ΕΘΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ 'at no (AN) time (ΝΙΜ Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) did he (Pachôm) want (ΝΕ-q-ουωψ) to be praised (lit. to get (ε-χι) praise (εθου)) by (ΖΙΤΝ) people (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΤΕΡΙΜΕ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ 'why (ετβε ου) do you (woman) weep (τε-ριμε) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΝΑΥ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), ΖΑΖ ΔΕ ΝCΟΠ ΨΑΚΙΜ ΕΥΟΡΓΗ '(on) many (ΖΑΖ) occasions (Ν-CΟΠ) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (ΨΑ-q-κίμ) towards anger (ε-γ-οργη)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΤΗΨΘΜΘΗ ΕΤΩΜΝΤ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ 'such that (ΖΩCΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) who were in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) the village (Π-ΤΗΜΕ) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΗ-Ψ-ΘΗ-ΘΗ) meet (ε-ΤΩΜΝΤ) him (ΕΡΟ-Q) on many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) occasions (Ν-CΟΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. ΟΥΖΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΥ Α ΤΔΑΜΑΧΕ ΜΙCΕ ΝΟΥΨΕΕΡΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ 'one day (ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΖΟΥ), the she-camel (τ-δαμαχε) delivered (α ... ΜΙCΕ) a daughter (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΕΕΡΕ Ν-CΖΙΜΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), ΖΗ ΟΥCΨΝΕ ΔΕ ΕC (for ΕΙC) ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟC ΑΦΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'all of a sudden (ΖΗ ΟΥ-CΨΝΕ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Mercurius came (α-q-ει) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. ΗΠΕQΡΑCΤΕ ΑQΖΜΟΟC ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΝΘΙ ΖΑΡΗΜΕΝΙΟC ΖΗ ΠΕΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ 'on the (lit. his) next day (Η-ΠΕQ-ΡΑCΤΕ) Armenius sat down (α-q-ΖΗΜΟΟC) on the tribune (ε-Π-ΒΗΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the theatre (ΠΕ-ΘΕΛΔΡΟΝ)' (KHML I 76:8-9), ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Α ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝCΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC [ΝΕ]2[CE] ΝΝΕΖ[ΙΟ]ΗΕ ΕΤΝΗΜΑC ΠΕΧΑC ΝΑΥ ΧΕ (...) '(at) dawn (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) before (ΖΑΘΗ) (sun)light (Η-Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ), the Samaritan (Ν-CΑΜΑΡΙΤΗC) woman (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ) woke up (α ... ΝΕΖCΕ) the women (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΙΟΜΕ) in her company (ΕΤ-ΝΗΜΑ-C) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-C) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) that (ΧΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

c) Topicalised adverbs

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *κοι μεν ψαλγυωζ εχμ πεβω ευψανοντι κοι δε ψαλγυωζ εχμ ποεικ* ‘some time (κοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (ψα-γ-ογωζ) on (εχμ) honey (π-εβω), if they can find it (ε-γ-ψαν-οντι-κ), some other time (κοι δε) they will sit (ψα-γ-ογωζ) on (εχμ) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αγω εις σε νρομπε τφοοπ ζν τιερημια* ‘and (αγω), look (εις), for sixty (σε) years (ν-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-φοοπ) in (ζν) this desert (τι-ερημια)’ (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηνωω* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηνωω αφογωνζ νακ [εβωλ] νοι πζαγιος απα μηνα [ζν ογζορομα]* ‘after this (μηνωω-ς) the holy (π-ζαγιος) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-γ-ογωνζ εβωλ) to him (να-κ) in (ζν) a vision (ογ-ζορομα)’ (Mena, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεφωπε ζν νταρταρος ψα πεζοογ μπζαπ* ‘because of (ετβε) this (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-φωπε) in (ζν) the Tartaros (ν-ταρταρος) until (ψα) the day (πε-ζοογ) of the Judgement (ν-π-ζαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεκχε ναι δε νοι παγγελος (...)* ‘when the angel (π-αγγελος) had said (ντερε-κχε) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ΝΤΕΡΕ- TEMPORAL	-κ- <i>he</i>	κχε say	ναι these	ΝΟΙ FOCUS MARKER	Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>the angel</i>

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *αρεωκ νοι ογcon ψα απα χιχωι επιτοογ ναπα αντωνιος* ‘a brother (ογ-con) came (α-γ-εωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičōi in the monastery (ε-π-τοογ) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εψιητ νοι ζνμοναχος* (for *ζενμοναχος*) *εβωλ ζν κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shiēt (ε-ψιητ) monks (ζν-μοναχος) from (εβωλ ζν) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηνωα ζενκερογι νζοογ αρνηφε νοι πcon ετμναγ* ‘after (μηνωα) a few days (ν-ζοογ) more (ζεν-κε-ρογι) that (ετμναγ) (disobedient) brother (π-con) cooled down (α-γ-νηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροκ τηρογ σεναπιστεγε εροκ* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-ογ) those (people) who saw (νε-ντ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-κ) come to know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (σε-να-πιστεγε) in him (ερο-κ)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *μπεκραπε αρζμοος επβημα νοι ζαρμενιος ζν πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (ν-πεκ-ραπε) Armenius (ζαρμενιος) sat down (α-γ-ζμοος) on the tribune (ε-π-βημα) in (ζν) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML 1 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ντεγνογ αρζροκ νοι παι εβωλ ζν πεκδωντ* ‘suddenly (ντεγνογ) this one (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-γ-ζροκ) from (εβωλ ζν) his rage (πεκ-δωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αγω νσει ειζραι εχωογ νοι νεσμογ τηρογ ετχηζ* ‘and (αγω) all (τηρ-ογ) the blessings (νε-σμογ) written down (ετ-χηζ) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-σε-ει) upon them (εχω-ογ)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενεμπτογψωπε γαρ ζν κημε νοι μοναστηριον ετωγ* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-νε-μπ-ατ-ογ-ψωπε)

many (ΕΤ-ΩΥ) *monasteries* (Η-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) in (2N) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αγω νεqμεz нмсаz нδi πειoor ετμηay* 'and (αγω) *that* (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) *canal* (Π-ΕΙΟΟΡ) was full (NE-Q-HEZ) of crocodiles (N-ΗCΑZ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle *нδi*

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker *нδi* to the right of the locative question word *των* 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. *εqτων πταφος нπαχοεις* 'where (των) (is) *the tomb* (Π-ΤΑΦΟC) of my lord (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (Eud. 58:25), *εqτων πρωμε ετταληy επχοi нм[м]ак* 'where (is) (των) *the man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who was on board (ΕΤ-ΤΑΛΗΥ) of the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) with you (НММАК)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle *нδi*, e.g. *нн ειταιнy анок εzoye пaxoic* 'am I (ΑΝΟΚ) then more (εzoy(ε)) honoured (Ε-Ι-ΤΑΕИY) than my Lord (Ε-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *τερzote нто zнтq нпnoyτε* 'you (woman) (НТО) fear (TE-P-ZOTE ZHT-Q) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥTE)' (Eud. 64:23), *qхw γар нмоc нтоq пxoeic xe* (...) 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he* (НТОQ), *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC), says (Q-ΧW) that (XE) (...) (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. *най тнpoу εqειpe нмоoy εтвннтн нδi πεтеoyнδom нмоq zн zωe нн* '(as for) *all* (ТНΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (things) (НАИ), *he who has* (Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ) *power* (δΟМ) over (2N) *everything* (zωe нн) is doing (Ε-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) them (НМОΟΥ) because of us (ΕΤВННТ-Н)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), *пαι δε аqхw noyшaxe нaзpaq нδi басимос петшoон zн netoyaaв* '(as for) *the latter* (ПАИ ДЕ), *Basimos* (БАСИМОC), who is (Π-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) amongst (2N) *the saints* (N-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑВ) said (Α-Q-ΧW) a word (N-ΟΥ-ΨΑХЕ) to him (НАЗРА-Q)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), *zтоoye δε нпмаzcaшq* (for нпmezcaшq) *acoyezcazne нδi*

тpш εδωπε нас ннioyдai εтшoон zн θiλhм нн ciωн '(on the) *morning* (ZTOOYE) of *the seventh* (day) (Η-Π-ΜΑZ-CAШQ), *the queen* (Τ-ΡΡW) ordered (lit. placed (Α-С-ΟΥΕZ) an order (CΑZNE)) to arrest (Ε-δωπε) for her (НА-С) the Jews (N-N-IOYΔAI) who were living (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (2N) Jerusalem (θiλhм) and (MН) Zion (ciωн)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. *нтереqхе най де нδi пaγγeлoc* (...) 'when *the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) had said (НΤΕΡΕ-ХЕ) these (НАИ) (words) (...) (Test. Is. 230:12), *ceнaтcaвo epoq нδi neвoл zн тaфyн* (...) '*the people* (N-ΕΒΟΛ) of (2N) *my tribe* (ТА-ΦΥН) will inform you (woman) (CE-НА-ΤCABO) about it (EP-O-Q) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), *εγшанκpнe де нмоq нδi netzмпнi* (...) 'if *the residents* (N-ΕΤ-ΖΗ-Π-Η) judge (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (НМО-Q) (...) (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), *αγω аqωte epoq нδi нzapa нппepcoс εтpeγmoγoyт нмоq* 'and (αγω) *the chariots* (N-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (N-М-ΠЕРCOC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (EP-O-Q) to kill (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΓΟΥΤ) him (НМО-Q)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. *αγω аqxi eooγ нδi пpaн нпeнxoeic iĉ пeχĉ* 'and (αγω) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (iĉ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧĈ) received (Α-Q-ΧΙ) glory (EOOY)' (Eud. 40:27-28), *нтереq[p] zнaq де нδi пnoyτε* (...) 'when it pleased (НΤΕΡΕ-Q-P ZHA-Q) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

b) Verbs of saying and reporting

Subject inversion is also possible with *verbs of saying and reporting* that introduce reported speech, e.g. $\lambda\chi\omega\omega\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ 'Our fathers ($\nu\epsilon\ \nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$) *said* ($\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\chi\omega\omega\text{-}\varsigma$) about ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) someone ($\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (\dots)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3), $\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi \ (\text{for } \lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon) \ \nu\alpha\varsigma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ 'the deacon ($\pi\alpha\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$) *answered* ($\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\phi$) her ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (\dots)' (Hil. 4:28-29), $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\phi \ \nu\alpha\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\lambda\omicron \ \mu\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ (\dots)$ 'the blessed ($\mu\text{-}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) *old man* ($\pi\text{-}\tau\lambda\omicron$) *said* ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}\phi$) to me ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\iota$) that ($\chi\epsilon$) (\dots)' (Onnophr. 213:27-28).

c) Motion verbs

When combined with verbs of inherently directed motion, subject-inverted clauses assume a presentative meaning and function, signalling the appearance of a referent in the realm of discourse, e.g. $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \nu \ \pi\tau\pi\lambda\eta \ \nu\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \omicron\text{'open} \ (\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\ \nu)$ the gate ($\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\pi\tau\lambda\eta$) (that) Matthew ($\mu\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$) can come ($\nu\text{-}\phi\epsilon\iota$) in ($\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu$)' (KHML II 21:6-7), $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa \ \Delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omicron\omicron\mu \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\tau\eta \ \text{'the generals} \ (\nu\epsilon\text{-}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma) \ \text{of} \ (\nu\tau\epsilon) \ \text{the army} \ (\tau\text{-}\omicron\omicron\mu) \ \text{went} \ (\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa) \ \text{immediately} \ (\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota) \ \text{to fetch him} \ (\text{Constantine}) \ (\epsilon\text{-}\tau\tau\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\nu\text{-}\tau\text{-}\eta) \ \text{'(Eud. 38:5-6), } \ \phi\eta\eta\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \pi\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\phi\varsigma\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\pi\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\ \mu \ \mu\eta \ \tau\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta \ \text{'an angel} \ (\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma) \ \text{of} \ (\nu\tau\epsilon) \ \text{God} \ (\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon) \ \text{comes} \ (\phi\text{-}\eta\eta\gamma) \ \text{and administers (the Eucharist)} \ (\epsilon\text{-}\phi\text{-}\varsigma\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon) \ \text{to me} \ (\mu\mu\omicron\text{-}\iota) \ \text{on Saturday} \ (\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\tau.\ \mu) \ \text{and} \ (\mu\eta) \ \text{Sunday} \ (\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\eta) \ \text{'(Onnophr. 214:22-23).$

d) Statives

Subject-inverted Stative sentences are not so much presentational constructions, but rather emphatic assertions: they emphasise the truth or correctness of the statement being made, e.g. $\phi\omicron\ \nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\ \pi\alpha\ \nu\tau\omega\kappa\ \rho\alpha\tau\omega\ \text{'(as) } \ \underline{\text{God}} \ (\pi\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon) \ \text{Almighty} \ (\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\ \nu\tau\omega\kappa\ \rho\alpha\tau\omega) \ \text{lives} \ (\phi\text{-}\omicron\ \nu) \ \text{'(Onnophr. 215:27), } \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \phi\ \varsigma\ \mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \text{'and} \ (\lambda\gamma\omega) \ \text{the good} \ (\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\phi) \ \underline{\text{plant}} \ (\pi\text{-}\tau\omega\beta\epsilon) \ \text{is blessed} \ (\phi\text{-}\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\tau) \ \text{'(V. Pach. 136:5-6), } \ \phi\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\kappa\alpha\tau \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu \ \nu\epsilon\kappa\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon \ \text{'cursed} \ (\phi\text{-}\varsigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\phi\tau) \ \text{be} \ \underline{\text{the earth}} \ (\pi\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau) \ \text{because of} \ (\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu) \ \text{your deeds} \ (\nu\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\tau\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon) \ \text{'(Abbatôn 238:29).$

10.1.5.5 Semantic types of focus

Subject inversion represents an ex-situ focusing strategy in which the subject is placed in a postverbal focus position where it can be assigned nuclear (sentence) stress.

a) Presentational focus

In the unmarked case inverted subjects correspond to presentational (new information) focus, which introduces new referents into the discourse. In placing the focused subject at the end of the clause, it is one of the last sentence elements to be mentioned and hence available for later recall in the subsequent discourse. There is a strong tendency for presentational foci to be hearer-new, which results in the frequent occurrence of specific indefinite noun phrases in subject-inverted clauses, e.g. $\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota \ \lambda\phi\iota \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\ \epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma \ \mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\alpha\phi \ (\dots)$ 'suddenly ($\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\iota$), a luminous ($\nu\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota$) man ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) came ($\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\iota$) with two others ($\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\gamma$) walking ($\epsilon\ \epsilon \dots \mu\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon$) besides him ($\mu\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\phi$)' (Mena, Mir. 21b:10-14), $\lambda\gamma\varsigma\omega\kappa \ \Delta\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \phi\alpha \ \alpha\pi\alpha\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma \ (\text{read } \alpha\pi\alpha \ \alpha\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma) \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau \ \nu\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron \ \text{'once} \ (\nu\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \phi) \ \underline{\text{three}} \ (\psi\omicron\mu\eta\tau) \ \underline{\text{senior}} \ (\text{monks}) \ (\nu\text{-}\tau\lambda\lambda\omicron) \ \text{approached} \ (\lambda\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\kappa) \ \text{Apa Archillas} \ \text{'(AP Elanskaya 23b:19-21).$

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. $\mu\eta\ \nu\varsigma\alpha \ \pi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \Delta\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma \ \lambda\phi\epsilon\iota \ \psi\alpha\ \rho\omicron\phi \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda \ \pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon \ \epsilon\lambda\phi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi \ (\dots)$ 'after ($\mu\eta\ \nu\varsigma\alpha$) the glorification ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) of Christ ($\mu\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\chi\varsigma$), Michael ($\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$), the Archangel ($\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) of heaven ($\nu\text{-}\mu\text{-}\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$), came ($\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) to him (Constantine) ($\psi\alpha\ \rho\omicron\phi$) and instructed him ($\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\phi\text{-}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\phi$) (\dots)' (Eud. 42:1-2), $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\ \nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\ \rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ (\nu\epsilon\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon) \ \text{of the harbour} \ (\nu\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\mu\ \rho\omega) \ \text{go to sleep} \ (\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\text{-}\nu\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa), \ \text{I will take it (the corpse)} \ (\tau\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\phi\text{-}\tau\text{-}\phi) \ \text{and throw it} \ (\nu\tau\alpha\text{-}\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\phi) \ \text{into the sea} \ (\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha) \ \text{'(Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), } \ \lambda\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \Delta\epsilon \ \nu\tau\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \omega\ \nu \ \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \nu \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma \ \mu\pi\pi\alpha\tau\ \rho\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma \ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\lambda\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \tau\ \nu \ \varsigma\omega\mu\alpha \ \text{'it happened} \ (\lambda\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\psi\omega\pi\epsilon) \ \text{when} \ \underline{\text{the days}} \ (\nu\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma) \ \text{of the patriarch} \ (\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\pi\alpha\tau\ \rho\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma) \ \text{Isaac had come near}$

(*ντερ-ογ-ζων*) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (*ε-τρε-q-ει*) out of (*εβολ ζν*) the body (*σωμα*))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), *αφουωψ δε νοι πνουτε εθβιε πεφμεεγε* 'God (*π-νουτε*) wanted (*α-q-ογωψ*) to make his mind (*πεφ-μεεγε*) humble (*ε-εθβιε*)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), *αφω εφαιτει ηπνουτε νοι πενειωτ ετβε πειζωβ* 'Our father (Pachôm) (*πεν-ειωτ*) kept (*α-q-ω*) asking (*ε-q-αιτει*) God (*π-π-νουτε*) about (*ετβε*) this matter (*πει-ζωβ*)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. *αγτωυν δε νοι νερρωου ημπερσοc αψωουζ εζουν ην πεγμνηψε τηρψ λγει εχη περο τιγριc αγτωυν δε νοι κωcταντινοc αψωουζ εζουν ηπεφμνηψε τηρψ ηματοι* 'the Persian (*π-η-περσοc*) kings (*νε-ρρωου*) arose (*α-γ-τωυν*), gathered (*α-γ-ωουζ εζουν*) together with (*ην*) all (*τηρ-q*) their multitude (*πεγ-μνηψε*) (and) went (*α-γ-ει*) to (*εχη*) the river (*π-ιερο*) Tigris (*τιγριc*). (King) Constantine (*κωcταντινοc*) arose (*α-γ-τωυν*) (and) gathered (*α-γ-ωουζ εζουν*) all (*τηρ-q*) his troops (*η-πεφ-μνηψε*) of soldiers (*η-ματοι*) (...) (Eud. 42:18-20), *αψωπε δε ντερε πνουτε πωψνε νδιοκλανδιανοc πρρο νανομοc αφρ ρρο επεφμα νοι κωcτανδινοc πρρο νδικοιοc* 'it happened (*α-ψωπε δε*) when God (*π-νουτε*) had overthrown (*ντερε ... πωψνε*) the unlawful (*π-ανομοc*) king (*π-ρρο*) Diocletian (*π-διοκλανδιανοc*) (that) the lawful (*π-δικοιοc*) king (*π-ρρο*) Constantine (*κωcτανδινοc*) became (*α-q-ρ*) king (*ρρο*) in his place (*ε-πεφ-μα*)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), *qcoτπ νοι πμογ ντετμμαγ παρ πωνζ νται* 'the death (*π-μογ*) of that (daughter) (*ν-τετμμαγ*) is better (*q-coτπ*) than (*παρ*) the life (*π-ονζ*) of this one (*ν-ται*)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. *τμεζcntε δε νκαπιε ψαψωουζ νοι νκομεc ην νετριβουνοc ην ναρων νταγλ ηπρρο* '(on the blast of) the second (*τ-μεζ-cntε*) trumpet (*ν-καπιε*), the courtiers (*ν-κομεc*) and (*ην*) tribunes (*νε-τριβουνοc*) and (*ην*) chief officials (*ν-αρων*) of the royal (*π-π-ρρο*) court (*ν-τ-αγλ*) would gather (*ψα-γ-ωουζ*)' (Eud. 60:16-18), *χεκαc εγεει εζραι εχωτν νοι ζαπ ημ ζι xπιο ημ ζι νοονεc ημ ζι ηκαζ νζητ ημ ζι cνοq ημ νδικοιοc* (...) 'so that (*χεκαc*) all (*ημ*) judgement (*ζαπ*) and (*ζι*) all (*ημ*) blame (*xπιο*) and (*ζι*) all (*ημ*) reproach (*νοονεc*) and (*ζι*) all (*ημ*) grief (*ηκαζ νζητ*) and (*ζι*) all (*ημ*) righteous (*ν-δικοιοc*) blood (*cνοq*) (...) will come (*ε-γ-ε-ει*) down (*εζραι*) upon you (*εχω-τν*)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), *εαφοεζcaζνε δε ον νοι ουρρο νανομοc επτακο βεπη βει εχωq επρεγτμηεq οεικ νελιφιc ηπεπροφητηc* (...) 'and an unlawful (*π-ανομοc*) king (*ου-ρρο*) whom perdition (*π-τακο*) would soon (*ε ... βεπη*) overcome (*ε-ει εχω-q*) gave (*ε-α-q-ογεζ*) order (*caζνε*) to make the prophet (*η-πε-προφητηc*) eat (lit. that they feed him (*ε-τρε-γ-τμηε-q*)) the bread (*οεικ*) of affliction (*ν-ελιφιc*) (...) (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ΝΑΝΟΥ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ 'your eagerness (ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΡΟΤ) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ΟΥΝ, ΜΗ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	ΟΥΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΛΦΑΛΥ ΝΘΙ ΙΘ '(there) are (ΟΥΝ) numerous (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ) other works (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ) that Jesus (ΙΘ) did (Ε-Α-Γ-ΑΑ-Υ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ= ΜΗΝΤΕ-/ΜΗΝΤΑ= 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ 'although you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΨΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑC** 'for (ΓΑΡ) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ) and (ΜΗ) silver (ΠΖΑΤ) that was brought (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) to her (ΝΑ-C) was much (ΝΑΨΕ)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΗ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΨΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΨ**, **ΟΥΟΒΨ** 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ΝΑΑ-	ΝΑΑ=	to be great
	ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=	to be blessed
ΝΑΝΟΥ- (var. ΝΑΝΕ-)	ΝΑΝΟΥ=	to be good
ΝΑΨΕ-	ΝΑΨΩ=	to be numerous
ΝΕCΕ-	ΝΕCΩ=	to be beautiful
	ΝΕCΒΩ=	to be intelligent
	ΝΕCΩ(Ω)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΕΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC**) 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am not (ΑΝ) excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι) as (ΝΕΕ < **Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩC ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΑΧΧΟΟQ** 'how very (ΚΑΛΩC) fair is (ΝΑΝΟΥ) the word (Π-ΨΑΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Q)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) poverty (Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ) than all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) of these (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C]** 'you (ΝΤΟ) (are) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (ΖΡΑ-C) is beautiful (Ε-ΝΕCΕ))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Q** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕCΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ** 'more (ΝΖΟΥΟ) blessed (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Q) is he who will always (Ν-ΟΥΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ) see (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ) his own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Q) sins (Ε-ΝΕC-ΝΟΒΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙΕ ΝΑCΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (ΕΙΕ) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΛΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΩ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) the lazy ones (Ν-ΑΡΓΟΣ) are numerous (ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΚΚΑΡΠΙΟΣ 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΚ-ΚΑΡΠΙΟΣ) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕΣΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatôn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΝ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) anybody (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)'? (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΝ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) brother (ΟΝ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a brother (ΟΥ-ΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΟ[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...) '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) other brothers (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-ΟΝΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΙ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ Η ΖΜΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΩΙΚΖ {ΠΩΙΚΖ}₃₀ ΝΑΡ ΟΥΗΡ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) thirty (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (Η) forty (ΖΜΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ), how large (ΟΥΗΡ) must the pit (Π-ΩΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓ '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-Χ-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥΓ-Γ)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΓ ΜΗΛΥ ΝΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΕΧΧΗΣ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) someone (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Γ) a paralysed (Ε-Χ-ΧΗΣ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΑ ΠΚΑΣ ΜΝ ΠΨΑΛΡ 'without (there) being (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΝ) anything (ΛΑΛΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-Σ) except (ΝΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑΣ) and (ΜΝ) skin (Π-ΨΑΛΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΜΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΜΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΛΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΧΕΧΙ ΖΜΟΤ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΝΑΡΧΕΟΣ (for ΜΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) some (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) ascetic labours (Μ-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΛΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΑΝ) obtain (Ν-ΘΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΜΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΕΟΣ)' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC ΛΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΛΥΩ ΟΥΝ Π̄Ν̄Α '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) a resurrection (ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙC) and (ΛΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) angels (ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) and (ΛΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a spirit (Π̄Ν̄Α)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΝ) anyone (ΛΑΛΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΩΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΨΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC '(there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-2Ε) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCOC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧC ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΜΗΟΝΟΧOC (ΜΗΟΝΑΧOC) ΜΠΑΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΟΧOC) further on (ΜΠΑΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΛΗ ΖΥΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΛΗ) at (ΖΥΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Ν-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΜΗΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΜΕΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΜΗΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΝ) nobody (ΑΛΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΜΗΝΤΑΤCΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) impossibility (ΑΛΑΥ Μ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚOC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Μ-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙOC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΛΗΜ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΦΜΗΤΚΟΥ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΗΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΧΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕΦ-ΜΗΤ-ΚΟΥ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΜΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΜΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΥ) place (Μ-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[C] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋοοπ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋοοπ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) and (ΜΝ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom

(*τευ-μντ-ppo*)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. *ανοκ δε τμπεμα χιν περοου ετμμαγ* '(as for) me (*ανοκ*), I (*am*) in this place (*τ-μ-πει-μα*) from (*χιν*) that (*ετμμαγ*) day (*πε-ροου*) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates *ουντα-* and *μντα-*, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. *ουν* or *μν*, and a locative-committative preposition *ντα-* 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. *νεουντε πρρο καλπιγξ εντε ννουβ νχα2χ2* 'the King (*π-ρρο*) had (*νε-ουντε*) two (*εντε*) trumpets (*καλπιγξ*) of refined (*ν-χα2χ2*) gold (*ν-νουβ*)' (Eud. 60:13), *μνται ειωτ μμαγ η μααγ* 'I don't have (*μντα-ι*) father (*ειωτ*) or (*η*) mother (*μααγ*)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial *μμαγ* 'there', e.g. *ουνται μμαγ νουψαχε εχοοq εροου* 'I have (*ουντα-ι*) a word (*ν-ου-ψαχε*) to say (*ε-χοο-q*) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), *νεουνταq μμαγ νουμνηψε νχημα* 'he (the rich man) had (*νε-ουντα-q*) a lot (*ν-ου-μνηψε*) of money (*ν-χημα*)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), *εμνταq εζουγια μμαγ εερ πβολ ηπωην ετμμαγ* 'without having (*ε-μντα-q*) the strength (*εζουγια*) to come out (*ε-ερ π-βολ*) of that (*ετ-μμαγ*) tree(*ν-π-ωην*)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: *ουντα-q* /wəntaf/ → *ουντ-q* /wəntəf/ 'he has', *μντα-q* /məntaf/ → *μντ-q* /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΜΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 st sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝ†)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ι (ΜΝ†)
2 nd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Κ (ΜΝΤ-Κ)
2 nd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΜΝΤΕ
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q (ΟΥΝΤ-Q)	ΜΝΤΑ-Q (ΜΝΤ-Q)
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-С (ΟΥΝΤ-С)	ΜΝΤΑ-С (ΜΝΤ-С)
1 st plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ν (ΟΥΝΤ-Ν)	ΜΝΤΑ-Ν (ΜΝΤ-Ν)
2 nd plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΜΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 rd plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΜΝΤΑ-Υ (ΜΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΜΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSED NP)
NE- PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	π-ρρο the king	καλπιγξ εντε trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates *ουντα-* and *μντα-* appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. *εουντε πογ2αι* '(although) you (woman) have (*ε-ουντε*) your husband (*πογ-2αι*)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), *εμντq κεροουψ μμαγ επτηρq нса пεψλη ην τδιακριсic ннетqψ μμοου* 'while he (Apa Zenobius) had no (*ε-μντ-q*) other concern (*κε-ροουψ*) at all (*επτηρq*) than (*нса*) prayer (*πε-ψλη*) and the critical evaluation (*τ-διακριсic*) of what he was reading (*ν-ετ-q-ψ*)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. *αγω μνταν ηλλαγ νκολα μμαγ*

ἡσώματικόν and (ἀγῶ) *we don't have* (ἡντα-ν) *any* (ν-ἅαγ) *physical* (ν-σώματικόν) *comfort* (ν-κόλα) (Hil. 5:23), οὐνται ἡναι νῶμντ νῶωμε ἐνανογού 'I have (οὐντα-ι) *three* (ν-ῶμντ) beautiful (ε-νανογ-ού) books (ν-ῶωμε)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), εῶχε οὐντηντν ἡμαγ νογνογτε εῶον2 'if (εῶχε) *you have* (οὐντη-τν) *a living* (ε-ῶ-ον2) *God* (ν-ογ-νογτε) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas οὐν and ἡν, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [νεγ]ντε πρρο [κῶ]σταντινός οὐσῶνε ἡμαγ ἡπαρθενός επεσραν πε εῶδοζια 'King (π-πρρ) *Constantine* had (νε-γντε) a virgin (ἡ-παρθενός) sister (οὐ-σῶνε) whose name (was) (ε-πεσ-ραν πε) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), νεμντῷ ῶηρε ν2οογτ νκα ῶερε σεντε νσ2ιμε ἡματε 'he had no (νε-μντ-ῷ) son (ῶηρε ν-2οογτ) besides (νκα) two (ν-2οογτ) daughters (ῶερε ν-σ2ιμε) only (ἡματε)' (Hil. 2:5), εῶνταῖς 2ν νετκα ἡα ναῖ 'he has it (i.e. place) (ε-οὐντα-ῖς) among (2ν) those who make (ν-ετ-κα) a place (ἡα) for him (να-ῖ)' (Sh. III 85:14), οὐ πετεοὐνταῖς εῶοῖ 'what (claim) (οὐ) (is it) *that you have* (ετε-οὐντα-ῖς) against him (εῶο-ῖ)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal οὐντα- and ἡντα- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ῶοον 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. επιδῆ οὐν οὐνοδ ἡκα2ν2ητ ῶοον ναῖ ετβε τεῖῶερε 'since (επιδῆ) *he had* (lit. was (οὐν ... ῶοον) to him (να-ῖ)) a lot (οὐ-νοδ) of grief (ν-ἡκα2-ν-2ητ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεῖ-ῶερε)' (Hil. 7:12-13), εἡν ῶηρε δε ῶοον ναῖ 'while *she had no* (lit. (there)

was no (ε-ἡν ... ῶοον) for her (να-ῖ) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction οὐν (ἡν) – (ῶ)ῶοον – ἡμο-ῖ – ε-σῶτῆ 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ῶ)ῶοον 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ἡν ῶοον γαρ ἡμοῖ εἡοῶε 'since (γαρ) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶοον) in him ((ἡμο-ῖ)) to walk (ε-ἡοῶε)' (Eud. 66:9), ἀγῶ ἡν ῶῶοον ἡμοι εῶγον2ς εῶοῖ 'and (ἀγῶ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ἡν) power (ῶῶοον ῶοον) in me (ἡμο-ῖ)) to reveal it (ε-οὐγον2-ς εῶοῖ)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order	is the fully productive constituent order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order.	§10.1.1
Scrambling	is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3

Information-packaging constructions	represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.	§10.1.3
Subject inversion	involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
Presentational (new information) focus	corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.	§10.1.5.5
Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 - Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
 - The direct object must precede the indirect object.
 - Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

- The focus marker NOI is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
- Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
- Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

- Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
 - $\text{TWEEPE DE WHH NECZEN (for NECZN) ANNTWHHNE NROMPE}$ '(as for) the little (WHH) girl (T-WEEPE) she was (NE-C-ZEN) about eighteen (A-) HNT-WHHNE years (N-ROMPE) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
 - $\text{PAEWT ETBE OY ANOK PAZHT NAWT}$ 'my father (PA-EIWT), why (ETBE OY) is, (as far as) I (ANOK) (am concerned), my heart (PA-ZHT) (so) bold (NAWT)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) -
 - $\text{AYW NPAXE MPMOUTE ETEPAQCOTHOY NTOOTQ NEPAQXOY ZWQ PE ENEQMONAXOC}$ 'and (AYW) the words (N-PAXE) of God (M-PM-NOYTE) which he (the abbot) heard (ETE-PA-Q-COTM-OY) from him (N-TOOT-Q) (Pachôm), he in turn (ZWQ-Q) told them (NE-PA-Q-XOO-Y) to his monks (E-NEQ-MONAXOC)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
 - $\text{PE[T]ERE PAHOI [NA] XPOQ KATA ROMPE PAIΛAQ NWMTE NTO}$ 'what my boat (PA-XOI) will (P-ET-ERE ... NA) bring in (XPO-Q) each (KATA) year (ROMPE), I will split (PA-I-AA-Q) into three (N-WOMTE) parts (N-TO)' (KHML II 17:4-5)
 - $\text{NAI DE EQXW HMOY NERE ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΖΗΘΟΣ ΗΠΟΥΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΕΡ}$ (for ERE) ΠQZO HΠΕCHT 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (E-Q-XW) these (words) (NAI), Theodore was sitting (NERE ... ΖΗΘΟΣ) at a little (N-OY-KOYI) distance (M-Π-OYE), his face (ΠQ-ZO) (turned down) to the ground (ERE ... M-Π-ECHT)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) 2N [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΒΩ ΔΕ [ΕΙC] ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤQ [ΕΧ]Ω[Q] 2N ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΝΑ 'when (2N) he dozed off (Π-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΩΒΩ), look (ΕΙC), *the holy* (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) *Απα Μένα* stood (Α-Q-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Q) before him (ΕΧΩ-Q) in (2N) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic
- (2) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟQ ΠΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΖΟΠ ΝΡΡΟ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *he* (ΝΤΟQ), king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine, made (ΝΕ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) for them (the Persians) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) great (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) royal (Ν-ΡΡΟ) feasts (Ν-ΖΟΠ)' (Eud. 48:27)
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic
- (3) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΧΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΝΕΕQ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΜΡΩ ΑΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤCΟΟΥΖC (...) 'as for (ΕΤΒΕ) *the ships* (Ν-ΕΧΗΥ), no (ΑΛΑΥ) sailor (Ν-ΝΕΕQ) shall set loose (ΝΝΕ ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ) a ship (ΧΟΙ) at (ΖΙ) the landing stage (ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-CΟΟΥΖC)' (praec. Pach. 118).
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic
- (4) ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΥΟΥΩΦ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Q-ΕΙ) together with (ΜΗ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΩΦ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)
☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

- (1) ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕQΖΗΟC ΕΧΗ ΤΗΝΤΡΕΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑQ (Eud. 40:1-2)

- (2) ΑΦΟΥΩΒ ΝΟΙ ΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)
- (3) ΟΥΝ ΚΕΖΗΕCΝΟΟΥCΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΧC (Test. Is. 231:7-8)
- (4) [Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΜΗΑΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2N ΤΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΝΤCΟΜ ΝΗΠΗΥΕ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)
- (5) ΦΥCΙ ΝΑCΝΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΠΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΝΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΜΑΥΑΛQ (AP Chaîne no.19, 4:7-8)
- (6) QCΜΑΜΑΛ ΝΟΙ ΠΧΟΕ[ΙC] [ΠΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΜΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩC]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC [Π]ΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΘΑΛΛΑCΑ (Eud. 48:9-10)
- (7) 2N ΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΤΜΗΑΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΖΡΑΦΕΛ ΠΑΓΤΕΛΟC (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ΝΤΕΡΟΥΜΟΟΝ[Ε] [ΔΕ] ΜΠΧΟΙ Ε[Π]ΚΡΟ ΑQΤ[Ω]ΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΑΝΔΡΕ[ΑC] ΜΗ ΠΑ[Υ][ΛΟC] ΜΗ [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[ΝΙΟC] ΠΝΕΕQ ΑΥ[Τ] [ΠΕ][Υ]ΟΥΟΙ ΕΤΠΥΛΗ^a ΝΤ[ΠΟ]ΛΙC^b ΑΥΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑ (read ΕΥΝΑΕΙ) ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) 2N ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΛC ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC^c ΕΦΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC. ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ ΑQΤ ΠΕ[Q]ΟΥΟΙ ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΛΟΥΩΗ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΝCΟΜ ΠΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑQΜΟΥ^d ΧΕ ΑΝΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΗΥ ΝΤΝΤΟΥΝCQ ΝΑΚ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. ΠΥΛΗ 'gate' b. ΠΟΛΙC 'city' c. ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC 'apostle' d. ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΜΟΥ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΜΠΕΡΣΟΣ
 ΝΚΑΝΟΠΟΣ^α ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ^β ΝΤΟΟ[Μ] ΝΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΜΠΕΡΣΟΣ
 ΕΤΡΕΥ[ΣΩΟΥ]Ζ ΝΝΕΦΖΑΡΜΑ^γ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΖΙ[Π]ΠΕΥΣ^δ ΜΝ ΠΜΗΝΨΕ
 ΝΡΗΝΡΑΤΟ[Υ]^ε [ΕΤ]ΡΕΥΜΟ[Ο]ΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ [Ε]ΤΕΖΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ
 ΝΣΕΧΙΟΟΥΡ ΜΠΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙΣ ΝΣΕΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΧΝ ΝΤΟΨ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΟΟΥΡ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΠΚΑΖ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦΣΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΙΝΟΣ
 ΑΦΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΦΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΦΧΙ ΝΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ.
 ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΕ ΧΟΥΨΤ ΝΤΒΑ (1.200.000). ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ (read ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ) ΝΣΗΦΕ ΑΥΨ ΝΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΠΕ (...)
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ^ζ. ΑΥΨ ΜΠΖΟΤ^ε ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΨΟΗΝΤ
 ΝΕΒΟΤ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ΚΑΝΟΠΟΣ (proper name) b. ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ 'commander-in-chief' c. ΖΑΡΜΑ 'chariot' d. ΖΗΠΠΕΥΣ 'cavalry man' e. Ν-ΡΗΝ-ΡΑΤ=ΟΥ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ΕΡΙΜΟΣ 'desert' g. ΖΟΤ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΕΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΖΜ ΠΧΑΙΗ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ '(there) was (ΕΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a sycamore (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΖΕ) in (ΖΜ) that (ΕΤ-ΜΗΑΥ) desert (Π-ΧΑΙΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

☐ comparative extension ☐ locative extension

- (2) ΟΥΝ ΣΖΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΖΑΙ ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΕ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) (a kind of) woman (ΣΖΙΜΕ) whom (ΕΡΟ-Σ) her husband (ΠΕΣ-ΖΑΙ) suspects (Ε-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ) of (ΧΕ) (being) adulterous (ΟΥ-ΝΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)

☐ locative extension ☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΝΡΕΦΨΠΖΙΣΕ ΖΝ ΨΗΤ ΕΦΜΟΚΖ ΜΕΝ ΜΜΟΖ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΝΦΟ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΑΚΡΙΒΗΣ ΖΝ ΝΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ (AP Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)

- (2) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (KMHL II 33:16-17)

- (3) ΜΝ ΒΟΜ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΖ ΕΜΟΟΨΕ (Eud. 66:9)

- (4) ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΜΟΖ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ('SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS')

ΝΕΥΝ ΣΟΝ ΣΝΑΥ ΖΝ ΝΡΙ^α. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΨ ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ^β ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΟΥΨΖ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ. ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΨ ΜΝ ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΟΨΨΖ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΑΠΑ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΧΕ ΣΕ^γ ΟΥΝ ΨΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ^δ ΠΕ ΝΦΟΥΨΨ ΑΝ ΕΣΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΨ ΜΠΟΡΝΙΑ^ε (for ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤΦ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΧΕ ΚΑΑΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ^ζ (for ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ) ΑΥΨ ΟΝ ΝΤΝΨΑΧΕ. ΑΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΨ ΕΦΟΥΨΨ ΕΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ^ε ΜΜΟΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΕΥΝΟΒ ΜΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ^η (for ΜΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ) ΖΝ ΤΕΙΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ ΠΑΕΨΤ. ΑΙΒΨΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ^ι ΨΑ ΠΤΜΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ^ι ΨΟΟΠ; ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΧΕ ΣΕ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΨΟΥΝ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΖΑ ΤΠΑΨΕ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΣΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΑΨΩΜΒΟΜ ΕΟΨΨΖ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΨ ΑΥΨ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΜΟΥ. (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ΝΡΙ 'Kellia' b. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ 'to summon, appeal' c. ΣΕ 'yes' d. ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ΠΟΡΝΙΑ 'fornication' f. ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ 'week' g. ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ 'to test' h. ΠΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ 'temptation' i. ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 'service' j. ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. *νεπαζρε ετ† κβο ννφγχη* 'the remedies (νεπαζρε) [which (ετ __) give (†) solace (κβο) to the souls (ν-ν-φγχη)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. *αιογωμ μπενταρσεεπε μποεικ* 'I ate (α-ι-ογωμ) [what was left (μ-πε-ντ-α-ρ-σεεπε) of the bread (μ-π-οεικ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. *πζηγεμων πετχνογ μμοκ χε νιμ ρντκ* '(it is) the governor (π-ζηγεμων) [who (ετ __) is asking (χνογ) you (μμο-κ) [what (νιμ) your name (ρντ-κ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g. OY^2WB ERE PNOUTE MOCTE MMOQ 'a thing (OY^2WB) [*that* (ERE) God (PNOUTE) *hates* (MOCTE)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), PMA ETERE PEQEWT ENKOTK N2HTQ 'the place (PMA) [*that* (ET-ERE) his father (PEQ-EIWT) *was sleeping* (ENKOTK) *in* (N2HT-Q)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMPREL for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMPREL	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
OY^2WB_i a thing _i	[ERE that	$\text{PN-NOYTE MOCTE MMO-Q}_i$] God hates (it _i)
PMA_i the place _i	[ET-ERE that	$\text{PEQ-EIWT ENKOTK N2HT-Q}_i$] his father was sleeping in-(it _i)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. PA^2PC ANOK ET^2NCTEYE EROQ 'my Christ (PA^2PC) [*in whom* (ERO-Q) *I* (ANOK) *believe* (ET^2NCTEYE)]' (AP Chaine no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. POME GAP NIM EOYNTAQ ZAZ NNOYTE 'for (GAP) every (NIM) man (POME) [*who has* (EOYNTA-Q) *many* (ZAZ) *gods* (N-NOYTE)]' (Eud. 36:11),

MHNAY ΔE NWAQBOWOY ZI POYZE MMHNE 'at the hour (M-PNAY) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened them* (the camels) (N-WA-Q-BOWOY) *daily* (MMHNE) *at* (ZI) *night* (POYZE)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. OYMA EQO NWAPEA 'a place (OY-MA) [*that was* (E-Q-O) *in* (a state of) *scorching heat* (N-WAPEA)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. AQXICE NTEQATE EZPAI EXWI ERE PWC OYWN 'he (the devil) raised (A-Q-XICE) his head (N-TEQ-ATE) above (EZPAI) me (EXW-I), [*while his mouth* (PWC-Q) *was* (wide) *open* ($\text{ERE} \dots \text{OYWN}$)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. EKNAOWYT NCWI EINABOK ETPAKO 'will you watch (E-K-NA-OWYT) me (NCW-I) [*rushing* (E-I-NA-BOK) *to perdition* (E-P-TAKO)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. EKWONE EOY - PX^2C EYWONE EPAZHPAP 'from what (E-OY) *do you suffer* (E-K-WONE)? - Lord (PX^2C), *I am suffering* (E-I-WONE) from my liver (E-PA-ZHPAP)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g. PMA NTAKONTQ N2HTQ 'the place (PMA) [*where* (N2HT-Q) *you have found it* (the boat) (NT-A-K-ONT-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. NTA OY WOTE MMOK PENXOEIC PPPO 'what (OY) *has happened* ($\text{NT-A} \dots \text{WOTE}$) to you (MMO-K), our lord (PEN-XOEIC) (and) king (PPPO)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and ϵ - introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: $\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\beta \epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon \mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ 'a thing ($\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega\beta$) [*that* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) *God* ($\pi\text{-}\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) *hates* ($\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon$)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. $\mu\alpha \mu\iota\mu \epsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$ 'every ($\mu\iota\mu$) place ($\mu\alpha$) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. *that they* will send them ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\lambda\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon$)) to ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$)]' (pracc. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet $\epsilon\tau$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, and $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ -. The allomorphs $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ - are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme $\epsilon\tau$ - and the relative markers $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ and ϵ - that also introduce virtual relative clauses: $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon$.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser $\epsilon\tau$

The "bare" complementiser $\epsilon\tau$ is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '___' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \alpha\beta\tau\alpha\mu$ 'the angel ($\pi\text{-}\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) [*who* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *serves* ($\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota$) *your father* ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -

The morphologically derived relative complementisers $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ - and $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. $\pi\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\mu\eta\eta\iota \lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'the word ($\pi\text{-}\omega\lambda\chi\epsilon$) [*that* ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) *the superintendent* ($\pi\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\iota$) *will say* ($\lambda\alpha\text{-}\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$)]' (pracc. Pach. 122) vs. $\pi\mu\alpha \epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\psi\omega\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$ 'the place ($\pi\text{-}\mu\alpha$) [*where* ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$) *you* are sick ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\kappa\omega\psi\omega\epsilon$)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	$\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon_i$ [RC $\epsilon\tau$ __ ; $\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$]	
	<u>The man</u> $_i$ [RC who __ $_i$ is listening]	
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	$\pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon_i$ [RC $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$ $\eta\epsilon\omega\text{-}\gamma$]	
	<u>The man</u> $_i$ [RC that he is listening to (<u>him</u>) $_i$]	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	$\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd masc.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd fem.	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	
3 rd masc.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\tau\text{-}\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd fem.	$\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	
Before noun	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \pi\text{-}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon\omega\tau\mu$	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: ($\epsilon\tau$ plus subject gap) $\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \mu\iota\pi\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$ 'the grace ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$) of God ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\mu\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) [*which* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *surrounded* ($\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$) *him* ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma$)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \mu\iota\mu \epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\epsilon\chi \epsilon\pi\tau\eta \mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'everybody ($\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \mu\iota\mu$) [*who* ($\epsilon\tau$ ___) *will throw* ($\lambda\alpha\text{-}\eta\epsilon\chi$) *garbage* ($\epsilon\pi\tau\eta$) *out* ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) *of his house* ($\mu\text{-}\mu\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\mu\iota$)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ plus subject NP) $\mu\eta\iota \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon \mu\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon \psi\eta\mu \mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$ $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\gamma$ 'the house ($\mu\text{-}\mu\iota$) [*where* ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\text{-}\gamma$) *this little* ($\psi\eta\mu$) *boy* ($\mu\epsilon\iota\text{-}\omega\eta\epsilon$) *died* ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma\tau$)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), ($\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$ - plus subject

pronoun) *οε ετςπογδαζε επαζωβ νοιχ* 'the manner (*οε < τ-2ε*) [*in which*] *Ι* was diligent (*ε-τςπογδαζε < ετ-τςπογδαζε*) at my manual (*ν-οιχ*) labour (*ε-πα-ζωβ*)' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), *πναγ ετεκνα αζερατκ εροq* 'the hour (*π-ναγ*) [*when* you will stand up (*ετε-κ-να-αζε πατ-κ*)]' (Test. Is. 232:19), *ζωβ νιμ ετεqειρε νμοoy* 'everything (*ζωβ νιμ*) [*that he* did (*ετε-q-ειρε*)]' (KHML II 19:8-9), *νδομ νπνοyτε ετqειρε νμοoy νν πρo κωcτaντινοc* 'the mighty deeds (*ν-δομ*) of God (*ν-π-νοyτε*) [*that he* did (*ετ-q-ειρε*) to (*νν*) King (*π-ρo*) Constantine]' (Eud. 50:1), *ζωβ νιμ ετcψινε ντοc νcωoy* 'everything (*ζωβ νιμ*) [*which she* (*ντοc*) is looking (*ετ-c-ψινε*) for (*νcωoy*)]' (Eud. 64:19).

11.1.2.3 Complementiser-TAM agreement

A different set of complementiser allomorphs is selected when the relative complementiser precedes a tense-aspect-mood marker rather than the embedded subject position of the relative clause.

TAM	COMPREL	TAM	COMPREL
PRETERIT νε-	ε-	NEGATIVE SCOPE DEFINER ν-	ε-
PERFECT α-	(ε)NT-	NEGATIVE PERFECT νπε-	ετ(ε)-
HABITUAL ψα-	ε-, (ε)N-, ετε-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL νμε-	ετ(ε)-
VERB-INITIAL CLAUSES	ετ(ε)-	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE νπατ(ε)-	ετε-

TABLE 11.2 Complementiser-tense/aspect/mood agreement

Examples: (relativised Preterit) *κατα οε ενεqο νμοc* 'in (*κατα*) the manner (*οε < τ-2ε*) [*that it* (the sun) *is* (*ε-νε-q-o*)]' (Zen. 200:27), (relativised Habitual) *νoε εψαyαc ννμαρtyρoc ετοyααβ* 'in the manner (*νoε < ν-τ-2ε*) [*that they* used to do it (*ε-ψα-y-αα-c*) to the holy (*ετ-οyααβ*) martyrs (*ν-ν-μαρtyρoc*)]' (V. Pach. 94:8-9), *ααy νψνν νιμ ενψαqχοoy* 'every (single) (*νν*) one (*ααy*) of the trees (*ν-ψνν*) [*that he* (Apa Matthew) *planted* (*ετ-ψα-q-xo-oy*)]' (KHML II 19:6-7), *νπναγ δε*

νψαqβοψoy zi poyzε ννννε 'at the hour (*ν-π-ναγ*) [*that he* (Apa Mena) *loosened* *them* (the camels) (*ν-ψα-q-βοψ-oy*) daily (*ννννε*) at (*zi*) night (*poyzε*)' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12)], *οyνννψε δε ον ζν νετε ψαρε πεyζητ πωψc εροoy* 'also (*ον*) a lot (*οy-νννψε*) of [*those* [*whose* minds (lit. hearts) (*πεy-ζητ*) *had left* (*ν-ετε-ψαρε ... πωψc*) *them* (*ερο-oy*)]]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause), (relativised Perfect) *ζωβ νιμ εντακζων νμοoy ετοot* 'everything (*ζωβ νιμ*) [*which you* ordered (*εντ-α-κ-ζων*) me (*ετοot*) (to do)]' (Eud. 34:14), *πμα ντακoντq νζητq* 'the place (*π-μα*) [*where* (*νζητ-q*) *you* *have found it* (the boat) (*ντ-α-κ-oντ-q*)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), (relativised Negative Perfect), *πεικεoyα ετzn τετνννντε ετνπεινψα νqψαξε νννναι* 'this other person (*πει-κε-oyα*) [who (is) (*ετ* *—*) in (*ζν*) your midst (*τετν-ννντε*) [*that I* *am not worthy* (*ετ-νπε-ι-νψα*) (that) he talks (*ν-q-ψαξε*) to me (*νννναι*)]' (KHML II 30:18-19), (relativised Unexpected Negative Perfective) *νενειωτ νζαλο ετοyααβ παι ετεμπατqωcκ cινταqεωκ ερατq νπνοyτε* 'our senior (*ν-ζαλο*) holy (*ετ-οyααβ*) father (*πεν-ειωτ*), he (*παι*) [*who had not long ago* (*ετε-νπατ-q-ωcκ*) gone (*α(ν)-ντ-α-q-εωκ*) towards (*ε-πατ-q*) God (*ν-π-νοyτε*)]' (Sh. III 142:5-7), (relativised Negative Habitual) *πνοyτε παι ετεμερε ααy ψωπε εxντq* 'God (*π-νοyτε*), [he (*παι*) [without whom (*εxντ-q*) nothing (*ααy*) *happens* (*ετε-μερε ... ψωπε*)]]' (Zen. 202:3) (a free relative clause), *νετεμεycei ντωρπ λyω νqι ννετενοyoy αν νε* '[those [*who do not get enough* (*ν-ετε-με-y-cei*) of robbing (*ν-τωρπ*) and stealing (*ν-qi*) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (*αν*) theirs (*ν-ν-ετε-νοy-oy*)]]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24) (a free relative clause), (relativised negative concord) *ν-ετε-ν-ce-ψooπ αν* '[*what was non-existent*]' (V. Pach. 7:14) (a free relative clause), (fronted adjectival verb) *νεννννε νρωμε ετε ναψε νεταψαζom εροoy* 'these kinds (*νει-νννε*) of people (*ν-ρωμε*) [against whom (*ερο-oy*) the ones who complain (*ν-ετ-αψ-αζom*) *are numerous* (*ετε ... ναψε*)]' (Sh. IV 99:19).

11.1.3 The grammatical role of the relative antecedent

The antecedent of the relative clause plays a role in two different clauses. On the one hand, it has a particular grammatical role (subject, direct or indirect object, adjunct) in the matrix clause, but it also has a particular grammatical role in the attributive relative clause. Coptic relative constructions have within their structure an anaphoric element that recovers the pivot's internal role. The placeholder may take the form of a resumptive pronoun, as in *πμα ενεqνζητq* 'the place;

(π-μα) [where he was (lit. that he was in *it* ((ε-νε-q-ν2HT-q))]' (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ΤΕΥΠΙΣΤΙC ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'their *faith*_i (ΤΕΥ-ΠΙCΤΙC) [that (ΕΤ _i) perfect (ΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ)]' (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΦΑΡΒΑ 'a *place*_i (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (lit. while *it*_i was (ε-q-ο)) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΦΑΡΒΑ)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'every (ΝΙΜ) *man*_i (ΡΩΜΕ) [who (lives) on (lit. while *he*_i lives on (ε-q-ΖΙΧΗ)) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ΛΑΛΥ [Ν]ΨΗΝ ΝΙ[Μ] ΕΛΦΧΟΟΥ 'every (single) (ΝΙΜ) one (ΛΑΛΥ) of the *trees*_i (Ν-ΨΗΝ) [that he (Apa Matthew) planted (*them*_i) (ε-λ-q-χο-οy)]' (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ΕΥΖΑΛΗΤ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΤΜΕ 'to a *bird*_i (ε-Υ-ΖΑΛΗΤ) [which is called (lit. while they say (ε-ψα-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) about *it*_i (εΡΟ-q) »truth« (Τ-ΜΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΕΡΟΝΟC ΕΥΖΜΟΟC ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΨΕ ΜΗΩΝΑΧΟC (for ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟC) ΕΥΖΑ ΕΟΟΥ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Μ-ΗΗΨΕ) of *thrones*_i (Ν-ΕΡΟΝΟC) [on which great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Μ-ΗΗΨΕ) of highly (ΗΜΑΤΕ) venerable (lit. who were under (ε-Υ-ΖΑ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ)) monks (Μ-ΜΩΝΑΧΟC) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-Υ-ΖΜΟΟC)) on (*them*_i) (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ΟΥCΩΝΕ (...) ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ 'a virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) *sister*_i (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ) [whose name (lit. while *her*_i name (ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was) (ΠΕ)) Eudoxia (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ)]' (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΦΛΑC ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΜΠΩΝΤ 'the *monk*_i (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) [who (ΕΤ _i) does not (ΑΝ) restrain (ΑΜΑΖΤΕ) *his*_i tongue (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΛΑC), especially (ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ) in the hour (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) of anger (Μ-Π-ΩΝΤ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC 'at the idle (lit. which is idle (ΕΤ _i) ψΟΥΕΙΤ) *praise*_i (ε-Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of this world (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ 'according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the *manner*_i (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [that (ΕΤ _i) is written (ΧΗΖ)]' (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) *race*_i (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ΕΤ _i) lives (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΙΝΗ ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΑQΤΑΛC ΝΑΙ 'the *peace*_i (ΤΡΙΝΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) of my *lord*_i (Μ-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC) [which *he*_i has given (*it*_i) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΑΛ-Α-C) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)]' (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ 'your *words*_i (ΝΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ) [that you spoke (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΧΩ) (*them*_i) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this *man*_i (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) at (*him*_i) (ΕΡΟ-q) right now (ΤΕΝΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΕΤΕΝΗΤQ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ 'the *man*_i (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you were talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΜΜΑ-Ι) about (*him*_i) (ΕΤΕΝΗΤ-q), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΔΑΜΟΥΛ ΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΖΗΤQ 'the *place*_i (Π-ΜΑ) [where the camel (Π-ΔΑΜΟΥΛ) will rest (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) (in *it*_i) (ΝΖΗΤ-q))] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΨΩC ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΨΕ) of (ΖΝ) *those*_i [whose

minds, (νεϋ-ζητ) *had left* (η-ετε-φαρε ... παως) *them*, (επο-οϋ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker η-, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) νεδομ μεν (for μεν) νεωπιρε νταψωπε εβολ ζιτοοτq ηπενειωτ απα μαθεος '*the mighty deeds* (νε-δομ) *and* (μεν) *miracles*, (νε-ωπιρε) [*that (they)* happened (ντ-α-γ-ωωπε) *through* (ζι-τοοτ-q) *our father* (η-πεν-ειωτ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), οϋον γαρ νηι ετεμπατοϋσοϋων ην νεκμαγια 'for (γαρ) *all*, (those) (οϋον νηι) [*that (they)* have not yet known you (ετε-ηπατ-οϋ-σοϋων-γ) *and* (ην) *your magical tricks* (νεκ-μαγια)]' (Sh. III 77:26), νηι πετνηναπιστεϋε αν ενεδομ ηπνοϋτε '*who*, (νηι) (is it) [*that (he)* will not (αν) believe (ετ-η-γ-να-πιστεϋε) *in the mighty deeds* (ε-νε-δομ) *of God* (η-π-νοϋτε)]' (KHML II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) μαρενταγε καρπος εβολ ετνανοϋq 'let us bring forth (μαρε-η-ταγε εβολ) *fruit*, (καρπος) [*that (it)* is good (ετ-νανοϋ-q)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics πε, τε, νε 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns παι, ται, ναι 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. πμακαριος απα ζηνοβιος ετε πενειωτ πε 'the blessed (π-μακαριος) Apa Zenobius, [*that is* (ετε ... πε), *our father* (πεν-ειωτ)]' (Zen. 199:9), νετπιστεϋε ετε παι πε πχωκ ηπισωτη 'those who believe (η-ετ-πιστεϋε), [*which (is)* (ετε παι πε) *the utmost degree* (π-χωκ) *of obedience* (η-π-ωωτη)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ζη τεϋνοϋ ετερε πεπροσταγμα ναπωζ φαρωτη '*at* (ζη) *the moment* (τε-ϋνοϋ) [(when) this order (πει-προσταγμα) will reach (ετερε ... να-πωζ) you (φαρω-τη)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ηπναγ γαρ ενταψωωνε ηπαθρονος ζαροι ηπμεζσεπснаγ 'for (γαρ) *in the hour* (η-π-ναγ) [*that my throne* (η-πα-θρονος) was turned down (lit. they turned down (εντ-α-γ-πωωνε)) under me (ζαρο-η) for a second time (η-π-μεζ-σεπ-снаγ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. πεζοοϋ νταψχοκ νζητq '*the day*, (πε-ζοοϋ) [*when*, (νζητ-q) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ντ-α-γ-χο-κ))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun *θε* (< τ-ζε) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. κατα *θε* νταψχοος νας νχιν π[ω]νζ '*in* (κατα) *the manner*, (θε < τ-ζε) [*that he* (Απα Μena) had told (*it*) (ντ-α-γ-χοο-ς) her (να-ς) while (he was) still (νχιν) alive (π-ωνζ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), *θε* ενεγειρε ημοος ημμαγ νοϋοειϋ νηι '*the manner*, (θε < τ-ζε) [*that he* (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (ε-νε-γ-ειρε) (*it*) (ημο-ς)) towards them (the brothers) (ημμα-γ) all (νηι) the time (η-οϋοειϋ)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. *θε* ετσογδαζε επαζωβ νδix '*the manner* (θε < τ-ζε) [(in which) I was diligent (ε-τ-σογδαζε < ετ-τ-σογδαζε) at my manual (η-δix) labour (ε-πα-ζωβ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ται τε *θε* ντα παλμωνιον ετμμαγ ρ ζαζ ηπεθοοϋ 'this (ται) (was) *the manner* (θε < τ-ζε) [(in which) that (ετμμαγ) demon (π-αλμωνιον) carried out (ντ-α ... ρ) many (ζαζ) evil (things) (η-πεθοοϋ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. $\text{2NKE-}\Psi\text{HN}$ EYOPT NKAPTOC $\text{ENA}\Psi\text{WOY}$ EMATE 'other trees (2N-KE- ΨHN) [RC1 *while (they_i)* were loaded (E-Y-OPT) with fruit (N-KAPTOC) [RC2 *while (they_i)* were plenty (E-NA ΨWOY)]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT ₁	[RC1	ANTECEDENT ₂	[RC2]]
$\text{2N-KE-}\Psi\text{HN}$ <i>other trees</i>	[RC1 E-Y-OPT <i>while (they_i)</i> were loaded	N-KAPTOC _j <i>with fruit</i>	[RC2 E-NA ΨWOY] <i>while (they_i)</i> were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. NEYN $\text{OY}\Psi\text{HPE}$ ΨHM ΔE EPEQPAH PE BHCAMON $\text{EP}\Psi\text{HPE}$ PE NOYCTPATYATHC (for NOYCTPATYATHC) EPEQPAH PE BACIAITHC '(there) was (NE-YN) *a young* (ΨHM) *lad*, ($\text{OY}\Psi\text{HPE}$) [RC1 *whose name* (lit. while *his*, name (was) (E-PEQ-PAH ... PE)) Bêsamôn (BHCAMON), [RC2 *who* (was) (lit. while *he*, (PE) (was)) the son (E- $\text{PE}\Psi\text{HPE}$) of *a general*, (N-OY-CTPATYATHC), [RC3 *whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*, name (was) (E-PEQ-PAH ... PE)) Basilîtês (BACIAITHC)]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), 2ENNOB $\text{MHH}\Psi\text{E}$ $\text{N}\Theta\text{PONOC}$ EY2MOOC E2PAI EXWOY NOI 2ENNOB $\text{MHH}\Psi\text{E}$ MMONAXOC (for MMONAXOC) EY2A BOOY MMATE 'great (2EN-NOB) multitudes (M-MHH ΨE) of *thrones*, (N- ΘPONOC), [RC1 *on which*, (EXWOY) were seated (E-Y-2MOOC) great (2EN-NOB) multitudes (M-MHH ΨE) of *monks*, (M-MONAXOC) [RC2 *that were* highly (MMATE) venerable (lit. while *they*, were under (E-Y-2A) glory (BOOY)]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. NECNHY ETOYAAE $\text{ET}\Psi\text{OON}$ 2M ΠXAIΕ 'the holy *brothers*, (NE-CNHY) (lit. [RC1 *who* (ET ___i) are holy (OYAAE)] [RC2 *who* (ET ___i) live (ΨOON) in (2M) the desert (Π-XAIΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
NE-CNHY _i <i>the brothers</i>	[RC1 ET __ OYAAE <i>who</i> are holy	[RC2 ET __ _i ΨOON 2M Π-XAIΕ]] <i>who</i> live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. PEIPOME ΔE ETOYAAE ETEYNTAQ MMAI $\text{MPEIMHH}\Psi\text{E}$ NAPETH 'this *man*, (PEI-POME) [RC1 *who* (ET ___i) is holy (OYAAE) [RC2 *that* (*he*,) possessed (ETE-YNTA-Q) such a multitude (M-PEI-MHH ΨE) of virtues (N-APETH)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), PEIKEOYA ET2N TETNMHTE $\text{ETMPEIMH}\Psi\text{A}$ $\text{NQ}\Psi\text{AXE}$ NMMAI 'this *other person*, (PEI-KE-OYA) [RC1 *who* (ET ___i) (is) in (2N) your midst (TETN-MHTE) [RC2 *that I am not worthy* (ET-MPE-I-MH ΨA) (that) *he*, talks (N-Q- ΨAXE) to me (NMMA-I)]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. NEKCBOOYE ETNANOYOY NTAKTCABOI EPOOY 'your *teachings*, (NEK-CBOOYE) [RC1 *that* (*they*,) are *beneficient* (ET-NANOY-OY) [RC2 *that you have taught me* (NT-A-K-TCABO-I) (*them*,) (EPO-OY)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. POME NIM ETNAEP $\text{P}\Psi\text{M}\Psi\text{E}$ ETMMAI $\text{NQ}\Psi\text{ICTEYE}$ EPOQ 'everybody

(*ῥΩΜΕ ΝΗΝ*) [who (*ΕΤ* *—*) will perform (*ΝΑ-ΕΡ*) that (*ΕΤΗΜΑΥ*) worship (*Π-ΩΜΩΕ*) and believe (*Ν-Θ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*ΕΡΟ-Θ*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΝ ΝΓΕΝΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΛΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΥΗΝΤΑΚΑΙΡΕΟC* (for *ΤΕΥΗΝΤΑΚΕΡΑΙΟC*) *ΗΝ ΤΕΥΗΝΤΠΙCΤΟC ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ* 'God (*Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*) [who has been (*ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΩΠΕ*) with (*ΗΝ*) the generations (*Ν-ΓΕΝΕΛ*) [that existed (*ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΩΠΕ*) and passed by (*Ε-Α-Υ-ΟΥΕΙΝΕ*) because of (*ΕΤΒΕ*) their guilelessness (*ΤΕΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟC*) and (*ΗΝ*) their faith (*ΤΕΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΠΙCΤΟC*) in God (*Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *ΤΗΝΤΑΓΑΘΟC ΜΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΧ̄C ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝCΡΟΥ ΜΗΘ ΕΛΤΕΤΝΚΑΛΘ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΑΦΟC* 'the goodness (*Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΓΑΘΟC*) of my Lord (*Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC*) Christ (*ΠΕ-Χ̄C*), [he (*ΠΑΙ*) [whom you crucified (*ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-CΡΟΥ*) and put (*Ε-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΚΑΛ-Θ*) into (*ΖΝ*) a tomb (*ΟΥ-ΤΑΦΟC*)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: **NEYEN OY-POME DE ON 2N TPOΛIC PAKOTE EPE OY-ΔAIMONION NHMAQ NXIN TE-QMNTKOYI** '(there) was (**NE-YEN**) also (**ON**) a (certain) man; (**OY-POME**) in (**2N**) the city (**Τ-ΠΟΛΙC**) Alexandria (**PAKOTE**) [who was possessed by a demon (**OY-ΔAIMONION**) (lit. while (there) (was) with him; (**EPE ... NHMA-Q**)) since (**NXIN**) his childhood (**TE-Q-MNT-KOYI**)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. **ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Q NNEQ[ΔΑ]ΜΟΥΛ** 'the man; (**Π-ΡΩΜΕ**) [whom; (**ΝΑ-Q**) Apa Mena had given (**ΝΤ-Α ... †**) his camels (**Ν-ΝΕQ-ΔΑΜΟΥΛ**)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), **OYMA EQO NYAPBA** 'a place; (**OY-MA**) [that was (lit. while it; was (**E-Q-O**)) in (a state of) scorching heat (**Ν-YAPBA**)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

VS. ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΛΟΣ ΝΟΧΩ ΕΠΜΟΥ 'the place; (Π-ΜΑ) [(where) Paul (ΠΑΛΟΣ) threw himself (ΝΤ-Α ... ΝΟΧ-Ω) into the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΥ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) **Specific indefinite antecedents**

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. λ $\text{ΟΥΟΝ } 2\text{N}$ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ $\text{Ρ } 2\text{ME}$ Ν200Υ ΝΑΤΟΥΩΜ ΝΑΤΩ ΕΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ [one; (ΟΥΟΝ) amongst (2N) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ) spent (λ ... Ρ) forty (2ME) days (Ν-200Υ) without eating (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΜ) (and) drinking (Ν-ΑΤ-Ω)', [*to wit* (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ) the (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) Moses (ΜΩΥΣΗΣ), the archprophet (Π-ΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΗΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΩΜΕ ΝΑΩ ΕΠΑ2ΟΥ ΜΗ0ΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΕΤΝΑΩΜΕ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (ΕΤ ...) are sick (ΩΜΕ)) people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) shall stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-Ω) behind them (the fellow monks) (ΕΠΑ2ΟΥ ΜΗ0-ΟΥ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) a brother, (ΟΥ-ΟΝ) [who (ΕΤ ...) will fall sick (ΝΑ-ΩΜΕ)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. ΝΕΕ ΝΕΙΕCΘΟΥ ΕΦΑΥΒΙ (for ΕΦΑΥΒΙ) ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΗΠΕΥΘΩC 'like (ΝΕΕ) sheep; (ΝΕΙ-ΕCΘΟΥ) [from which; (ΝΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) their; shepherd (Η-ΠΕΥ-ΘΩC) is taken away (lit. *they* take away (Ε-ΦΑ-Υ-ΒΙ))' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. $\Sigma\text{NKE}\phi\text{HN EYOPT NKAPOC ENA}\phi\text{WOU EMATE}$ 'other trees ($\Sigma\text{N-KE-}\phi\text{HN}$) [while (they_i) were loaded ($\epsilon\text{-Y-OPHT}$) with fruit_i (N-KAPOC) [while (they_i) were plenty ($\epsilon\text{-NA}\phi\text{W-OU}$)]]' (KHM L II 21:14-15) vs. $\text{MARENTAYE KAPOC EBOA ETNANOYQ}$ 'let us bring forth (MARE-N-TAYE EBOA) good fruit (lit. fruit_i (KAPOC) [which_i is good ($\epsilon\text{T-NANOY-Q}$)]]' (KHM L II 19:15).

‘blessed are (ΝΑ-ΙΑΤ-Q) everybody, (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ) [who] will perform (Ε-Q-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) an act of mercy (Ν-ΟΥ-ΝΑ) in (2M) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of these patriarchs (Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ)’ (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΜΝΤΝΑ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΥΡ ΠΗΕΕΥΕ ‘everyone, (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [who, (ΕΤ __) will perform (ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) an act of mercy (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΝΑ) on the day (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of their (the patriarchs’) remembrance (Μ-ΠΕΥ-Ρ Π-ΗΕΕΥΕ)’ (Test. Is. 237:24).

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. παῖρς ἀνοκ εἰπιστεύε εροq ‘my Christ; (πα-ᾱρς) [*in whom*; (ερο-q) I (ἀνοκ) believe (ε-ἰ-πιστεύε)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), πμοῦ ερε παειωτ ἀπα ναζροῦq ‘the death (π-μοῦ) [*that* (ερε) my Father (πα-ειωτ) Apa Nahrow is going to die (να-μοῦ) (*in it*; (νζητ-q)]’ (KHML I 7:27), ννεπλαῃ ερε πεqсноq хη2 εροῦq ‘the (pavement) stones; (н-не-плаῃ) [*on which*; (ερο-оῦ) his blood (πεq-сноq) *has been smeared out* (ερε ... хη2)]’ (KHML I 6:28).

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. οὐζωβ ερε πνουτε μοστε ημοq ‘a thing_i (οὐζωβ) [*that* God (π-νουτε) *hates* (ερε ... μοστε) (*it*) (ημο-q)]’ (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), ηε νογεσοογ εqcoπh ‘like (ηε) a sheep_i (η-ογ-εσοογ)

[*which*_i has gone astray (ε-γ-ορν)]' (Test. Is. 232:34), οὐ γὰρ πε πζωβ νζενδαίμων ἐγὶ νμῆαν νναζρν ζεναγτελос ἐμῶε εχων 'for (γὰρ) what (οὐ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing (π-ζωβ)) of *the demons*; (ν-ζεν-δαίμων) [*who*_i fight (lit. give (ε-γ-τ)) with us (νμῆα-ν)] compared to (νναζρν) *the angels*; *who*_i fight (ε-γ-μῶε) for us (εχων-ν)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. νεὺν οὐρῶμε δε ζμ πμартуριον μπζαγιос ἀπα μῆνα ἐπεφραν πε μαρκос '(there) was (νε-γν) *a* (certain) *man*_i (οὐ-ρῶμε) in (ζμ) the memorial chapel (π-μαρτυριον) of the holy (μ-π-ζαγιос) Apa Mena [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his*_i name (was) (ε-πεφ-ραν ... πε)) Mark (μαρκос)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. ἀγῶ ντοφ πε πρρο εφζαρατк 'and (ἀγῶ) he (Constantine) (ντοφ) (is) *the king*_i (π-ρρο) [*who*_i is under you (ε-φ-ζα-ρατ-к)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), νιμ πε πρῶμε εφναδῶψт nca πεφψηρε εφβηк nemтw нqтмвонѡеи ероφ 'who (νιμ) (is) *the man*_i (π-ρῶμε) [*who*_i will watch (ε-φ-на-δῶψт) his son (nca πεφψηρε) drowning (lit. going (ε-φ-βηк) to the depths (of the sea) (н-εнтw))] and (*he*_i) would not help (н-φ-тм-вонѡеи) him (εро-φ)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. ἀγῶ νεψαχε νψаре ππετοуаав ἀπα павβw xooγ nac 'and (ἀγῶ) *the words*_i (νε-ψαχε) [*that* the holy (π-πετοуаав) Apa Pambô used to say (*them*_i) (н-ψаре ... xoo-γ) to her (Hilaria) (на-с)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), νтwψ нта пноуτε ааγ 'the rules_i (н-тwψ) [*that* God (π-ноуτε) has made (*them*_i) (нт-а ... аа-γ)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: ζενcioγ нpoγze μн ζенcioγ н2тооуе еγ† μαεиn ενεγνοоуе нтеγψн 'the evening (н-poγze) and (μн) morning (н-2тооуе) *stars*_i; (Zen-cioγ) [*which*_i indicate (lit. give (ε-γ-τ) sign (μαεиn)) the hours

(ε-не-γνοоуе) of the night (н-те-γψн)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ζен2ip 2n aμnte εγo нернмoс εμн ааγ н2нтоу 'the streets_i (Zen-2ip) in (2n) Hell (aμnte) [*which*_i are (ε-γ-ο) (in a) deserted (н-εрнмoс) (state) [*without* (ε-μн) anyone (ааγ) on *them*_i (н2нт-ογ)]]' (Ac. A&P 204:132) vs. εам[n]te ete пaи пe пма нпpимe μн пбa2o2 нноβze 'to *Hell*_i (ε-амnte), *which*_i is (ete пaи пe) the place (π-μα) of weeping (μ-π-рime) and (μн) gnashing (π-бa2o2) of teeth (н-н-обze)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), πε2ооγ нп2ап етepe пxoeic нa† 2ап ерок 'the day_i (πε-2ооγ) of the judgement (μ-π-2ап) [(when) the Lord (π-xoeic) will judge (lit. will give (етepe ... на-†) law (2ап)) you (εро-к)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. ογон ниμ еφ2μ пxαιε етπολyтeyε етβε пноуτε аγw етμнаγ ерwме 'everyone_i (ογон ниμ) [_{RC1} *who*_i (is) in (ε-φ-2μ) the desert (π-xαιε) [_{RC2} *who*_i (εт __) leads an ascetic life (πολyтeyε) for (етβε) God (π-ноуτε) and (аγw) in order not to see (ε-тμ-наγ) anybody (ε-рwме)]]' (Omnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers н- 'for' and ε- 'to', e.g. ουβαπтисма нoγxai нпгeнoс тнpq надам 'a baptism (ου-βαπтисма) [*to save* (н-ογxai) the entire (тнp-φ) race (μ-π-гeнoс) of Adam (н-адам)]' (Eud. 34:13), ογψαχε εxooφ ерооγ 'a word (ογ-ψαχε) [*to be spoken* (ε-xoo-φ) to them (εро-ογ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), еγскеγoс εoγomq 'for a vessel (ε-γ-скеγoс) [*to eat from* (ε-ογom-φ)]' (Omnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. πρpo δε нтepeφнаγ епента пноуте ааφ нммаφ (...) 'when the King (π-ρpo) saw (нтepe-φ-наγ) [*what* God (π-ноуτε) had done (ε-πε-нт-а ... аа-φ)

for him (NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as \emptyset_{NOUN}). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
ΠΕ- that	$\emptyset_{\text{NOUN}i}$	[RC NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΑ-ϣ _i (...)] what God had done (it _i)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article Π-, Τ-, Ν- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (the instructions) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (pracc. Pach.103), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩϣ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ (for ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ) † ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑϣ 'this one (ΠΑΙ), however (ΖΩΩ-ϣ), [whom the Christians give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... †) praise (ΕΟΟΥ) to (ΝΑ-ϣ)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝḌ ΗΠΑΔΒΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΒΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤϣ 'this one (ΠΑΙ) [in whom (ΝΖΗΤ-ϣ) the spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝḌ)

of the devil (Η-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) has branched out (lit. has taken (NT-Α ... ΧΕ ΒΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΑΤ 'the land of the Mariôtês, the one they call (Τ-ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) »Pajat« (Τ-ΠΑΕΙΑΤ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΣ ΒΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΗΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΗΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'she (ΤΑΙ) [who is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙΣ) her (ΕΡΟ-ϣ)) by (ΖΗΤΟΥΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) [who is (ΕΤ _) in (ΖΝ) heaven (Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΕΤΤΗΨ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'except (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) only (ΗΜΑΤΕ) those who have been ordered (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΤΗΨ)' (pracc. Pach. 117), ΝΕΤΣΟΥΖ ΕΡΟϣ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those who gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-ΣΟΥΖ) with him (ΕΡΟ-ϣ)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ΝΑΙ ΝΨΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΗΟΥΨ ΨΑΡΟϣ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ (for ϣ) ΛΩΓΟΣ (for ΛΟΓΟΣ) 'those (ΝΑΙ) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (Ν-ΨΑ-Υ-ΕΙΝΕ) them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ)) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-ϣ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) of justification (lit. taking (Ν-ΒΙ) account (ΛΩΓΟΣ))]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΨΙϣ ΤΑΖΟΥΨ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will [those who live (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΨΙϣ) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)), or (Η) when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); if they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-ΕΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extracausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) Α ΝΕΤΜΟΩΘΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ COKOY HCAOYCA '[those who went (N-ET-MOOWE) with him (NHMAI-Q)] withdrew themselves (Α ... COKOY) on each side (HCAOY-CA)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Α ΝΕΤΗΠΑΣΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΥΧΑΙ 'since (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) [all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) which is inside me (lit. which is in my inner (N-ΖΟΥΝ) side (N-ET-H-ΠA-CA))] has become healthy (Α ... ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) ΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΤΑΥΕ ΠΕΤQCOOYH HMOQ EBOL ΖH ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ 'and each one (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) told (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΑΥΕ) [what he knew (Π-ET-Q-COOYH HMOQ) from (ΖH) the Scriptures (ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), ΛΙΟΥΩH HΠΕΝΤΑQCEEΠE HΠOΕIK 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩH) [what was left (H-ΠE-NT-A-Q-CEEΠE) of the bread (H-Π-OEIK)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) ΨΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΟΥΖΜΟΤ HNETHAICTEYΕ 'God (ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) shows (lit. give (ΨΑΡΕ ... †)) favour (ΟΥ-ΖΜΟΤ) [to those who will believe (N-ET-NA-ΠICTEYΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), HHHNCΩC AHEEYΕ EBOL ΖH ΠΑΖHT EΠEHTAIAAQ 'after that (HHHNCΩ-C) I reflected (Α-Ι-HEEYΕ) by myself (lit. in (ΖH) my heart (ΠΑΖHT)) [about what I had done (E-ΠE-NT-A-I-AA-Q)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) ΠΑΡΙΘΗC HNETOYMOYTE EP0OY XE ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ 'the regiment (ΠΑΡΙΘΗC) [of those whom (EP0OY) they call (N-N-ET-OY-MOYTE) »Luduriakon« (ΛΟΥΔΟΥΡΙΑΚΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), XEKAQ EYHAWΨ HZHHTQ EYZHY HN OYΠAYPOΦOPIA (for OYΠAHPOΦOPIA) HNETHAWΨ HZHHTQ HN ΠETHACΩTH EP0Q ΖH OY† ZTHQ 'in order that (XEKAQ) they shall read (E-Y-NA-ΩΨ) from it (the book) (NZHT-Q) for the benefit (E-Y-ZHY) and (HN) satisfaction (OY-ΠAYPOΦOPIA) [of those who will read (N-N-ET-NA-ΩΨ) from it (NZHT-Q)] and (HN) [of him who will listen (Π-ET-NA-CΩTH) to it (EP0-Q) with (ΖH) attention (lit. giving (OY-†) one's attention (ZTH-Q)]]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) EIBHK ΨA ΠEHTAQTHHNOOYT 'I am on my way (E-I-BHK) [to (ΨA) the one who has sent me (ΠE-NT-A-Q-TNHOOY-T)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) CMOY EΠHNOYTE NETP ZOTE ZHTQ HΠEQPAH 'praise (CMOY) God (E-Π-NOYTE), [you who fear (N-ET-P ZOTE ZHTQ) his name (H-ΠEQ-PAH)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) ΠAXOEIC IC ΠEXC ΠEHTAIAΠOTACCE HΠH HΠAEIΩT ETBHHTQ 'My Lord (ΠA-XOEIC) Jesus (IC) Christ (ΠE-XC), [he because of whom (ETBHHT-Q) I renounced (ΠE-NT-A-I-AΠOTACCE) my father's (H-ΠA-EIΩT) house (H-Π-HI)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) ΠETHAANΔAIGE (for ΠETHAANTIAIGE) EYEAHΩPEI (for EYETHΩPEI) HMOQ '[he who will protest (Π-ET-NA-ANΔAIGE)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (E-Y-E-AHΩPEI) him (HMO-Q)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

ΠETHAOYEOH OYHKA HBAXE (...) EYHAXI EΠITIMIA ΖH ΠEQCOOY HCON '[he who will break (Π-ET-NA-OYEOH) a piece (OY-HKA) of pottery (H-BAXE) (...)] shall be (E-Q-NA-XI) reprimanded (EΠITIMIA) at (ΖH) the (lit. his) sixth (ΠEQ-COOY) occurrence (N-CON)' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) ΠET† CBΩ ΓAP ΖH TTAHPO 'for (ΓAP) he/who (Π-ET ...) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (CBΩ)) with (ΖH) the mouth (T-TAHPO)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) EKEOYΩH ΔE HNETA ΠHNOYTE THHOYCOY HAK 'you should eat (E-K-E-OYΩH) [what God (Π-NOYTE) has sent (it) (N-N-ENT-A ... THHOY-COY) to you (HAK)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), ΠETKHAATEI HMOQ NTM ΠHNOYTE 'what you will ask (Π-ET-K-NA-AITEI) (it) (HMO-Q) from (NTM) God (Π-NOYTE)' (Onnophr. 216:25), NENTAKHAY EP0OY 'what you have seen (NE-NT-A-K-HAY) (it) (EP0OY)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) ΠETEHN AAY ZHT EP0Q 'he (Π-ETE) before whom (EP0-Q) nothing (AAY) is hidden (HN ... ZHT)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), ETHTHTEAIOC ΖH NENTAQAPXEI NZHTOY 'towards perfection (E-T-HNT-TEAIOC) in (ΖH) [what he had started (NE-NT-A-Q-APXEI) (in it) (NZHTOY)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) NOYMEPIANOC ΠAI HTAQP PPO ZATEYZH 'Numerian (NOYMEPIANOC) he (ΠAI) [who had been (NT-A-Q-P) king (PPO) before them (ZATEY-ZH)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), NETEMEYCEI NTΩPH AYΩ HPI HNETENOYOY AN NE 'those/who do not get enough (N-ETE-HE-Y-CEI) of robbing (N-TΩPH) and stealing (N-QI) [what does not belong to them (lit. what is not (AN) theirs (N-N-ETE-NOY-OY)]' (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. *ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ* 'blessed is [*he who* will do (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) the will (Μ-Π-ΟΥΩΨ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) on (ΖΙΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), *ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΜΝΝCΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΙΨΑΧΕ* 'may the blessings (ΝΕ-CΜΟΥ) of the patriarch (Μ-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ) be (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) [*those who* come (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ) after us (ΜΝΝCΩ-Ν)] and (ΜΝ) [*those who* listen (Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to these words (Ε-ΝΕΙ-ΨΑΧΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), *ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ* 'I looked (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) at your face (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΖΟ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) [*someone who* had seen (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΝΑΥ) the face (Ε-Π-ΖΟ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟQ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑΙΑΑQ ΜΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΤΟ* '[*what* my boat (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ) will bring in (Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Q) each (ΚΑΤΑ) year (ΡΟΜΠΕ)], I will split (lit. make) (ΨΑ-Ι-ΑΑ-Q) into three (Ν-ΨΟΜΤΕ) parts (Ν-ΤΟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. *ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΨΙ ΜΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ* '[*the ones who* served (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) well (ΚΑΛΩC)] (are) [*those who* stand (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) within (ΖΗ) the confines (Π-ΨΙ) of the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), *ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΝΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΝΕ ΕΠΚΕΛΙΩΝ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΡΑΨΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΥCΟΛCΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ* 'in (ΖΗ) their joy (ΠΕΥ-ΡΑΨΕ) and (ΜΝ) compassion (ΠΕΥ-CΟΛCΑ) towards me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), they (the four lads) were (Ε-Υ-Ο) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who* had passed (Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΝΕ) to the other world (Ε-Π-ΚΕ-ΛΙΩΝ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), *ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΙΝΗΦΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΝΕΤΖΑ ΠΗΡΠ* 'suddenly (ΝΤΕΝΟΥ), I woke up (Α-Ι-ΝΗΦΕ) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who* are under (the influence of) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΑ) wine (Π-ΗΡΠ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΗΥΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΨ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΦΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΖΩ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΜΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΝΟΥΨ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΟΥΨΑΧΕ (...)* '(as for) [*him who* has effected (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in you (ΝΖΗΤ-ΗΥΤΗ) this good (Ν-ΑΓΑΘΟΝ) desire (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΨ)], he may also (ΖΩ) produce (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in us (ΝΖΗΤ-Η) the fulfillment (Μ-Π-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) of your wish (Μ-ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΨ) to let us say (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΧΩ) a few words (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27), *ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΑΔΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ* 'look (ΑΝΑΥ) at [*him* (Ε-ΠΑΙ) in *whom* (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) the spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) of the devil (Μ-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) has branched out (lit. has taken (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ)))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΧΩΡΗC (...)* *ΕΚΕΝΕΖCΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΧΑΙΕ* 'oh (you) [*who* brought (Π-ΕΝΤΑ-Φ-ΕΙΝΕ) water (Μ-Π-ΜΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) the rock (Τ-ΠΕΤΡΑ) of Khôreb (Ν-ΧΩΡΕC)], will you (please) raise (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΝΕΖCΕ) water (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) this desert (ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΕQΤΑΥΟ ΝΝΕQΨΑΧΕ ΝCΒΩ ΕΙΑΚΩB ΠΕQΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Isaac) told (Ε-Q-ΤΑΥΟ) his words (Ν-ΝΕ-Q-ΨΑΧΕ) of instruction (Ν-CΒΩ) to Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩB), his son (ΠΕQ-ΨΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those who* gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΥΖ) with him (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), *ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕCΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC* 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those* (ΝΑΙ) [you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) at (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)], they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (Μ-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ΙΟΥΔΑC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΠΕΤΜΟΨΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC* 'the Apostle (Π-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) *Judas*, [*who* (Π-ΕΤ __) went

(π-ΕΤ-ΜΟΟΦΕ) with (ΜΝ) our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), ΠΑΣΩΤ (read ΠΑΣΩΤΤ) ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡ ΠΟΥΩΦ ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΗΠΗ[Υ]Ε 'my chosen one (ΠΑ-CΩΤΤ) Ptolemy; (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ), [who; has done (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) the will (Π-ΟΥΩΦ) of my Father (Μ-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ ΖΝ) heaven (Ν-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΜΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΜΝ ΝΩΖΕ 'God; (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who; has been (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ ΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Adam, with (ΜΝ) Abel (ΜΝ) Noah (ΝΩΖΕ)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΨΕΠ ΖΙCΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'the living (ΕΤ __ ΟΝΖ) God; (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) has taught me (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι) to bear (Ε-ΨΕΠ) grievances (ΖΙCΕ) through (ΖΝ) the grievances (ΝΕ-ΖΙCΕ) [that he bore (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΨΟΠ-ΟΥ) for us (ΖΑΡΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ (...) 'they will become (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΨΩΠΕ) the children (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) of David; (Ν-ΔΑΥΕΙΔ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) says (ΕΤ __ ΧΩ) that (ΧΕ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΤΕΛΟC ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'oh holy (ΕΤ __ ΟΥΛΑΒ) virgin; (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC), [who; (ΤΑΙ) is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙC) her; (ΕΡΟ-C)) by (ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΓΤΕΛΟC) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ __ ΖΝ) heaven (Ν-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ (read ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡ) ΠΑΙ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΟΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΦΒΩΚ ΕΥΨΑΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΨΑΦΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a dog; (ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) goes away (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they throw him; (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Φ) out (ΕΒΟΛ)] (and) (he;) comes (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they call ((Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) him; (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ '(as for) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (rules), [he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. he; will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(as for) [him; who (Π-ΕΤ __) will come (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) [to believe (Ε-Φ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΝ) his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)]]], he; will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) heir (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC) to the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), ΝΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΜΟC ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΙCΤΙC ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ (read ΕΥΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΒΟΜ ΜΝ ΤΒΟΜ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ '(as for) [them; who (Ν-ΕΤ __) will study (ΝΑ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑ) it (the testament) (ΜΜΟ-C) with (ΖΜ) their whole (ΤΗΡ-Φ) heart (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ), in (ΖΝ) faith (ΟΥ-ΠΙCΤΙC), [believing (Ε-Υ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [what I have said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-Υ)]]], my power (ΤΑ-ΒΟΜ), the power (Τ-ΒΟΜ) of my beloved (Η-ΠΑ-ΜΕΡΙΤ) Son (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) will remain (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) with them; (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ '(there) was nothing (ΝΕ-ΜΝ) [good (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner π-, e.g. ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΕΝΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ 'their care (ΠΕΥ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) (is) not (ΑΝ) [idle things (ΖΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΕΙΤ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ Κ[Α]ΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟC '[our holy (ΠΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)] father (Ν-ΕΙΩΤ) [who (ΕΤ __) is honoured ΤΑΕΙΝΥ) in (ΚΑΤΑ) every (ΝΙΜ) manner (CΜΟΤ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

37:12-13). If, on the other hand, negation occurs in the matrix clause, it takes narrow scope over the clefted constituent, leaving the backgrounded proposition outside its scope, e.g. $\mu\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \alpha\lambda\ \mu\epsilon\tau\chi\iota \ \kappa\beta\alpha \ \nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\epsilon \ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\tau$ '(it is) *not* (M- ... $\alpha\lambda$) *man* ($\mu\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) [who ($\epsilon\tau$) takes ($\chi\iota$) vengeance ($\kappa\beta\alpha$) through it (the sword) ($\nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\epsilon$ -C) wrathfully ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\tau$)]' (Sh. IV 12:12), (with omission of the negative prefix N-) $\eta \ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon \ \omicron\gamma\phi\gamma\chi\eta \ \alpha\lambda \ \nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\omega\alpha \ \tau\epsilon\tau\nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ (...) 'or (H) if ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon$) (it) (were) *not* ($\alpha\lambda$) a living (N-ZWON) *soul* ($\omicron\gamma\phi\gamma\chi\eta$) [that ($\epsilon\tau$) (resided) within them ($\nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$) (...)]' (Sh. III 220:7-8).

11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

The agreement clitic of nominal cleft sentences differs both morphologically and syntactically from the corresponding pronominal element in tripartite nominal sentences, suggesting that it has been further grammaticalised as a focus marker.

a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

In tripartite nominal sentences the agreement clitic occurs in clause-second position with other prosodically weak functions words and particles, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\omega \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \nu\alpha\kappa \ \mu\epsilon \ \mu\iota\tau\omicron\alpha \ \nu\psi\alpha \ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ 'since ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) you have (lit. for you ($\nu\alpha\kappa$) (is)) continuous ($\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$) rest ($\mu\iota\tau\omicron\alpha$) until eternity ($\nu\psi\alpha \ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$)' (AP Chaîne no. 30, 6:7). The corresponding agreement clitic of nominal clefts, however, has determiner-like properties, forming an indivisible prosodic unit with the following relative clause, e.g. $\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega\beta \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\gamma \ \mu\epsilon \ \nu\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ 'since ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) (it is) a beautiful ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\gamma$ -Q) thing ($\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega\beta$) [that he did ($\nu\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ -Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial ϵ :

$\mu\epsilon$	\rightarrow	μ	/	_____	COMPREL	$\epsilon\tau$ -,	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ -,	$\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon$ -,	ϵ -
ϵ	\rightarrow	\emptyset	/	_____	ϵ				

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

When vowel elision applies, the resulting complex PROCLITIC – RELATIVE COMPLEMENTISER – EMBEDDED CLAUSE looks superficially like a free-standing relative clause, e.g. $\nu\iota\mu \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\alpha}\epsilon \ \epsilon\rho[\alpha\tau]q \ \epsilon\mu\iota\psi\epsilon \ \mu\eta \ \nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho \ \eta \ \nu\iota\mu \ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\tau\omega\alpha \ \mu\eta \ \nu\iota\alpha\rho\chi \ \nu\iota\mu \ \nu\tau\omicron\gamma \ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\omega\rho \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \epsilon\mu\iota\psi\epsilon \ \mu\eta \ \acute{\alpha}\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\iota \ \lambda\chi\eta \ \psi\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon \ \acute{\alpha}\iota \ \sigma\epsilon\omega$ 'because ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) who ($\nu\iota\mu$) (is it) [that ($\epsilon\tau$) would stand up ($\nu\alpha\alpha\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau$ q) [to fight ($\epsilon\mu\iota\psi\epsilon$) with ($\mu\eta$) dogs ($\nu\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho$)]] or (η) who ($\nu\iota\mu$) (is it) [that ($\epsilon\tau$) would struggle ($\nu\alpha\lambda\tau\omega\alpha$) with ($\mu\eta$) bears ($\nu\iota\alpha\rho\chi$)], who ($\nu\iota\mu$), indeed ($\nu\tau\omicron\gamma$), (is it) [that ($\epsilon\tau$) would set out ($\nu\alpha\sigma\omega\rho \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) [to fight ($\epsilon\mu\iota\psi\epsilon$) with ($\mu\eta$) lions ($\acute{\alpha}\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$) without ($\lambda\chi\eta$) plan ($\psi\omicron\chi\eta\epsilon$) and ($\acute{\alpha}\iota$) counsel ($\sigma\epsilon\omega$)]]' (Camb. 8:15-18).

b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic of nominal clefts generally agrees in number and gender with the clefted noun or pronoun: (sing. masc.) $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\epsilon \ \mu\pi\rho\mu \ \mu\epsilon \ \nu\tau\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\gamma \ \nu\alpha\varsigma$ 'because ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \ \chi\epsilon$) (it was) ($\mu\pi\epsilon$) *the king* ($\mu\pi\rho\mu$) [who made it (the bed-chamber) ($\nu\tau\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\gamma$ -Q) for her ($\nu\alpha\varsigma$ -C)]' (Eud. 50:8-9), $\lambda\gamma\omega \ \nu\tau\omicron\gamma \ \omicron\alpha \ \mu\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota \ \mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\psi \ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\omega\beta \ \nu\iota\mu$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) (it was) ($\mu\pi\epsilon$) *him* ($\nu\tau\omicron\gamma$), too ($\omicron\alpha$), [who was taking ($\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota$) care ($\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\psi$) of ($\acute{\alpha}\nu$) everything ($\acute{\alpha}\omega\beta \ \nu\iota\mu$)' (Zen. 202:11-12), (sing. fem.) $\tau\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda \ \epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\iota\alpha \ \tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \ \epsilon\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\gamma\alpha \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ '(it is) ($\tau\epsilon$) *your maid-servant* ($\tau\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda$) *Eudoxia* ($\epsilon\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\iota\alpha$) [who ($\epsilon\tau$) wishes ($\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$) [to enter ($\epsilon\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\gamma\alpha$) to greet you ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$)]]' (Eud. 56:1-2), (plural) $\chi\epsilon \ [\nu]\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma \ \mu\epsilon \ \nu\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\eta\eta\eta\omicron\gamma \ \nu\sigma\omega\gamma \ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ '(it was) ($\mu\epsilon$) *them* (the elders) ($\nu\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$) [who sent ($\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\eta\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$) for him (Apa Matthew) ($\nu\sigma\omega\gamma$ -Q) [to come ($\psi\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$)]]' (KHML II 21:8-9).

As a focus-marking device, the agreement clitic may assume a default value 3rd person singular masculine $\mu\epsilon$, e.g. $\lambda\omicron\alpha\alpha\alpha \ \mu\epsilon\tau\psi\omicron\omicron\mu \ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ '(it is) ($\mu\pi\epsilon$) *us* ($\lambda\omicron\alpha\alpha\alpha$) alone ($\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\alpha$ -N) [who ($\epsilon\tau$) reside ($\psi\omicron\omicron\mu$) here ($\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$)]' (Onnophr. 221:2-3).

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. $\nu\tau\omicron\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \ \mu\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \ \acute{\alpha}\alpha \ \tau\alpha\phi\gamma\chi\eta$ '(it is) *you* ($\nu\tau\omicron\kappa$) [who ($\epsilon\tau$) will account (lit. give ($\nu\alpha\lambda$ -T) account ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$)) to God ($\mu\eta\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) for ($\acute{\alpha}\alpha$) my soul ($\tau\alpha\phi\gamma\chi\eta$)]' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [\pm AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ [+AGR]	[RC NT- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	Π-, Τ-, Ν- [+AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Π- [-AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Ø	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) Η ΝΙΜ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΚ ΨΑΡΟQ ΕΤΕΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕQΦΥΧΗ (...) 'or (η) *which* (ΝΙΜ) *monk* (Η-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (was it) [*who*_i came (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΦΩΚ) to him (ΨΑΡΟ-Q) for (ΕΤΕΕ) the salvation (Π-ΟΥΧΑΙ) of *his*_i soul (Ν-ΤΕQ-ΦΥΧΗ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΜΟ ΤΑΨΕΕΡΕ '*what*_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* (*it*_i) happened (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) to you (ΗΜΟ)], my daughter (ΤΑ-ΨΕΕΡΕ)?' (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΗΜΟQ ΝΤΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΡΕCΑΛC '*what*_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* you order (ΕΤ-Κ-ΟΥΕΖ CΑΖΝΕ) your maid servant (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) [to do (*it*_i) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-C-ΑΛ-C)]]' (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΤΟΚ '*who*_i (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that* you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΨΑΧΕ) to (*him*_i) (ΝΗΜΑ-Q)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟQ '(it is), again (ΟΝ), *the earth*_i (Π-ΚΑΖ) [*that* they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to (*it*_i) (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟ[C] ΠΕΤCΖΑΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΝ ΤΕQΜΝΤ[Ε]ΡΟ ΤΗΡC (...) '(it is) *I*_i (ΑΝΟΚ), Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC), King (Π-ΡΡΟ) of the Romans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC) [*who*_i (ΕΤ _) divulges (CΖΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ) (a decree) in (ΖΝ) *his*_i entire (ΤΗΡ-C) kingdom (ΤΕQ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) (...)]' (Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ΠΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC ΝΡΕQΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕQCΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ (read ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ) ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΝΕΥCΕΒΗC ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΨΗΤ '(it is) the victorious (Ν-ΡΕQ-ΧΡΟ) Augustus (Π-ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC) *Zênôn*_i (ΖΗΝΩΝ) [*who*_i is writing (Ε-Q-CΖΑΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) our holy (ΕΤ _ ΟΥΑΛΒ) and pious (Ν-ΕΥCΕΒΗC) fathers (Ν-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that (ΕΤ _) reside (ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) Shiêt (ΨΗΤ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟQ ΜΑΥΑΛQ ΠΕ ΕQΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him*_i (ΝΤΟQ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Q) [*who*_i was living as a hermit (Ε-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΜ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥQ ΠΕ ΝΤΑQΑΛQ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) *a* beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) *thing*_i (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* he did (*it*_i) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΑΛ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26).

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ΕΞΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ

οὐ πετεφῆλααῳ νοὶ παῖβολος *'besides (ἐξ) these (things) (ναὶ), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that the devil (π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) will (manage) to do (ἴ) (ἐτε-φ-να-α-α-φ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), μῆνσα πῶπ δε τῷτε μῆνοῦν τετναῷπε νακ ἡμα ἡμοον[ε] *'after (μῆνσα) the (day of) judgement (π-ῶπ), (it is) the pit_i (τ-ῷτε) of the Abyss (μ-π-νοῦν) [which_i (ετ)] will become (να-ῷπε) your (να-κ) dwelling (μ-μοονε) place (μ-μα)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).**

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. πένταϥ ραν εἰλαῳ νῖμ λῳ ετσοῦν νῶβ νῖμ ντοϥ ετσοῦν νενραν *'[he who has given (πε-ντ-α-φ-τ) a name (ραν) to everybody (εἰλαῳ νῖμ) and (λῳ) knows (ετ-σοῦν) everything (ν-ῶβ νῖμ)]_i, (it is) him_i (ντοϥ) [who_i (ετ)] knows (σοῦν) our name (νεν-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), νένταῳμῳ μν πεῶ ντοῶ νετναῶν2 ον μν πεῶ *'(as for) [those who died (νε-ντ-α-γ-μῳ) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶ)]_i, (it is) them_i (ντοῶ) [who_i (ετ)] will also (ον) live (να-ῶν2) with (μν) Christ (πε-ῶ)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).**

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. οὐ νῳτν πετετνοῶεφ τρεναῳ [ν]ναῶρν ναὶ *'(as for) you_i (νῳτν), what_i (οὐ) (is it) [that you_i want (ετε-τν-οῶεφ) us [to do (ἴ) (τρε-ν-α-α-φ) about (νναῶρν) these (things) (ναὶ)]]' (Camb. 11:9-10), νῖμ [τ]ενοῦ πετῳρμ μῆμῖνῳε *'who_i (νῖμ) (is it) now (τενοῦ) [that who_i (ετ)] is misleading (ῳρμ) the crowd (μ-π-μῖνῳε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).**

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in οὐπῖνᾱ εφοῶαβ ντε πνοῦτε πετῳαε νῶτϥ *'(it is) a pure (ε-φ-οῶαβ) spirit (οὐ-πῖνᾱ) of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε) [which (ετ)] speaks (ῳαε) through him (νῶτ-ϥ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), οὐῶβ ντε πνοῦτε πετῳαε νῖμῖπν ετβῖντϥ *'(it is) a divine (lit. of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε)) matter (οὐ-ῶβ) [that I am speaking (ε-τ-ῳαε) to you (νῖμῖπν) about (ετβῖντ-ϥ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).**

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like εἰματε *'only'*, εἰε2 *'ever'* or οὐῳτ *'single'*, e.g. παῖν εῳαε ῶενκοῦ εἰματε νετῖναῳοῦ ῶν νεϥκατῳρεῳμα (for νεϥκατορεῳμα) *'yet (παῖν) even though (εῳαε) (it is) only (εἰματε) a few (things) (ῶεν-κοῦ) [that we are going to say (ε(τ)-τν-να-ῳο-γ) of (ῶν) his achievements (νεϥ-κατῳρεῳμα)]' (Zen. 201:13), νῖμ νῳμε εἰε2 πε νταῑεῖ ερατϥ μπενεῖωτ εϥμοκ2 νῶτ εμεϥῳκ εϥραῳε *'which (νῖμ) man (ν-ῳμε) ever (εἰε2) (is it) [that had gone (ντ-α-φ-εῖ) to (ερατ-ϥ) our father (Matthew) (μ-πεν-εῖωτ) [disheartened (ε-φ-μοκ2 ν-ῶτ)] and did not go away (ε-με-φ-ῳκ) [rejoicing (ε-φ-ραῳε)]]' (KHML II 11:8-9), οὐῳῖρε νοῳτ πετῳοπ ναὶ *'(it is) (just) a single (ν-οῳτ) son (οὐ-ῳῖρε) [that (ετ)] I have (lit. exists (ῳοπ) with me (να-ῖ)]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).***

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. πεῖλαχιστος νῖρρο ῶῖνῳν πε ντα πνοῦτε † ναῑ ἡπταῖο ντηντῖρρο παρᾱ πεϥεῖπῳ εϥῶαι ερατοῦ ννεσνῖνῃ ννεῦσεβῖς (for νεῦσεβῖς) νῳῳμεῖτοῦ (...) *'(it is) this most humble (πεῖ-ελαχιστος) king (ν-ρρο) Zēnōn (ῶῖνῳν), [whom (να-ϥ) God (π-νόῦτε) has given (ντ-α ... †) the honour (μ-π-ταῖο) of kingship (ν-τ-ῖντ-ρρο) beyond (παρᾱ) his worthiness (πεϥ-εῖπῳ)], [who is writing (ε-φ-ῶαι) to (ε-ρατ-οῦ) the pious (νν-εῦσεβῖς) and beloved (ν-ῳῳ-μεῖτ-οῦ) brothers (ν-νε-σνῖνῃ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).*

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΩ (for ΠΕΤΟ) ΗΜΕΤΡΙΗ ΝΤΑΧΙΝΗΔΙΣ (for ΝΤΑΧΥΝΕΙΔΗΔΙΣ) 'for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) [who (ΕΤ __) is (Ω) witness (Η-ΜΕΤΡΙΗ) to my conscience (Ν-ΤΑ-ΧΙΝΗΔΙΣ)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [ΑΡΗ]Υ ΠΖΑΓ[ΙΟΥ Α]Π[Λ ΜΗΝΑ] ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΝΤ Ε[ΡΟΙ] ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΡΙΤ ΝΤΑΙ[ΕΡΗ]Τ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΑΦ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) (it is) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΥ) Apa Mēna (ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) [who has become wrathful (ΝΤ-Α-ΦΩΝΤ) with me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the promise (Π-ΕΡΗΤ) [that I made (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΡΗΤ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΝΟΦ ΝΑΝ ΗΡΡΟ ΕΠΗΑ ΗΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΤΩΠΕ ΔΙΟΚ[Λ]ΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΗΠΧΙΝΩΝΟΣ '(it is) Augustus (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) Constantine, the righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) [that the Lord (Π-ΧΘΕΙΣ) our God (ΠΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has raised (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΟΥΝΟΦ-Φ) for us (ΝΑ-Ν) as a king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) instead (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the shameless (Ν-ΑΤ-ΩΠΕ) criminal (Η-Π-ΑΝΟΜΟΣ) Diocletian (ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ), the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) of injustice (Η-Π-ΧΙ Ν-ΩΝΟΣ)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΗΜΟΦ ΕΠΗΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΟ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΝΤΟΦ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΚΤΟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΗΑ ΕΤΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΚΩΝΟ ΗΜΑΥ '(it is) not (Η- ... ΑΝ) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) [who (ΕΤ __) turns (ΚΤΟ) it (the sword) (ΗΜΟ-Φ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) he wants (ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΟ)]]]; rather (ΝΤΟΦ) (it is) it (the sword) (ΝΤΟΦ) [which (ΕΤ __) turns (ΚΤΟ) the man (Η-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) [where it wants (ΕΤ-Φ-ΟΥΩΦ) [to wound (Ε-ΚΩΝΟ)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle ΜΑΥΑΑ- 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. ΝΤΩΤΗ ΜΑΥΑΑΤΤΗΥΤΗ ΠΕΤΠΑΛΗΗ ΗΜΩΤΗ '(it is) you (ΝΤΩΤΗ) yourselves (ΜΑΥΑΑΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) [who (ΕΤ __) mislead (ΠΑΛΛΗ) yourselves (ΗΜΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. ΠΚΩΖΤ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΝΘΥΛΗ '(it is) the fire (Π-ΚΩΖΤ) [which (ΕΤ __) will burn (ΝΑ-ΡΩΚΖ) the matter (Ν-ΘΥΛΗ < Ν-Τ-ΖΥΛΗ)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΤ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Τ) out (ΕΒΟΛ), (then) (it is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-Τ) account (ΛΟΓΟΣ)) to God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) for (ΖΑ) my soul (ΤΑ-ΦΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (ΜΠΡ-ΤΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) a war (ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ)! (It is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) is going to bring them (the apostles) (ΝΑ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΗΘΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΜΗΩΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΘΛΙΦΙΣ ΝΙΜ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) be strong (ΤΑΧΡΟ) and brave (ΝΤΕ-ΘΗ-ΘΟΜ), for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ΕΤ __) saves (ΝΟΥΖΗ) you (ΜΗΩ-ΤΗ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) every (ΝΙΜ) trial (ΘΛΙΦΙΣ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

- Virtual and non-virtual relatives §11.1.1
Virtual relative clauses may appear in non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.
- Complementiser alternations §11.1.2
Various subordinating complementisers introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* *επε-* and *pron.st.* *ε-*, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.
- Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns §11.1.3
instantiate two different types of placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΝΕ [ε]ΤΨΩΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΝΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΝΕ) race, (ΓΕΝΟΣ) [that (ΕΤ __) lives (ΨΩΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'the mighty deeds, (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΕΝ) miracles, (ΝΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) [that (*they*_i) happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΗ-ΤΟΟΤ-Ω) our father (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. $\text{ΖΗΚΕΨΗΝ ΕΥΟΠΤΗ ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ}$ 'other trees (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΨΗΝ) [RC1 while (they_i) were loaded (Ε-Υ-ΟΠΤ) with fruit (Ν-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [RC2 while (they_i) were plenty (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. $\text{ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ}$ 'the holy brothers; (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) (lit. [RC1 who (ΕΤ _i) are holy (ΟΥΛΑΒ)] [RC2 who (ΕΤ _i) live (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition

The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ 'much (lit. which is abundant (Ε-ΝΑΨΩ-ΟΥ)) water (ΟΥ-ΜΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. Ν[ΕC]ΟΙΧ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'his holy (lit. which are holy (ΕΤ ΟΥΛΑΒ)) hands (ΝΕC-ΟΙΧ)' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. ΟΥΜΟΥ ΕCΑΨΕ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter (Ε-C-ΑΨΕ)) death (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. $\text{ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΗ ΑΗΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΕΗΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ}$ 'the deserted (lit. which are (Ε-Υ-Ο) (in a) deserted (Ν-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) (state)) streets in (ΖΗ) Hell (ΑΗΝΤΕ) without (Ε-ΗΝ) anyone (ΛΑΛΥ) on them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives

are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. $\text{ΛΙΟΥΩΗ ΜΠΕΝΤΑCΕΕΠΕ ΝΠΟΕΙΚ}$ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [what was left (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-C-ΣΕΕΠΕ) of the bread (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses

have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΤΙΑΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΜΩΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟΥ '(as for) [him who will protest (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟΥ))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).

Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause.

The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. **ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ** '(it is) (just) a single (N-ΟΥΩΤ) son (ΟΥΨΗΡΕ) [that I have (lit. that (ΕΤ __) is (ΨΟΟΠ) with me (ΝΑ-Ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. The complementiser **ε-** occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
 2. Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
 3. The complementiser **ετ-** is restricted to subject relatives.
 4. Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
 5. Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

6. Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
7. The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
8. The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

- A. Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.
 - (1) **ΠΗΛ ΟΝ (ΕΤΕΡΕ/ΕΤΕ) ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟQ** 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where you are going (__ Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)
 - (2) **ΟΥΩΨΤ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ (ΕΤ/ΕΡΕ) ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΑΡΔΥΜΙC** 'worship (ΟΥΩΨΤ) our revered (__ ΤΑΕΙΗΥ) gods (N-ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and (ΜΗ) Artemis (Τ-ΑΡΔΥΜΙC)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
 - (3) **ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC (ΕΤΕ/Ε) QΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΟΥ†ΜΕ** 'a servant (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC) [who lived (__ Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) a village (ΟΥ-†ΜΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 99, 22:9-10)
 - (4) **ΠΟΛΙC ΝΙΜ (ΕΝΤ/ΕΤΕ) ΨΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ** 'every (ΝΙΜ) city (ΠΟΛΙC) [that they enter (__ ΨΑ-Υ-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
 - (5) **ΑQΧΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ (Ε/ΝΤ) ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕQΗ** 'he asked her (Α-Q-ΧΝΟΥ-C) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the way (ΘΕ) [in which she had gone (__ Α-C-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) his house (ΠΕQ-Η)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHŌMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

αὐτὸν ἀσπασσάμενος ἡπειρωτὸν νοῦτον ντεροῦνκοτκ^a αὐτὸν ντεροῦχι
 ἡπενείωτ παζωμ ἐπκαίωσιν (read ἐπκαίωσιν)^b κατὰ θεὸν
 ντανωρπχοο^c. ἀφναὺ ἐπζρψειρέ (for ἐπζρψειρε)^d νβαλζήτ^e
 νταφρ πεφτοοὺ νεβὸτ ἐφασκει^f ἐφζν οὔνοβ νραψε μνν
 (for μν) οὔτελνλ. ντερεφναὺ δε νόι παί ἐπνείωτ (for
 ἐπνείωτ) παζωμ ἐφμοοψε μν παττελὸς ἐφτσαβο μμοφ
 ἐπσα μπκαίωσιν (read μπκαίωσιν) ντοφ δε ἀφπὼτ ἐβὼλ ζήτ^g
 ἀφσὼκ μμοφ ἐφχω μμοσ χε ἀμοὺ νφναὺ ἐταοῦσια^h ντα
 πχοεῖς ταὰς ναι ἐτβε νεκσβοοψε ἐτνανοῦοῦ ντακτσαβοί
 ἐροί ἐτραμοοψε νζήτοῦ ω παείωτ ἐτοῦλαβ αὐτὸν νεφτσαβο
 μμοφ ἐνεφδομ ἐζμπῆλⁱτων (read ἐζενπῆλⁱτων) νε αὐτὸν
 νεῦγαρπος (for νεῦκαρπος)^j ἐγψοοπ ζν οὔμνταττακο αὐτὸν
 ἀφτσαβὸν (for ἀφτσαβοφ) ἐνεφμανωσπε τηροῦ αὐτὸν πκὼτ
 ἐτοῦκντ ἐζήτ^k μν πεῦσα (...) μννσὼς ντεροῦρ πβὼλ
 μππαρ^lτσω^k (μππαρ^lδεῖσος) ντε τρυφ^l νούκοῦι ἀφναὺ
 ἐπζλλο νασκίτ^mς ἐφζν οὔνα ἐφο νφαρβα αὐτὸν ἐφταχρηῦ
 ἐζοῦν ἐψν ἐφὸτπ νγαρπος (for νκαρπος) νθε νοῦοῦζορ
 ἐβον² (for ἐφον²) ἐβὼλ ζν πφγαρπος (for πεφκαρπος)
 ἐμνταφ ἐζοῦσιαⁿ μμαὺ ἐερ πβὼλ μπψνν ἐτμμαῦ. ντοφ δε
 ντερφναὺ ἐροοὺ ἀφκα χωφ ἐπεσντ ἐφψειπε (for ἐφψιπε)
 ψαντοῦπαρ^oγε μμοφ αὐτὸν ντεροῦναὺ ἐροφ ἀφσὼτ ἐζοῦν
 ἐζραφ ζνν (for ζν) οὔνοβ νμκαζ νζήτ αὐτὸν πεχε πσον
 νβαλζήτ ἡπενείωτ παζωμ χε ἀκναὺ ἐπζλλο νασκίτ^mς
 ντακζίσε ἐκ^f σὼλ νὰφ μπεφσὼτμ νσὼκ ἐτρεφμοοψε ζνν
 (for ζν) οὔεβεῖο. τένοῦ δε ἀναὺ ἐπαί ντεῖμννε μν
 τεπⁱμία^p νταφταὰς νὰφ νόι πχοεῖς ἐπνα ντεφμντατσὼτμ
 ἐθοοῦ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ντερεφνκοτκ b. αἰων 'world' c. ντ-α-ν-ωρπ-χοο-ς d.
 ζρψειρε 'young man' e. βαλζήτ 'innocent' f. ακεῖ 'to practise' g. πὼτ ἐβὼλ
 ζήτ= 'to run towards s.o.' h. οῦσια 'state, condition' i. γαρπος 'fruit' j. ρ
 π-βὼλ 'to walk out, leave' k. παρ^lτσω^k 'Paradise' l. τρυφ^l 'delight, joy'
 m. ασκίτ^mς 'hermit, monk' n. ἐζοῦσια 'power, strength' o. παρ^oγε 'to pass
 by' p. ἐπⁱμία 'penalty, punishment'.

- C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

- A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholding gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.

- (1) ἀβδεμεροῦχος πετζίχιν νκολασις 'Abdemeruchos (ἀβδεμεροῦχος) [who supervises (π-ετ-ζίχιν) the punishments (ν-κολασις) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).
- (2) νοῦμεριανὸς παί νταφρ ρρο ζα τεῦζν 'Numerianus, [who (παί) had been (ντ-α-φ-ρ) king (ρρο) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)
- (3) αἰρ θεὸς ννέτζιννε ἐτβε ὅτε νταιναὺ ἐροσ 'I had become (α-ι-ρ) like (θε < τ-ζε) [those who sleep (ν-ν-ετ-ζιννε)] because of (ἐτβε) the overwhelming (vision) (ὅτε < τ-ζοτε)) [that I had seen (ντ-α-ι-ναὺ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)
- (4) πβίος ντμακαρία ζαλάρια τψερε μπμαιοῦτε νρρο ζήνων πνταφζιστωρίζε μμοφ νόι ππετοῦλαβ ἀπα πανεὼ 'the life (π-βίος) of the blessed (ν-τ-μακαρία) Hilaria, the daughter (τ-ψερε) of the god-loving (ν-π-μαί-νοῦτε) king (ν-ρρο) Zênôn, [which the holy (π-π-ετ-οῦλαβ) Apa Pambô has written down (πε-ντ-α-φ-ζιστωρίζε)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)
- (5) ἀπα ἰωζάννης πνταγεζωρίζε μμοφ ζίτν μαρκιανὸς 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (ντ-α-γ-εζωρίζε) him (μμο-φ) by (ζίτν) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)
- (6) τοῖκονομία ται ντα πᾶς τὼς ἐροκ 'this destiny (τ-οικονομία), [which (ται) the Lord (π-ᾶς) has destined (ντ-α ... τὼς-ς) for you (ἐρο-κ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΨΩΟΥ [ΕΞΕΛΑ ΖΗΤΟΥΤΗ [ΕΤΕ] [ΝΑΙ] ΝΕ
 ΚΑΤΟΡ[ΘΩ][ΜΑ] ΝΤΠΟΥΤΙΑ ΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ
 'concerning (ΕΤΕ) [what you are seeking (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΤΗ-ΨΙΝΕ) for
 (ΝΨΩ-ΟΥ) from us (ΖΗ-ΤΟΥΤ-Ν)], [to wit (ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ) the
 achievements (Ν-ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑ) of the monastic practise
 (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΥΤΙΑ) of the blessed (Ν-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) Apa Zênobios]'
 (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

- (1) ΕΚΕΘΥΩΜ ΔΕ [ΝΗΝΕΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΝΘΟΥΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ] (AP
Chaine no. 20, 4:16)
- (2) [ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ [ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΜΠΣΩΤΗ]] (Test. Is. 228:7-8)
(πιστεύε 'to believe')
- (3) ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΝΤΑΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ 2Ν ΟΥΜΕ ΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΝΑΣΤΕΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ 2Μ [ΠΕΤΕΤΝΑΛΙΤΕΙ (for
ΠΕΤΕΤΗΝΝΑΛΙΤΕΙ) ΜΜΟQ] (Hil. 8:10-12)

11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΓΤΑΜΙΟQ ΝΑC ‘because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) (it was) the king (ΠΡΡΟ) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Q) for her (Eudoxia) (ΝΑ-C)]’ (Eud. 50:8-9)
 □ thematic prominence □ contrastive focus
- (2) ΝΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΕΧC ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΝΑΩΝ2 ΟΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΧC ‘(as for) those who died (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΜΟΥ) with (ΜΝ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), (it is) *they* (ΝΤΟΟΥ) [who (ΕΤ __) will also (ΟΝ) live (ΝΑ-ΩΝ2) with (ΜΝ) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)]’ (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
 □ informative-presupposition cleft □ restrictive focus

- (2) ἐπειδὴ ντοκ πετσοοῦν νητωφ τηρ μπαβιός μν πνοῦτε
 'since (ἐπειδὴ) (it is) you (alone) (ντοκ) and (μν) God
 (π-νοῦτε) [who (ἐτ __) knows (σοοῦν) the entire (τηρ-φ)
 course (μ-π-τωφ) of my life (μ-πα-βιός)' (Hil. 12:22)
☐ presentational focus ☐ restrictive focus

- (4) πκωστ πετναρωκz. νογαν '(it is) the fire (π-κωστ) [which will burn (ετ __ να-ρωκz) the matter (n-ογαν < n-t-2γαν)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
- ☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΑΠΑ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΖΕΡΜΗΣ^α ΑΓΚΩ ΝΑΓ^β ΝΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ
ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΨΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΓΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΓ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΙ
ΜΜΑΥ ΝΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΥΩ †† ΖΗΥ^γ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΩ
ΟΝ ΨΑΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝCΕ† ΖΗΥ ΑΧΙC ΘΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΟΥ
ΠΕΤΕΨΨΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΛΛΑΓ. ΑΦΟΥΨΨΒ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ
ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦCΩΤΗ
ΔΕ ΕΠΑΙ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΑΓΤΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΓΧΙ ΤΕΥ†ΗΝ^δ ΑΓΤΑΛC
ΝΝΕΤΨΑΑΤ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)

NOTES: a. $\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\kappa$ 'Phermês (toponym)' b. $\kappa\omega\ \text{na-}$ 'to keep for oneself'
c. $\dagger\ \text{z\eta\gamma}$ 'to give profit' d. $\dagger\mu\eta$ 'price'

Present tense sentences may indicate a regular activity or characteristic behaviour of the subject referent. The habitual interpretation may be reinforced by frequency and interval adverbials like *mmhne* 'daily' and *mpε200y mn tεywh* 'day and night', e.g. *ετρε ου tenkotk εχh oumannkotk nελεφαντινον* 'why (lit. for (ετρε) what (reason) (ου)) do (woman) you sleep (τε-νκοτκ) on (εχh) an ivory (n-ελεφαντινον) couch (ου-μα-ν-νκοτκ)?' (Eud. 58:3-4), *ανον γαρ εις zhte tnnay εngεpny mmhne* 'for (γαρ), look (εις zhte), we look (tn-nay) after each other (ε-nen-εpny) daily (mmhne)' (Onnophr. 211:3-4), *tnzape2 εpoc mpε200y mn tεywh* 'we watch (tn-zape2) her (εpoc-c) day (m-πε-200y) and (mn) night (τε-γwh)' (Hil.8:6-7).

e) Generic present tense sentences

The present tense may have a generic use to describe situations that hold true at all times, e.g. *πcωthp γαρ παpαγγειε* (for παpαγγειε) *nan zm πεyαγγελιον* 'for (γαρ) the Saviour (π-cωthp) summons (παpαγγειε) us (na-n) through (zm) the Gospel (π-εyαγγελιον)' (V. Pach. 89:14-15), *ερε πnouτε † mpora poua kata pzice ετεpναφοπi* 'God (π-nouτε) gives (ερε ... †) to every single person (m-π-oua π-oua) according to (kata) the grief (π-zice) which he will receive (ετε-q-na-φοπ-q)' (Onnophr. 212:7-8).

7.3.3 Future tenses

With respect to future time reference, Coptic employs two different tense forms: the First Future *q-na-cωtm* 'he is going to hear' and the Third Future *ε-q-ε-cωtm* 'he will come'. The First and the Second Future are formed by combining the present tense form of the motional verb *na* 'to go' with a lexical verb. The Third Future, on the other hand, is an underlying locative construction, whose future time reference stems from the goal-directed meaning of the prepositional predicate *ε-cωtm* '(be) towards hearing' (see above, sections 7.1.2.3 and 7.1.2.4 for the syntax of the First and the Third Future, respectively).

The complete paradigm of future tenses is presented in table 7.3 below. In literary Sahidic, the second person singular allomorphs *τε-* and *τερ-* are morphologically fully productive, e.g. *τε-na-ze* 'you (woman) will find' (Eud. 54:7) vs. *τερ-na-βok* 'you (woman) will go' (Mena, Mir.

296:11). Occasionally, the final *n* of the first and second plural pron-
TEN- and TETN- is deleted in the context of the future auxiliary *na*
to avoid a cluster of two nasals: TETN- /te.tən/ + *na* /na/ → *te*
/tet.na/, e.g. *TET-na-moy* 'you will die' (Eud. 58:28).

	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE
1 st sing.	†-NA-CΩTM	ε-I-NA-CΩTM	ε-I-ε-CΩTM
2 nd sing. masc.	K-NA-CΩTM	ε-K-NA-CΩTM	ε-K-ε-CΩTM
2 nd sing. fem.	TG(P)-NA-CΩTM	ε-P-ε-CΩTM	ε-P-ε-CΩTM
3 rd sing. masc.	q-NA-CΩTM	ε-q-NA-CΩTM	ε-q-ε-CΩTM
3 rd sing. fem.	C-NA-CΩTM	ε-C-NA-CΩTM	ε-C-ε-CΩTM
1 st plural	TEN-NA-CΩTM	ε-N-NA-CΩTM	ε-N-ε-CΩTM
2 nd plural	TETN-NA-CΩTM	ε-TETN-NA-CΩTM	ε-TETN-ε-CΩTM
3 rd plural	CE-NA-CΩTM	ε-Y-NA-CΩTM	ε-Y-ε-CΩTM
Before noun	πpome NA-CΩTM	εpe πpome NA-CΩTM	εpe πpome CΩTM

TABLE 7.3 Future tenses

7.3.3.1 Syntactic relations between future and present tenses

A structural relation between the First Future *q-na-cωtm* 'he is going to hear' and the First Present *q-cωm* 'he hears, is hearing' is suggested by the obligatory presence of the verbal copulas *oun* '(there) is' and '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. *c oumntεβεiηh nata200y* 'a misery (ou-mnt-εβεiηh) will come u, them (oun ... na-ta2o-oy)' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1), *mmn metan naφωπε nak ω Διοκλη zm πειλιων ουδε zm πεtnhy* '(there) be (mmn .. na-φωπε) no repentance (μετανοια) for you (na-k), oh Diokletian (Διοκλη), (neither) in (zm) this era (πει-λιων) nor (ουδε), (zm) the one to come (π-εt-nhy)' (Eud. 38:22-23), *ayw mn λi nan†ghmenoc naεψ omom εpoc* 'and (ayw) no (λλay) advers. (n-an†ghmenoc) will be able to gain power (mn ... na-εψ-om-oc) against him (the hermit) (εpoc-q)' (Onnophr. 221:20-21).

The First Present and the First Future differ morphologically from another with respect to their compatibility with formal classes of verb. As pointed out in section 7.3.2.2 above, Stative verb forms excluded from contexts other than the First and Second Present and

Pretent, e.g. $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\chi$ $\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$ 'I am cured ($\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\chi$) from sickness ($\epsilon\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12). Moreover, the Stern-Jernstedt Rule does not apply to Future Tenses, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\lambda\chi\iota\tau\kappa$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota$ (...) $\eta\lambda\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$ 'I am going to take you ($\epsilon\iota\lambda\chi\iota\tau\kappa$) to the endless ($\eta\lambda\tau\omicron\gamma\omega$) light ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota$)' (Test. Is. 229:23-24).

In the Third Future $\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\omega\tau\eta$ 'he will come', the directional preposition $\epsilon\text{-}$ is deleted in the context of a nominal subject (see above, section 7.1.2.4). The resulting construction $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\omega\tau\eta$ 'the man will hear' takes exactly the same form as the Second Present. Despite this isomorphy, it is possible to distinguish both tenses on syntactic grounds, the Second Present but not the Third Future is compatible with Stative verb forms, e.g. $\gamma\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\text{-}\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omicron$ $\gamma\iota\omega\omega\eta$ 'as if ($\gamma\omega\varsigma$) a variegated tunic ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\iota$) were placed ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\tau\omicron$) on him ($\gamma\iota\omega\omega\text{-}\eta$)' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25). Since the Third Future is not subject to the aspectual restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt rule, the presence of a construct state form is therefore a reliable diagnostic for the Third Future interpretation of the sentence in question, e.g. $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha$ ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$) 'I fasted a whole week) in order that ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) God ($\pi\text{-}\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) would teach me ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$... $\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\iota$) about the well-doing ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha$)' (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:29-30).

7.3.3.2 The correlation between future tense and modality

Future tense and mood represent two different categories of verbal semantics in the sense that future tenses describe forthcoming situations that occur after the present moment and moods describe situations that the speaker believes to be true, likely, or desirable. Yet, futurity is never a purely temporal concept, but always involves an element of speculation and prediction: in anticipating events that are not yet actualised, future tense always makes intrinsic reference to possible worlds. It is therefore hardly surprising to find future tenses in modal contexts. Some of these modal uses relate to deontic modality, which deals with obligation and desire, and others to epistemic modality, which deals with degrees of possibility. Although all three Coptic future tenses have partially overlapping temporal and modal uses, the First and Second Future tenses are better candidates as markers for future time reference than the Third Future. Thus, while the First and the Second Future have a primarily tense-deictic function, indicating progression from the present to the

future, the Third Future involves a modal judgement on part of the speaker concerning the necessity or desirability of some future action.

7.3.3.3 Temporal and modal uses of the First and Second Future

The First and Second Future cover a broad spectrum of tense distinctions reaching from near to remote future time reference. Although various degrees of temporal distance are expressed, they always assert relevance of a forthcoming situation for the present. Therefore, both future tenses may be thought of a present-in-the future.

a) Near Future

As grammaticalised expressions of near future reference, the First and Second Future locate a forthcoming situation in the vicinity of the present moment. Adverbs of temporal location of the kind $\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'now' or $\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma$ 'in this hour' are frequently used to stress the connection with the present moment, e.g. $\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\lambda\chi\iota\tau\kappa$ $\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$ (for $\omicron\upsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$) $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'now ($\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\gamma$) rejoice ($\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon$), you, ($\eta\tau\omicron\kappa$) since ($\chi\epsilon$) I will take you ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma\text{-}\tau\kappa$) from ($\gamma\eta$) grief ($\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\gamma$) to joy ($\epsilon\text{-}\gamma\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\eta\eta\omicron\gamma$)' (Test. Is. 229:20-21). The near future reading may also be contextually implied, for instance, by a preceding imperative, e.g. $\lambda\chi\iota$ $\omicron\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota$ (...) $\epsilon\iota\lambda\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\lambda\kappa$ 'say ($\lambda\chi\iota$) a word ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to me ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota$) (...)! What ($\omicron\gamma$) shall I say ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma\text{-}\chi\epsilon$) to you ($\eta\lambda\kappa$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24-25). Near Future reference may include the day following the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\pi\psi\alpha\eta$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota$ $\epsilon\text{[i]}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\lambda\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\iota$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$ $\eta\lambda$ $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon$ 'when daylight ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\iota$) appears ($\epsilon\pi\psi\alpha\eta$... $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$), come (you woman) ($\lambda\eta\eta$) to my shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\text{-}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\iota$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) healing ($\pi\text{-}\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$) will be granted (lit. happen ($\eta\lambda\text{-}\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$)) to you ($\eta\epsilon$)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), $\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$ $\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$ (...) $\eta\eta\omicron\eta$ $\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\eta\lambda\gamma$ 'tomorrow ($\rho\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon$), with ($\gamma\eta$) God's will ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$), we will go ($\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$)(...). No ($\eta\eta\omicron\eta$), we will go ($\tau\epsilon\eta\text{-}\eta\lambda\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) right now (lit. in this hour ($\eta\text{-}\pi\epsilon\iota\text{-}\eta\lambda\gamma$))!' (Mena, Mir. 77a:16-24).

b) Distant Future

The First Future may have distant future interpretation and refer to larger time intervals that include the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\mu\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\iota\beta\epsilon$ 'look ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\eta\tau\epsilon$), we

and (την) our children (την-παιδες) are going to die (την-να-ποθ) from (2α) thirst (π-ιβε) in (2η) this desert (τ-ερημια) (Mena, Mir. 33a:33-33b:1), ΤΕΚΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΝΕΒΟΤ 'your martyrdom (ΤΕΚ-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ) will last (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) seven (Ν-ΣΑΨΩ) months (Ν-ΕΒΟΤ)' (KHML I 76:2-3).

c) Remote Future

The First and Second Future may locate the anticipated event a long time after the present moment. Even when indicating a remote future, both future tenses maintain a connection with the present moment, asserting the current relevance of the anticipated situation, e.g. ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΒΕΙ (for ΝΑΦΙ) ΝΝΟΥΝΟΘ (for ΝΟΥΝΟΘ) ΝΘΥΣΙΑ 2η ΠΕΚΗΙ 2η ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΩΑ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) will require (ΝΑ-ΒΕΙ) a big (ΝΗ-ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) sacrifice (Ν-ΘΥΣΙΑ) from (2η) your house (ΠΕΚ-ΗΙ) on (2η) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the festival (Μ-Π-ΨΑ)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), ΜΗΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΚΕΖΗΕΣΝΟΟΥΣΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ 'after (ΜΗΝΣΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) another forty-two (ΚΕ-ΖΗΕ-ΣΝΟΟΥΣΕ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) will come (ΟΥΝ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΕΙΝΕ)' (Test. Is. 231:7-8), ΕΡΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2η ΠΕΡΩΜΑ ΜΗ ΠΕΡΩΝΟ 'future (ΕΤ-ΗΗΥ) generations (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) will be saved (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) through (ΕΒΟΛ 2η) his (Jesus') body (ΠΕΡ-ΩΜΑ) and (ΜΗ) his blood (ΠΕΡ-ΩΜΑ)' (Test. Is. 231:16-17), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΝΑΨΩΠΕ 2η ΠΔΑΖΟΖ ΝΝΟΒΖΕ ΨΑ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) you will be (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) in (2η) (the place of) the gnashing (Π-ΔΑΖΟΖ) of teeth (Ν-ΝΟΒΖΕ) until (ΨΑ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the Judgement (Μ-Π-ΖΑΠ)' (Eud. 38:23-24).

d) Commissives

Commissives are speech-acts in which one commits oneself to do things, that is, promises and threats. Since commissives present some future action in terms of the speaker's guarantee, they are always formulated in the first person, e.g. ΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΨΑΧΕ '(from now on), I shall act (Τ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) your word (ΠΕΚ-ΨΑΧΕ)' (V. Pach. 93:29-30), ΑΝΟΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΝΜΗΑΚ ΤΝΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΝΑΥ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) and you (ΝΜΗΑ-Κ) alone (ΜΜΑΤΕ) shall celebrate (ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) the second one (Pascha) (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΝΑΥ)' (Eud. 70:2-3), ΤΝΑΨΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΓΕΝΟΘ ΤΗΡΩ ΝΝΕΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΘ 'I will eliminate (Τ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ

the entire (ΤΗΡ-Ω) race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟΘ) of Christians (Ν-ΝΕ-ΧΡΕΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΘ) (Eud. 36:6-7).

e) Directives

Directives are used to make other people to do things. Directive speech-acts are always related to the future, since only the future can be changed as a result of one's actions, e.g. ΤΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΗΗΣΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥ 2η ΠΕΡΩΗΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ 2η ΠΗΙ ΜΠΕΡΩΒΗΡ '(as for) the instructor (Τ-ΚΛΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (Ν-Τ-ΗΗΣΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Ω-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (2η) his house (ΠΕΡ-ΩΗΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (2η) his colleagues' (Μ-ΠΕΡ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115), ΑΡΗΥ [ΤΕ] ΝΑΨΩΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΘ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) you (woman) will be able to rise (ΤΕ-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΩΤΩΟΥΝ) and go (Ν-ΤΕ-ΒΩΚ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΘ) of Apa Mena' (Mena, Mir. 26b:5-9).

f) Conditionals

Conditional sentences (e.g. *if they come we will sleep upstairs*) provide the typical syntactic frame for the description of an anticipated, imagined or hypothesized situation. In this context, the First and the Second Future assume an epistemic-modal interpretation, indicating that the anticipated situation has a real possibility of being fulfilled at some point in the future, e.g. ΕΡΨΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΘΙΛΗΗ (...) ΣΕΝΑΤΣΑΒΟ ΕΡΩΩ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΦΥΛΗ (...) 'when you (woman) go (ΕΡ-ΨΑΝ-ΒΩΚ) to (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΗ) Jerusalem (...), the people from (Ν-ΕΒΟΛ) my tribe (ΤΑ-ΦΥΛΗ) will inform you (ΣΕ-ΝΑ-ΤΣΑΒΟ) about it (ΕΡΩ-Ω) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΧΕ ΠΟΥΨ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ ΧΙΤΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΘ ΓΝΑΧΙΤΗ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) if (ΕΨΧΕ) it (ΠΕ) (is) the will (Π-ΟΥΨ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) to take us (ΧΙΤ-Η) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) it (ΕΡΩ-Ο) (the city), he will take us inside (Ω-ΝΑ-ΧΙΤ-Η)' (Ac. A&P 196:39-40).

7.3.3.4 Temporal and modal uses of the Third Future

The Third Future seldom refers simply to future time, but rather combines future time reference with some modal judgement of the speaker about the necessity or desirability of some future action. As a deontic modal, the Third Future is particularly common in directive speech-acts, where the speaker puts an obligation on the addressee or others.

a) Remote Future

Only rarely does the Third Future appear to have simple future time reference. When it does, it locates an event in the remote future without any specific connection to the present moment, e.g. *εφεσωπε νாக νογωνη ψαενηε μν ουπροφητα ναττακο* 'everlasting (ψα ενηε) life (ου-ωνη) shall come (ε-φ-ε-σωπε) on you (να-κ) and an indestructible (ν-ατ-τακο) (gift of) prophecy (ου-προφητα)' (Onnophr. 222:6-7), *πανουτε δε εφεχωκ εβολ ντετηνχρια τηρς κατα τεφμντμμαιο (...)* 'My God (πα-νουτε) will fulfil (ε-φ-ε-χωκ εβολ) all (τηρ-ς) your needs (ν-τετην-χρια) in accordance with (κατα) his richness (τεφ-μντ-μμ-αιο)(...)' (Phil 4:19).

b) Directives

In the vast majority of cases, the Third Future is used as a deontic modal to express the speaker's beliefs about obligations that various individuals have, e.g. *αλλα εφωρωρ ννρηιγε μν νεγμα ν[τα]λε μασε [ε]ζραι* 'but (αλλα) they shall destroy (ε-γ-ε-φωρωρ) the temples (ν-ν-ρηιγε) and (μν) their places (νεγ-μα) of bull (μασε) sacrifices (ν-ταλε εζραι)' (Eud. 40:8-9), *εκεουωμ δε ννεντα πνουτε τννοουσογ νாக* 'you should (rather) eat (ε-κ-ε-ουωμ) what God (π-νουτε) has sent (ν-νε-ντ-α ... τννοου-σογ) to you (να-κ)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16). Occasionally, the Third Future has a "weak" deontic reading and indicates a polite request, e.g. *πενταφεινε μπμοου εβολ 2η τπιετρα νχωρηε (...)* *εκενηεσε νογμοου 2η πειχαε* 'oh (you) who brought (π-εντα-φ-εινε) water (μ-π-μοου) out (εβολ) of (2η) the rock (τ-πετρα) of Khôrêb (ν-χωρηε), will you (please) arise (ε-κ-ε-νεεσε) water (ν-ου-μοου) in (2η) this desert (πει-χαε)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

c) Conditionals

In Conditional sentences, the Third Future does not usually express the possibility of some future action, but rather an instruction to act in a certain way under particular circumstances, e.g. *ερψαν ουcon δε φοοδεφ νεφτμνκοτκ (...)* *ερε πεφμννννι βωκ επμα μνοικονομος νφχιτογ ναφ ψαντφλο* 'if a brother (ου-con) hurts himself (ερψαν ... φοοδε-φ) and cannot sleep (νεφ-τμ-νκοτκ) (...), his superintendent (πεφ-μνν-νν) should go (ερε ... βωκ) to the place

(ε-π-μα) of the stewards (ν-ν-οικονομος) and take it (the oil, a garment) (ν-φ-χιτ-ουγ) for him (να-φ) until he gets better (ψαντ-φ-λο)' (praec. Pach. 105), *αγω ον νεcνηγ εψαναμελει εκενηεσε μμοου 2η πνωμος* (read πνωμος) *επνουτε* (read μπνουτε) 'and (αγω) also (ον) (as far as) the brothers (νε-cνηγ) (are concerned): if they become negligent (ε-γ-ψαν-αμελει) you shall arise (ε-κ-ε-νεεσε) them (μμο-ου) in (2η) the law (π-νωμος) of God (μ-π-νουτε)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

d) Purpose clauses

The Third Future is frequently selected for subordinate clauses of purpose. Purpose clauses are semantically modal in expressing an attitude by the subject that explains what goals he or she pursued in carrying out the main clause event, e.g. *αφκατεχε ννεcνηγ 2ατηφ ωμντ νεβοτ ετβε τεφφερε χεκαε εφεσω εφναγ ερος μμνηε* 'he (the king) kept (α-φ-κατεχε) the brothers (ν-νε-cνηγ) with him (2ατη-φ) (for) three (ωμντ) months (ν-εβοτ) because of (ετβε) his daughter (τεφ-φερε) in order that (χεκαε) he could keep (ε-φ-ε-σω) seeing (ε-φ-ναγ) her (ερο-ς) daily (μμνηε)' (Hil. 12:8-10), *ντοου δε ντερουcωτη αυταχρο ετβε πωχε χε εγε2αρε2 εροου 2αβολ 2α πιχι2ραφ ννβαλ* 'when they (the brothers) (ντοου) heard (it) (ντερ-ου-cωτη), they felt encouraged (α-γ-ταχρο) because of (ετβε) the word (π-ωχε) that (χε) they would guard (ε-γ-ε-2αρε2) themselves (ερο-ου) against (2αβολ 2α) the curiosity (πι-χι-2ρα-φ) of the eyes (ν-ν-βαλ)' (AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:8-10).

7.3.4 Perfect tenses

Coptic has two different strategies for the grammatical expression of past tense reference. One strategy is the use of the First Perfect *α-φ-cωτη* and the corresponding Second Perfect *ντ-α-φ-cωτη* 'he has heard, heard'. The other strategy is represented by the combination of absolute tenses with the temporal auxiliary *νε*, which underlies the formation of Preterit tenses. Since both the Perfect and the Preterit signal the past location of a situation, the relation between both tenses is not that they are mutually exclusive and contrastive, but rather that the latter contains an extra element of meaning not present in the former. The Preterit auxiliary *νε* is a purely tense-deictic element, while the Perfect marker *α* is a portmanteau morpheme that indicates both past tense reference and

perfective and anterior (Perfect) aspect. Unlike the First Present, First Future and Preterit Present, the First Perfect is not susceptible to copula support in the context of indefinite subjects, e.g. $\alpha \text{ ΟΥ} \text{CON} \chi \text{NE} \alpha \text{ΠΑ} \text{CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ} (\dots)$ 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked ($\alpha \dots \chi \text{NE}$) Apa Sarapion (\dots)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24). The entirely regular paradigm of the First and Second Perfect is presented in table 7.4.

	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT
1 st sing.	$\alpha\text{-I-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-I-CΩTM}$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\alpha\text{-K-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-K-CΩTM}$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\alpha\text{-PE-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-PE-CΩTM}$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\alpha\text{-Q-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-Q-CΩTM}$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\alpha\text{-C-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-C-CΩTM}$
1 st plural	$\alpha\text{-N-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-N-CΩTM}$
2 nd plural	$\alpha\text{-TETN-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-TETN-CΩTM}$
3 rd plural	$\alpha\text{-Y-CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha\text{-Y-CΩTM}$
Before noun	$\alpha \text{ ΠΡΩME CΩTM}$	$\text{NT-}\alpha \text{ ΠΡΩME CΩTM}$

TABLE 7.4 The First and Second Perfect

The Perfect presents an event from a retrospective point of view as having reached its termination at some time prior to the present moment. The aspectual component of the Perfect makes it incompatible with the more durative Stative and nominal predicates that lack a clearly defined endpoint as part of their internal temporal structure.

a) Simple past

The Perfect is consistently used in series of temporally ordered events, which constitute the temporal skeleton of the main plot, e.g. $\text{ΠΑΙΔΑΚΟΝΟC} \Delta\epsilon \alpha\phi\epsilon\text{ΙΡΕ} \text{ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΩ} \alpha\phi\chi\text{I} \text{ΝΤΟΟΤC} \text{ΜΠΝΟΜΙCΜΑ} \alpha\gamma\omega\omega\text{M} \text{ΜΝ} \text{ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ} \text{ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ} \epsilon\text{ΤΜΜΑΥ}$ 'the deacon (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) fulfilled ($\alpha\text{-Q-ΕΙΡΕ}$) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΩΩ), took ($\alpha\text{-Q-}\chi\text{I}$) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C) (and) they ate ($\alpha\text{-Y-ΟΥΩΩ}$) together (ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ) on that ($\epsilon\text{ΤΜΜΑΥ}$) day (Μ-Π-ΖΟΟΥ)' (Hil. 5:1-4), $\text{ΖΝ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ} \Delta\epsilon \alpha \text{ΠΕΦΛΑC} \text{ΜΕΖ ΡΩQ} \alpha\phi\text{ΡQNT} \alpha\phi\text{ΜΟΥ}$ 'suddenly (ΖΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ), his (Diocletian's) tongue (ΠΕQ-ΛΑC) filled ($\alpha \dots$

ΜΕΖ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Q), he was eaten (lit. *he became* ($\alpha\text{-Q-P}$)) by worms (QNT) (and) died ($\alpha\text{-Q-ΜΟΥ}$)' (Eud. 38:27).

b) Perfective aspect

The Perfect grammaticalises not only past tense reference, but also indicates perfective aspect, which conceptualises an event as a single point in time with no internal divisions, e.g. $\alpha\text{CΩN} \text{ΖΝ ΚΕΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC} \epsilon\text{ΝΡΟΜΠΕ} (\text{ΝΡΟΜΠΕ})$ 'she (Hilaria) lived ($\alpha\text{-C-ΩN}$) another twelve (ΚΕ-ΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC) years ($\epsilon\text{Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ}$)' (Hil. 12:18), $\alpha \text{ΠΝΟΥΤΕ} \text{ΠΑΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC}$ (for ΠΑΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) $\chi\omega\text{ΡΗΓΕΙ} \text{ΝΑΝ} \text{ΝΖΕΝΡΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΝ}$ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) the Creator (Π-ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC) provided ($\chi\omega\text{ΡΗΓΕΙ}$) us (ΝΑ-Ν) with light-bringers ($\text{Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΡΕQ-P ΟΥΟΕΙΝ}$)' (Hil. 1:6-7).

c) Anterior aspect

The Perfect may also indicate Perfect or anterior aspect, which signals the enduring relevance of a past situation, e.g. $\alpha\gamma\omega \chi\text{ΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ} \epsilon\text{ΖΟΥΝ} \epsilon\text{ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC} \alpha\text{ΚΤΡΕ} \text{ΝΒΑΛΕ} \text{ΝΑΥ} \epsilon\text{ΒΟΛ}$ 'and ($\alpha\gamma\omega$) since you came ($\chi\text{I(N)-NT-}\alpha\text{-K-ΕΙ}$) into ($\epsilon\text{ΖΟΥΝ}$) this city ($\epsilon\text{-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC}$), you caused ($\alpha\text{-K-ΤΡΕ}$) the blind (Ν-ΒΑΛΕ) to see ($\text{ΝΑΥ} \epsilon\text{ΒΟΛ}$)' (KHML I 5:2-4), $\alpha\phi\text{Ρ} \text{ΝΑΥ} \text{ΝΝΟΥCΥΝΑΞΙC}$ 'it is (lit. has made ($\alpha\text{-Q-P}$)) the hour (ΝΑΥ) of your (woman) services (Ν-ΝΟΥC-ΥΝΑΞΙC)' (Eud. 60:5-6). Anterior aspect implies resultativity: the resultant state of a past event is still observable at the present moment, e.g. $\epsilon\text{ΙC} \text{ΖΗΗΤΕ} \alpha\text{ΚΟΥΧΑΙ}$ 'look ($\epsilon\text{ΙC}$), you have become healthy ($\alpha\text{-K-ΟΥΧΑΙ}$)' (Onnophr. 209:6), $\text{ΠΑΕΙΩΤ} \alpha\text{I} \text{ΖΙCΕ} \text{ΝΤΕΚΗΝΤΟΥΛΑΒ}$ 'My father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I have troubled (lit. I have given ($\alpha\text{-I-}\text{I}$) trouble (ΖΙCΕ) to) your holiness (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΗΝΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)' (Hil. 5:3) (used idiomatically for "excuse me").

7.3.5 Preterit tenses

The primary function of the auxiliary NE is to establish a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations are made. Events can then be interpreted as coinciding with, preceding or following this newly established deictic centre, which furnishes three Preterit tenses, viz. the Preterit Present NE-Q-CΩTM 'he heard, was hearing', the Preterit Past $\text{NE-}\alpha\text{-Q-CΩTM}$ 'he had heard', and the Preterit Future NE-Q-NA-CΩTM 'he was going to hear', cf. table 7.5 below.

	PRETERIT PRESENT	PRETERIT FUTURE	PRETERIT PAST
1 st sing.	NE-I-CΩTH	NE-I-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-I-CΩTH
2 nd sing. masc.	NE-K-CΩTH	NE-K-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-K-CΩTH
2 nd sing. fem.	NE-PE-CΩTH	NE-PE-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-PE-CΩTH
3 rd sing. masc.	NE-Q-CΩTH	NE-Q-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-Q-CΩTH
3 rd sing. fem.	NE-C-CΩTH	NE-C-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-C-CΩTH
1 st plural	NE-N-CΩTH	NE-N-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-N-CΩTH
2 nd plural	NE-TETN- CΩTH	NE-TETN-NA- CΩTH	NE-A-TETN- CΩTH
3 rd plural	NE-Y-CΩTH	NE-Y-NA-CΩTH	NE-A-Y-CΩTH
Before noun	NEPE ΠΡΩME CΩTH	NEPE ΠΡΩME NA-CΩTH	NE-A ΠΡΩME CΩTH

TABLE 7.5 Preterit tenses

7.3.5.1 Optional appearance of the agreement clitic *ne*

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, Preterit clauses may contain the invariable agreement clitic *ne* and thus assume the form of nominal sentences, e.g. *NEQΩWNE ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟΣ* (for *ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ*) 'the steward (*Π-ΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟΣ*) *Apa* Panoute, too (*ΖΩΩ-Q*), *was sick* (*NE-Q-ΩWNE*)' (V. Pach. 91:2-3), *NECP ΖΟΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΒΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ* 'for (*ΓΑΡ*) *she* (*Hilaria*) *was afraid* (*NE-C-P ΖΟΤΕ*) to go (*Ε-ΒΩΚ*) to the monasteries (*Ε-NE-MΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ*) of the Byzantine region (*Μ-Π-ΒΥCΑΝΤΙΟΝ*)' (Hil. 2:12-13).

7.3.5.2 The Preterit Present

The Preterit Present *NE-Q-CΩTH* 'he heard, was hearing' indicates the co-occurrence of a situation with the secondary deictic centre, which is located in the past. It is subject to the same semantic restrictions as the corresponding First Present *Q-CΩTH* 'he hears, is hearing. Thus, copula support applies to indefinite subjects, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΩΗΝ ΡΗΓ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΠΥΓΗ* (for *ΠΗΓΗ*) 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) (there) *were big* (*ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC*) *trees* (*Ν-ΩΗΝ*) *growing* (*NE-ΥΝ*)... *ΡΗΓ* near (*ΖΙΧΝ*) the well (*Τ-ΠΥΓΗ*)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18). The Preterit Present underlies the selectional restrictions of the Stern-Jernstedt Rule, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ* (read *NEQEΙΡΕ*) *ΝΤΠΑΨΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΦΩΛΙΑ* 'and (*ΑΥΩ*) *he* (*Isaac*) *spent*

(*NE-Q-ΕΙΡΕ*) *half* (*Ν-Τ-ΠΑΨΕ*) *the night* (*Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ*) *praying* (*Ε-Υ-ΦΛΗΛ*)' (Test. Is. 231:30).

On the semantic side, the Preterit Present is widely used to express imperfective aspect and habituality.

a) Imperfective aspect

The Preterit Present is associated with the imperfective point of view that presents an event as being extended in time, e.g. *ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕQΑΖΕΡΑΤQ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΗΜ* 'for (*ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ*) *he* (the archangel Raphael) *accompanied* (lit. he stood (*NE-Q-ΑΖΕ*) on his foot (*Ε-ΡΑΤ-Q*)) him (*ΝΗΜΑ-Q*) (*Apa* Philotheos) all (*ΝΗΜ*) the time (*Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ*)' (KHML I 1:6-8), *ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΕΡΕ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟC ΖΜΟΟC ΜΠΟΥΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ* (...) *ΕΦΡΕΙΜΕ* (for *ΕΦΡΙΜΕ*) *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ* (for *ΝΕΡΕ*) *ΖΑΖ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ* 'when he (*Pachōm*) said (*Ε-Q-ΧΩ*) these (words) (*ΝΑΙ*), Theodore was sitting (*ΝΕΡΕ ... ΖΜΟΟC*) at a short (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ*) distance (*Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ*) (...) weeping (*Ε-Q-ΡΕΙΜΕ*) and (*ΑΥΩ*) many (*ΖΑΖ*) of (*ΖΝ*) the brothers (*NE-CΝΗΥ*) *were also* (*ΟΝ*) *weeping* (*ΝΕΡ ... ΡΕΙΜΕ*)' (V. Pach. 90:15-17). The imperfective semantics of the Preterit Present may have a habitual connotation, presenting a continuous past activity as a characteristic property of the subject, e.g. *ΝΕΡΕ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ † ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ* 'Diocletian (*ΔΙΟΚΛΗ*) *gave* (*ΝΕΡΕ ... †*) them (the Persian kings) gifts (*Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΔΩΡΟΝ*) annually (*ΤΕ-ΡΟΜΠΕ*) for (*ΕΤΒΕ*) the glorification (*Π-ΕΟΟΥ*) of their gods (*Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

b) Backgrounded aspect

The aspectual opposition between the Perfect and the Preterit Present is utilised to express the foreground-background distinction in the temporal organisation of narratives. The Perfect appears in foregrounded portions of the narrative, which describe the main course of events. This contrasts with the Preterit Present, which describes backgrounded events that provide an explanation for the main event frame, e.g. *ΑΥΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΑΥΠΑΖΤΟΥ ΑΥΟΥΨΤ ΝΑC ΝΕCΖΜΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΕCΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ* 'they (the servants) *were startled* (*Α-Υ-ΨΤΟΡΤΡ*), they *bent down* (*Α-Υ-ΠΑΖΤ-ΟΥ*), (and) *did obedience* (*Α-Υ-ΟΥΨΤ*) to her (*ΝΑ-C*) (*Eudoxia*), since (*ΓΑΡ*) *she* (*Eudoxia*) *was sitting* (*NE-C-ΖΜΟΟC*)

on (εχμ) her ivory (Ν-ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ) throne (ΠΕΣ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ)' (Eud. 54:23), ἀφθωγν δε νοί κωσταντινός αφθωγ2 ε2ογν ηπεφμνηφε τηρ2 μματοι ενταφ2ε εροογ 2ν ταντιοχεια ηματε εβολ χε νεφ2εαπize επιχοεις πεφνουτε '(King) Constantine rose (α-φ-τωογν) (and) gathered (α-φ-σωογ2) all (τηρ-φ) his troops (η-πεφ-μνηφε) of soldiers (η-ματοι), (yet) only (ηματε) (those) he found (εντ-α-φ-2ε) in (2ν) Antiochia (τ-αντιοχεια) because (εβολ χε) he trusted (νε-φ-2εαπize) in the Lord (ε-π-χοεις), his God (πεφ-νουτε)' (Eud. 42:19-21).

7.3.5.3 The Preterit Future

The Preterit Future **νε-φ-να-σωτμ** 'he was going to hear' serves as a future-in-the-past, which describes past events that were in progress but not yet accomplished, e.g. **αγω ντοογ νεγναρ ογκογι νδοπε νρωμε** 'and (αγω) they (ντοογ) were about to become (νε-γ-να-ρ) a small (ογ-κογι) group (ν-δοπε) of people (ν-ρωμε)' (V. Pach.3:28). The Preterit Future is used specifically to describe the result of a counterfactual condition, whose actualisation is considered extremely unlikely or impossible, e.g. **ενε [ντ]ακ[χ]οοc χε ιc βο[η]ει εροι νεκναογχαί** 'if (ενε) you had said (ντ-α-κ-χοο-с) »Jesus, help (βοηει) me (ερο-ι)!«, you would have been saved (νε-κ-να-ογχαί)' (Ac. A&P 202:125-126), **νερε πχοεις ηπειμα νειναβωκ ταπαρακαλει μμοφ** 'if the Lord (π-χοεις) were (νερε) in this place (η-πει-μα), I would go (νε-ι-να-βωκ) and appeal (τα-παρακαλει) to him (μμο-φ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).

7.3.5.4 The Preterit Past (Pluperfect)

The Pluperfect or Preterit Past **νε-α-φ-σωτμ** 'he had heard' denotes a past-in-the-past and locates the accomplishment of some event prior to the secondary temporal reference point grammaticalised by **νε**, e.g. **ααα 2ραι 2ν τφμντχωρε ετταχρηγ νεαφβωκ εβολ νεμαγ επωc2** 'but (ααα) with (2ν) his (Pachôm's) resolute (ετ-ταχρηγ) strength (τφ-μντ-χωρε), he had gone (νε-α-φ-βωκ) out (εβολ) with them (νεμα-γ) (the brothers) for mowing (ε-π-ωc2)' (V. Pach. 87:14-15), **νεαγρ ογcμοτ γαρ χε νεγογωμ αγω νεγcω** 'for (γαρ) they behaved (lit. they had taken (νε-α-γ-ρ) the appearance (ογ-сμοτ)) as if (χε) they were eating (νε-γ-ογωμ) and (αγω) drinking (νε-γ-сω)' (KHML I 80:21-22). In narrative discourse, the Pluperfect has a stage-setting

function and describes events that precede the main course of events, e.g. **μνncωc δε ον α τεχρια φωπε ετρεφβωκ νφδμ πωμνε ηνεcνηγ ετ2μ πiom νεαφει εβολ 2μ πειοορ αγω νεφηε2 ηηcα2 νοι πειοορ ετμηαγ ντοφ δε αφωληα αφχιοορ μν νετνμηαφ** 'after that (μνncω-с) it became necessary (lit. the need (τε-χρια) occurred (α ... φωπε)) (that) he (Antony) went (ε-τρε-φ-βωκ) to pay (ν-φ-δμ) a visit (π-ωμνε) to the brothers (ν-νε-сνηγ) that were in (ετ-2μ) the Fayyûm (π-ιом). He had come (νε-α-φ-ει) upon (εβολ 2μ) the canal (π-ειοορ) and (αγω) that (ετ-μηαγ) canal (π-ειοορ) was full (νε-φ-ηε2) of crocodiles (ν-ηcα2). He (ντοφ) prayed (α-φ-φληα) (and) crossed over (α-φ-χιοορ) with (μν) those that were with him (ν-ετ-νημα-φ)' (V. Ant. 21:6-9).

7.3.6 Habitual tenses

Coptic employs the aspectual marker **φαρε, φα-** to indicate multiple, iterative, frequentative, distributive, habitual or extensive action. This verbal aspect is called the Habitual in most Coptic grammars. The conjugation base **φαρε, φα-** carries no temporal features by itself. Its past or present interpretation stems from the tense marker (which is a null morpheme in the present tense).

	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	φα-ι-сωτμ	ε-φα-ι-сωτμ	νε-φα-ι-сωτμ
2 nd sing. masc.	φα-κ-сωτμ	ε-φα-κ-сωτμ	νε-φα-κ-сωτμ
2 nd sing. fem.	φα-ρε-сωτμ	εφα-ρε-сωτμ	νε-φα-ρε-сωτμ
3 rd sing. masc.	φα-φ-сωτμ	ε-φα-φ-сωτμ	νε-φα-φ-сωτμ
3 rd sing. fem.	φα-с-сωτμ	ε-φα-с-сωτμ	νε-φα-с-сωτμ
1 st plural	φα-ν-сωτμ	ε-φα-н-сωτμ	νε-φα-н-сωτμ
2 nd plural	φα-тетн-сωτμ	ε-φα-тетн-сωτμ	νε-φα-тетн-сωτμ
3 rd plural	φα-γ-сωτμ	ε-φα-γ-сωτμ	νε-φα-γ-сωτμ
Before noun	φαρε πρωμε сωτμ	εφαρε πρωμε сωτμ	νε-φαρε πρωμε сωτμ

TABLE 7.6 Habitual tenses

7.3.6.1 Selectional restrictions

The Habitual underlies the same temporal restriction as the Stative and combines only with present tenses. This does not seem to be an accidental property of this aspectual pattern, but rather indicates that the Habitual is semantically stative. In presenting a pattern of events rather than a specific situation, the Habitual denotes a state or condition that holds consistently over an extended period of time. It is therefore semantically incompatible with the Perfect and the Future tenses that are associated with a single event reading.

The Habitual Present and the Habitual Past differ, however, from the corresponding First Present and Preterit Present in being exempt from the the Stern-Jernstedt Rule; both conjugation patterns are fully compatible with the construct state, e.g. *ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ⲧⲉⲓⲃⲏⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲏⲧⲥⲏⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲁⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲃⲏⲛⲛⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ* 'this date-palm (ⲧⲉⲓ-ⲃⲏⲛⲛⲉ) yields (ⲱⲁⲣⲉ ... ⲧⲁⲩⲉ) twelve (ⲙⲏⲧ-ⲥⲏⲟⲟⲩⲥ) bunches (ⲛ-ⲁⲟⲟⲩ) of dates (ⲛ-ⲃⲏⲛⲛⲉ) per (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ) year (ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), *ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲙⲉⲩⲩⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲩⲙ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲟⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲩⲧⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲛⲁ* 'the enemy (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲭⲉ) (i.e. the devil) insinuated (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ) filthy (ⲉ-ⲩ-ⲭⲁⲩⲙ) thoughts (ⲛ-ⲩⲉⲛ-ⲙⲉⲩⲩⲉ) on him (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲩ). Anthony, however (ⲩⲱⲱ-ⲩ), repelled them (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲟⲟⲣ-ⲟⲩ) through (ⲩⲧⲓⲛ) prayers (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁⲛⲁ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), *ⲡⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩⲓⲣⲟⲭⲣⲉⲭ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲃⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓⲣ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ* 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (the possessed boy) gnashed (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲓⲣⲟⲭⲣⲉⲭ) his teeth (ⲛ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲟⲃⲉⲩⲉ) like (ⲛⲟⲩ < ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲩⲉ) a wild (ⲛ-ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ) boar (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲓⲣ)' (Mena, Mir. 23b:24-27).

7.3.6.2 Pluractionality and habituality

The Coptic Habitual represents a pluractional pattern, which indicates the plurality of events and participants. The successive occurrence of several instances of an event as a characteristic feature of a whole period of time, which gives rise to a habitual or gnomic interpretation.

a) Pluractional aspect

The multiple occurrence of an event may be stated explicitly by frequency adverbials or quantified subjects and objects, e.g. *ⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲩⲃⲟⲕ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲥⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲏⲙⲏⲉ* 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) he (Apa Pambô) would go (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲃⲟⲕ) to her (Hilaria) (ⲱⲁⲣⲟ-ⲥ) twice (ⲛ-ⲥⲉⲡ-ⲥⲛⲁⲩ) a day (ⲙ-ⲙⲏⲛⲉ)' (Hil. 6:16), *ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲥⲟⲡ ⲱⲁⲩⲁⲥⲡⲁⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ*

ⲉⲧⲁⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ 'because (ⲓⲁⲣ) a lot (ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲏⲛⲱⲉ) of times (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲡ) he would kiss (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲩⲉ) me (ⲙⲙⲟ-ⲓ) on my mouth (ⲉ-ⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ)' (I 10:11-12), *ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲱⲁⲩⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲁ* 'for (ⲓⲁⲣ) every (ⲛⲓⲙ) man (ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) who will go (ⲉⲧ-ⲛⲁ-ⲃⲱⲕ) to his (A Mena's) shrine (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲩ-ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ) will obtain (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲙⲁⲧⲉ) *ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲛ* (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲧⲁⲁⲃⲟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

b) Habituality

The Habitual Present *ⲱⲁⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ* 'he usually hears' is commonly used ascribe a recurrent event pattern to the clausal subject as a characteristic property, e.g. *ⲧⲙⲉⲩⲥⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲭ ⲱⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ . ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲏ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ* 'and (on the blast of) second (ⲧ-ⲙⲉⲩ-ⲥⲏⲧⲉ) trumpet (ⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲭ), the courtiers (ⲛ-ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲥ) & (ⲙⲏ) tribunes (ⲛⲉ-ⲧⲣⲓⲃⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ) and (ⲙⲏ) chief officials (ⲛ-ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) of royal (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲣⲣⲟ) court (ⲛ-ⲧ-ⲁⲩⲏ) would gather (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲩ)' (E 60:16-18). In the absence of information to the contrary, the Habit Past *ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ* 'he used to hear' induces a contrastive interpretation that the event pattern that is described no longer holds, e.g. *ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲱⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲱⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲙⲟⲩ . ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲩ ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ* 'and (ⲁⲩⲱ) the words (ⲛ-ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧ) that he (the abbot) heard (ⲉⲧⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲥⲟⲧⲙ-ⲟⲩ) from him (ⲛ-ⲧⲟⲟⲧ (Pachôm), he himself (ⲩⲱⲱ-ⲩ) would tell them (ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲭⲟⲟ-ⲩ) to monks (ⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

c) Gnomic use

The Habitual Present often assumes a gnomic interpretation in general statements of facts or truisms, e.g. *ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲩⲛⲉⲭ* [ⲱⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲩⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲩⲧⲏⲩ ⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ 'a w (ⲛ-ⲥⲟⲑⲟⲥ) man (ⲟⲩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) does not throw (ⲙⲉ-ⲩ-ⲛⲉⲭ) away (ⲉⲃⲉ every (ⲛⲓⲙ) word (ⲱⲁⲭⲉ) like that (ⲩⲛⲁⲓ) but (ⲁⲗⲗⲁ) focuses (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲓⲛ) his attention (ⲩⲧⲏ-ⲩ) towards those who listen (ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲉⲧ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ) to the (ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲟⲩ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), *ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲩⲁⲕ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲕⲁⲟⲙ ⲉⲭⲱⲩ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲱⲁⲩⲧⲓ ⲕⲁⲟⲙ ⲉⲭⲱⲩ ⲙⲡⲏⲩⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ* 'prudent (ⲛ-ⲩⲁⲕ) monk (ⲡ-ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) is given (lit. they give (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲓ) crown (ⲕⲁⲟⲙ) on his head (ⲉ-ⲭⲱ-ⲩ) on (ⲩⲙ) earth (ⲡ-ⲕⲁⲩ) and (ⲁⲩⲱ) a (ⲟⲛ) given (ⲱⲁ-ⲩ-ⲧⲓ) a crown (ⲕⲁⲟⲙ) on his head (ⲉ-ⲭⲱ-ⲩ) in heav (ⲙ-ⲡⲏⲩⲉ) in the presence (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲏⲩⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of God (ⲙ-ⲡ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ)' (.

Chaine no. 11, 3:6-7), *COΠ ΜΕΝ ΦΑΥΟΥΩΞ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΒΙΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΟΝΤΙ* *COΠ ΔΕ ΦΑΥΟΥΩΞ ΕΧΗ ΠΟΕΙΚ* 'some time (*COΠ ΜΕΝ*) they (flies) will sit (*ΦΑ-Υ-ΟΥΩΞ*) on (*ΕΧΗ*) honey (*Π-ΕΒΙΩ*), if they can find it (*Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΟΝΤ-Ι*), some other time (*COΠ ΔΕ*) they will sit (*ΦΑ-Υ-ΟΥΩΞ*) on (*ΕΧΗ*) bread (*Π-ΟΕΙΚ*)' (Sh. III 48:6-8).

d) Conditional use

As a grammatical marker of pluractionality, the Habitual conjugation is commonly used in the apodosis clause of conditional clauses that quantify over types of situations, e.g. *ΑΛΛΑ ΕΣΨΑΝΩΨΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΩΝΤ ΝΟΥCOΠ ΕΨΑΦΩΝΤ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ* 'but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) if it happened (*Ε-Σ-ΨΑΝ-ΩΨΠΕ*) on some occasion (*Ν-ΟΥ-COΠ*) that he (*Pachōm*) would become angry (*Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΝΤ*), (then) *he became angry* (*Ε-ΨΑ-Φ-ΩΝΤ*) in (*ΚΑΤΑ*) the manner (*ΘΕ < Τ-2Ε*) of the holy ones (*Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ*)' (V. Pach. 3:20-21), *ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΨΑΝΟΥΨ ΕΥΟΥΨΙ ΜΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΕΨΑΥCΩΟΥΞ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ* 'because (*ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ*) every (*ΝΙΜ*) time (*Ν-ΟΥΕΙΨ*) when they finished (*Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΟΥΨ*) eating (*Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨΙ*) their small portion (*Μ-ΠΕΥ-ΚΟΥΙ*) of bread (*Ν-ΟΕΙΚ*), they used to gather (*ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-CΩΟΥΞ*) with one another (*Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ*)' (V. Pach. 137:3-4).

e) Intentional use

The Habitual Present may have an intentional or commissive use and indicate the readiness, willingness or capability of the subject to perform a particular action, e.g. *ΨΑΙΚΑ ΠΑΧΟΙ ΝΑΙ* 'I will keep (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΚΑ*) my boat (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ*) for myself (*ΝΑ-Ι*)' (KMHL II 17:3), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟQ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑΙΛΛQ ΝΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΤΟ* 'what my boat (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ*) will bring in (*Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Q*) each (*ΚΑΤΑ*) year (*ΡΟΜΠΕ*), I will split up (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΑΑ-Q*) into three (*Ν-ΨΟΜΤΕ*) parts (*Ν-ΤΟ*)' (KHML II 17:4-5), *ΜΙΝΝCΑ ΠΑΜΟΥ ΨΑΙΤΑΛQ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ* 'after (*ΜΙΝΝCΑ*) my death (*ΠΑ-ΜΟΥ*), I will give it (the dish) (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΤΑΑ-Q*) to the shrine (*Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC*) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 17b:16-20), *ΨΑΙΩΡΚ ΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΧΕ ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΜΗΑΙ* 'I (am willing to) swear (*ΨΑ-Ι-ΩΡΚ*) to you (*ΝΑ-Κ*), my Lord (*ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC*), that (*ΧΕ*) (there) is (*ΜΝ*) nobody (*ΑΛΑΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ*) here (*Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ*) with me (*ΝΜΗΑ-Ι*)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31).

Key Terms:

Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) markers	are grammatical markers, which express various categories of verbal semantics, such as tense (the location of events in time), aspect (the internal structure or frequency of events) and mood (the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the reported event).	§7.1
Compound tenses	are verbal tenses with two or more grammatical markers. The Conditional <i>Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ</i> 'if/when he hears', for instance, consists of the relative marker <i>Ε-</i> and the conjugation base <i>ΨΑΝ</i> .	§7.1.2.4
First and Second Tenses	Absolute tenses come in pairs of basic First and derived Second Tenses, the latter containing the relative marker <i>Ε-</i> and <i>ΝΤ-</i> besides the main TAM expression. Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology that is found in the context of interrogative and declarative focus constructions.	§§7.2.1-7.2.2
Wh-in-situ questions	are constituent questions in which an interrogative pronoun occurs in the same syntactic position as its non-interrogative counterpart in the corresponding declarative clause. Coptic <i>wh</i> -in-situ questions exhibit a straightforward correlation between Second Tense selection and the clause-internal position of the question word.	§7.2.2.2
Replacive and contrastive focus	are semantic focus types that occur in declarative as opposed to interrogative context. Question-answer pairs provide a typical context for replacive focus, which is assigned to the sentence element that answers the preceding question. Negative-affirmative pairs provide a typical context for contrastive focus, where the focus in the affirmative clause expresses an alternative value for what has been rejected in the negative clause.	§7.2.2.2

are verbal tenses that establish temporal reference with respect to the present moment, i.e. the time at which a sentence is being uttered. The linear order of the time of the event with respect to the present moment furnishes three absolute tenses: the present, the past and the future. While the present locates an event at the present moment, the past locates it prior and the future subsequent to the temporal reference point. §7.3.1

Copula support In Coptic, present tense sentences with indefinite subjects require the introduction of the verbal copulas OYN '(there) is' or MN '(there) is no' to be grammatical. §7.3.2.2

Epistemic and deontic modality Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others. §7.3.3.3

Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described. §7.3.4

Preterit tenses are compound tenses, consisting of an absolute tense and the Preterit auxiliary NE . The auxiliary NE establishes a new temporal reference point in the past, with respect to which temporal interpretations can be made. §7.3.5

Pluractional aspect refers to the plurality of events and participants. In Coptic, pluractional aspect is morphologically marked by the Habitual conjugation, which indicates iterative, frequentative, habitual or extensive action. §7.3.6

Exercises

7.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false. In the latter case, provide one or two counterexamples:
 1. Coptic tense-aspect-mood markers (TAM) are proclitic elements that are prosodically dependent on the following sentence constituent.
 2. There are two syntactic positions for TAM markers, one preceding the subject and another one preceding the main verb.
 3. In word or *wh*-questions, the clause-internal or clause-external position of the question word is correlated with the presence or absence of Second Tenses.
 4. When Stative verb forms are combined with indefinite subjects, the copular verbs OYN '(there) is' or MN '(there) is not' must be introduced into the structure.
 5. The Third Future E-Q-E-CWTM 'he will hear' indicates not only future time reference, but also deontic modality.
 6. The Perfect A-Q-CWTM 'he has heard, he heard' and the Preterit Present NE-Q-CWTM 'he was hearing' have the same temporal and aspectual interpretation.
 7. In narrative discourse, the Perfect A-Q-CWTM is commonly used to provide an informative background for the main storyline.
 8. Pluractional/habitual aspect (WY-A-Q-CWTM) is restricted to the present tense system.

7.2 The morpho-syntax of tense-aspect-mood marking

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. λ - q - $c\omega\tau\eta$: 3rd pers. sing. masc. *First Perfect* 'he has heard, he heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$q\eta\alpha c\omega\tau\eta$		
$\alpha\rho\epsilon c\omega\tau\eta$		
$\dagger c\omega\tau\eta$		
$c\epsilon c\omega\tau\eta$		
$\eta\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha c\omega\tau\eta$		
$\eta\tau\alpha\kappa c\omega\tau\eta$		
$\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $c\omega\tau\eta$		

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. λ - q - $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$: 3rd person singular masculine *First Perfect* 'he came to this place'

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
$\lambda\eta\lambda\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\omicron$	(Test.Is. 229:8)	
$\tau\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota$	(Mena, Martyrd.2a:29)	
$\epsilon\iota\epsilon\dagger$ $\psi[i]\eta\epsilon$	(Mena, Mir. 25:21-22)	
$\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta\eta\gamma$	(V. Pach. 2:7)	
$\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\gamma$	(V. Pach. 3:25)	
$\eta\tau\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma$ $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$	(Eud. 36:24)	
$\psi\alpha\gamma\dagger$ $\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$	(AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6)	
$\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma$	(AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:25)	
$\lambda\gamma\chi\eta\omicron\gamma\epsilon$	(AP Chaîne no. 19, 4:6)	

- C. Translate the verb forms in the following Coptic examples.

- (1) $\lambda\iota\kappa\omega\tau$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha$ $\eta\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau$ '___ for me ($\eta\alpha$ - ι) a living ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) place (η - $\omicron\gamma$ - $\mu\alpha$) by myself ($\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\tau$)' (Onnophr. 207: 1 12)
- (2) $\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\epsilon<\gamma>\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\eta$ $\tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$ '___ someo: (ϵ - γ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) from ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\eta$) my clan ($\tau\alpha$ - $\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$)' (Eud. 54:7)
- (3) $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ \dagger $\omicron\gamma\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'God (π - $\eta\omicron\gamma\tau$ ___ a mercy ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$) to those that will belie: (η - η - $\epsilon\tau$ - $\eta\alpha$ - $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)' (Test. Is. 228:11)
- (4) $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\iota\eta\omicron\omicron\psi\epsilon$ $\zeta\eta$ $\eta\alpha\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\zeta\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\psi\pi\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$ $\eta\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\beta\epsilon$ 'but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) ___ on ($\zeta\eta$) my feet ($\eta\alpha$ - $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) gratefulne: ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\psi\pi$ - $\zeta\eta\omicron\tau$) and ($\eta\eta$) humility ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\epsilon\beta\beta\iota\omicron$)' (V. Pach. 90:6-7)
- (5) $\pi\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\eta\alpha\dagger$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\zeta\eta\tau$ 'since ($\gamma\alpha\rho$) our Lo: ($\pi\epsilon\eta$ - $\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) ___ you ($\eta\alpha$ - κ) according to ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$) your hea: ($\pi\epsilon\kappa$ - $\zeta\eta\tau$)' (V. Pach.136:11-12)
- (6) $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\omicron\eta$ $\eta\kappa\omicron\pi\tau$ $\psi\alpha\kappa\eta\omicron\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ 'a lot of times ___ into the sea' (Mena, Mir. 23b:28-30)
- (7) $\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\epsilon\psi$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\chi\eta\eta\alpha$ $\eta\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'My ho: ($\epsilon\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) father ($\pi\alpha$ - $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$), ___ a monk's (η - $\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$) hat: ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\varsigma\chi\eta\eta\alpha$)' (Hil. 6:10-11)
- (8) $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\eta\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\alpha\rho\omega\psi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$ 'in order th: ($\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma$) that every one ($\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\gamma\alpha$) of them (the brother: ($\eta\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$) ___ for himself ($\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - γ)' (V. Pach. 4:2-3)
- (9) $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\lambda\iota\beta\omega\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ (...) '(as for) me ($\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$), ___ t: the desert (ϵ - π - $\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) (...)' (Ac. A&P 200:95)

7.3 First and Second Tenses

- A. Recall that the four absolute tenses (the Present, the Future, the Perfect and the Habitual) come in pairs of "basic" First and "derived" Second Tenses. Fill in the corresponding First and Second Tense in the empty cells and translate them into English, e.g. $\lambda\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \rightarrow \eta\tau\alpha\lambda\beta\omega\kappa$ 'he came'.

FIRST TENSE	SECOND TENSE	TRANSLATION
	$\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta\gamma$	
$\sigma\epsilon\zeta\omicron\beta\sigma\kappa$		
	$\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\phi\omega\eta\tau$	
$\lambda\gamma\tau\omega\zeta\eta$		
	$\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$	
$\tau\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$		

- B. Second Tenses are selected in a variety of interrogative and declarative focus contexts. Consider the following Coptic examples and identify the relevant syntactic context motivating Second Tense selection by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1) $\epsilon\sigma\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\sigma \eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon$ (...) 'how (lit. in which ($\eta\alpha\psi$) manner ($\eta\zeta\epsilon$)) could she (possibly) recognize ($\epsilon\sigma\eta\alpha\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon\sigma$) her (...)?' (Hil. 8:26-27)
☐ *wh*-fronting question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

- (2) $\square \eta\mu\eta\eta \eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\alpha \eta\alpha \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \eta\alpha\kappa \omega \delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta \zeta\eta \pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\omega\eta \omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon \zeta\eta \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha \epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \zeta\eta \pi\omicron\lambda\zeta\omicron\zeta \eta\eta\omicron\beta\zeta\epsilon \psi\alpha \pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma \eta\pi\zeta\alpha\pi$ '(there) will ($\eta\alpha$) be ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) no ($\eta\mu\eta\eta$) repentance ($\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\iota\alpha$) for you ($\eta\alpha\kappa$), oh (ω) Diocletian ($\delta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta$), (neither) in ($\zeta\eta$) this world ($\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\omega\eta$) nor ($\omicron\gamma\delta\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the one to come ($\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$), but ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$) you will be ($\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) in ($\zeta\eta$) (the place of) the gnashing ($\pi\omicron\lambda\zeta\omicron\zeta$) of teeth ($\eta\eta\omicron\beta\zeta\epsilon$) until ($\psi\alpha$) the day ($\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of the Judgement ($\eta\pi\pi\zeta\alpha\pi$)' (Eud. 38:22-24).
☐ replacive focus ☐ contrastive focus

- (3) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\omega\eta$ (...) $\epsilon\eta\chi\iota \eta\eta\omicron\alpha\phi \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\sigma \eta\alpha\iota \eta\eta\eta\alpha$ 'whereto ($\epsilon\tau\omega\eta$) do you bring ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota$) this m ($\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\epsilon$)? – We bring ($\epsilon\eta\chi\iota$) him ($\eta\eta\omicron\alpha\phi$) to the shri. ($\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\sigma$) of Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 24b:1-6)
☐ contrastive focus ☐ replacive focus

- (4) $\alpha\pi\alpha \eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \eta\eta\eta\eta\omega\eta\eta \epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\pi \omicron\gamma \zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$ 'what ($\omicron\gamma$) shall th who come ($\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma$) after us ($\eta\eta\eta\eta\omega\eta\eta$) do ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\pi$) i themselves ($\zeta\omega\omicron\gamma$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 207, 53:29)
☐ yes-no question ☐ *wh*-in-situ question

- (5) $\zeta\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \eta\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon \epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\epsilon \zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon \epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\tau\tau \eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron \delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$ '(as for) some (people) ($\zeta\omicron\iota\eta\epsilon$) he (the demon) made them ($\psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$) lame ($\eta\delta\alpha\lambda\epsilon$) in their legs ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\tau\epsilon$), (as for) others ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) he twisted ($\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\tau\tau$) $\delta\omega\omicron\gamma\delta$ their face ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\zeta\omicron$)' (KHML II 53:3-5)
☐ anticipatory focus ☐ contrastive focus

- C. Translate the following the text fragment and identify all verb tenses you know.

FROM THE VITA OF APA ONNOPHRIOS

$\alpha\iota\chi\eta\omicron\gamma\chi \chi\epsilon \eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \eta\alpha\psi \eta\zeta\epsilon \lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon\iota\sigma^a \omicron\gamma\eta\eta\pi \eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi \chi\iota\eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$ ($\chi\iota\eta^b \eta\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$) $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \lambda\gamma\omega \eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa\omicron\gamma\eta\eta \omicron\gamma \lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon \omicron\gamma \epsilon\kappa\kappa\eta\kappa \lambda\zeta\eta\gamma^c \epsilon\mu\eta^d \zeta\beta\sigma\omega \tau\omega$ (for to) $\zeta\iota\omega\omega\kappa$. (Onnophr. 206:32-207:2)

Notes: a. $\epsilon\iota\sigma$ (interjection) 'look' b. $\chi\iota\eta$ (+ Second Perfect) 'since' c. $\kappa\omega \lambda\zeta\eta\gamma$ 'to undress' d. $\epsilon\mu\eta$ a Relative Present, which translates as circumstantial clause 'while'.

7.4 Temporal, aspectual and modal uses of absolute tenses

A. Recall that several absolute tenses require the presence of the copular verbs **ΟΥΝ** '(there) is' and **ΜΗ** '(there) is no' in the context of indefinite subjects. Complete the following Coptic examples by selecting one of the two alternatives given in brackets (Ø indicates the absence of a copular verb).

- (1) (ΟΥΝ/Ø) **ΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΖΙΣΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟϢ Ω ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ** **ΙΣΑΑΚ** 'great grievances will befall (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) him (Jesus Christ), oh (Ω) Isaak, the beloved (Π-ΜΕΡΙΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 230:5-6)
- (2) **ΜΗΝΝΣΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ** (ΝΕΥΕΝ/ΝΕ-Ø) **ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΡΗΜΑΟ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ** **ΦΙΛΟΞΑΝΙΤΗ** (...) 'after (ΜΗΝΝΣΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) (the other miracles) (there) was (___ ΨΟΟΠ) also (ΟΝ) a rich (Ν-ΡΗ-ΜΑΟ) woman (ΟΥ-ΣΖΙΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) Philoxanitê (...) ' (Mena, Mir. 22a:16-20)
- (3) **ΑΥΩ** (ΝΕΥΝ/ΝΕΡΕ Ø) **ΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΝΨΗΝ ΡΗΤ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΙΠΥΓΗ** (for **ΤΙΠΗΓΗ**) 'and (ΑΥΩ) (there) were big (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟΒ) trees (Ν-ΨΗΝ) growing (___ ΡΗΤ) near (ΖΙΧΝ) the well (ΤΙ-ΠΥΓΗ)' (Onnophr. 219:17-18)
- (4) **Α** (ΟΥΝ/Ø) **[Ο]ΥΣΟΝ ΝΑΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ** [read **ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ**] **ΕΠΙΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ<Π>ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ ΕΖΕΝΣΗΥ** **ΗΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ** 'a hermit (Ν-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ) whose name (Ε-ΠΙ-ΡΑΝ) (was) Apa Parnoute was writing (Α ___ ΕΖΗΓΙΣΘΑΙ) to God-loving (Μ-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) brothers (Ε-ΖΕΝ-ΣΗΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:8-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples

- (1) **ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΗΥ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΝΖΜΕ ΗΜΙΛΙΟΝ** (Hil. 5:20-21)
- (2) **ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ** (V. Pach. 4:22-23)
- (3) **†ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΗΣΑΥ** (Test. Is. 229:30)

(4) **ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΕΡΡΕ** (Hil. 1:19)

C. Decide which temporal or modal meaning is involved in the following future tense sentences by choosing one of the two alternatives.

- (1) **ΖΗ ΟΥΜΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ** (for **ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ**) 'you will surely die (lit. 'in (ΖΗ) a dying (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)) you shall die (ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ)) (Eud. 58:28-60:1)
☐ near future ☐ directive
- (2) ☐ **ΕΡΕ ΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΗ** **ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ** 'may the grace (ΠΕ-ΖΜΟΤ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) come upon (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) everybody (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) and (ΜΗ) those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).
☐ volitive use ☐ commissive use
- (3) **ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ ΝΑΩ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ** **ΟΥΣΟΝ ΕΤΨΩΝΕ** 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) (responsible) for the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) who are sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) will stay (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-Ω) behind (ΕΠΑΖΟΥ) them (the brothers) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) for (the sake of, (ΕΤΒΕ) a sick (ΕΤ-ΨΩΝΕ) brother (ΟΥ-ΣΟΝ)' (praec. Pach. 129)
☐ directive use ☐ commissive use

D. Analyse all Preterit tenses in the following Coptic examples, e.g. **ΝΕΓΩΤΗ**: 3rd person masculine singular 'he was hearing, he heard'

- (1) **ΑΥΩ ΠΩΜΨΕΙΝΕ** (for **ΠΩΜΨΙΝΕ**) **ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΛΨΩΠΕ ΖΗ** **ΝΣΟΟΥΖΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕΣΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ** 'and (ΑΥΩ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) affliction (Π-ΩΜ Π-ΨΕΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-ΨΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-ΣΟΟΥΖΣ) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-ΣΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-ΣΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12)

(2) $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\rho$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\eta\delta\omicron\pi\epsilon$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) they ($\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma$) were about to become ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\rho$) a small ($\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\iota$) group ($\eta\delta\omicron\pi\epsilon$) of people ($\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$)' (V. Pach.3:28)

(3) $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\sigma\omicron\tau\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) the words ($\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) of God ($\eta\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) which he (the abbot) heard ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\sigma\omicron\tau\eta\omicron\gamma$) from him ($\eta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$) (Pach δ m), he himself ($\gamma\omega\omega\epsilon$) would them ($\eta\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$) to his monks ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\mu\omicron\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28).

F. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT APA NAHROW IN THE AMPHITHEATRE

$\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\epsilon\eta$ $\pi\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\pi\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\gamma\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\rho\omicron\eta$ (for $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\eta$)^a $\lambda\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ^b $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilon\theta\omicron\gamma\omega\eta$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ ^c, $\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega\rho\psi$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\phi\omicron\iota\chi$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ ^d $\epsilon\chi\eta\gamma$ $\gamma\eta$ $\pi\chi\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ ^e $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\eta\pi\tau\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ ^f $\eta\eta\epsilon\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ ^g (Psalm 73:19). $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ λ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\tau$ $\lambda\epsilon\theta\gamma\omega\psi\tau$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\epsilon\theta\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\lambda\epsilon\theta\gamma\omega\eta$ $\eta\rho\omega\epsilon$ $\lambda\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\eta\eta$ $\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\chi\omega\gamma$ ^h $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ $\eta\lambda\psi$ $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\theta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ⁱ $\eta\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ ^j $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$; $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\gamma$ λ $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$ $\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\epsilon$ $\epsilon\chi\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\epsilon\tau\eta\gamma$ $\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ $\lambda\epsilon\chi\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ^k λ $\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi\tau$ $\eta\alpha\epsilon$ $\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\epsilon\mu\alpha$. (KHML I 4:6-19)

Notes: a. $\theta\epsilon\alpha\delta\rho\omicron\eta$ 'theatre' b. $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ 'to order' c. $\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha$ 'body' d. $\epsilon\epsilon\chi\omega$ $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon$ 'saying that' (introduces direct speech) e. $\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ $\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'soul ($\omicron\gamma\psi\gamma\chi\eta$) which appears ($\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) to you ($\eta\alpha\kappa$)' (a relative clause) f. $\eta\pi\tau$ - 'do not' (negative imperative) g. $\theta\eta\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ 'wild animal, beast' h. $\chi\omega\gamma$ 'to touch' i. $\theta\omicron\tau\epsilon$ < $\tau\gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ j. $\epsilon\tau\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ 'who surrounds' (a relative clause) k. $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ 'city, town'

Unit 8

Relative tenses and moods

Coptic is a language with a basic tripartite tense system with distinct conjugation patterns for present, past and future tenses. More fine-grained temporal distinctions are made in the domain of past and future time reference. In the past, the presence of a secondary deictic centre furnishes a triplet of Preterit tenses, to wit the Preterit Present, the Preterit Past (Pluperfect), and the Preterit Future. Moreover, there are two distinctive future tenses that ascribe different degrees of likelihood or necessity to a forthcoming situation.

Besides absolute tenses, Sahidic Coptic has an extensive set of relative tenses and moods. Relative tenses derive their name from the fact that they locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. In this way, they serve similar functions as temporal connectives like *after*, *when* and *until* in English. Section 8.1 examines how these subordinate tense forms establish the relative order of events. The focus of section 8.2 is on the Coptic modal system. Mood is a grammatical category through which the speakers of a language communicate their attitude or beliefs concerning the likelihood, desirability, or necessity for some situation to occur. Within the same formal system, Coptic has not only an Imperative, but also a formally distinct Jussive, Conditional, and Inferential mood.

8.1 Relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses express three types of temporal ordering relations, viz. simultaneity, precedence, and subsequence. Relative tenses that indicate simultaneity locate some event at the same time as some other event or state. Relative tenses that indicate precedence or anteriority locate an event prior to another event, and relative tenses that express subsequence locate some event after some other event.

8.1.1 The inventory of Coptic relative tenses

Coptic relative tenses are anaphoric tense categories, since they receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually given reference point, which is the time of the event with respect to which a particular temporal order is established. The inventory of Coptic relative tenses is presented in table 8.1 below. The anaphoric behaviour of relative tenses has a structural correlate in their restriction to adverbial clauses (ADV-CL), which may precede or follow the main clause (M-CL) they modify.

The principle determining the relative order of main and adverbial clauses is iconicity, meaning that the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events. Thus, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal conjugation will normally appear preceding the main clause they modify, since they describe events occurring prior to the main event. Vice versa, adverbial clauses containing a Terminative follow the main clause that they modify, since they describe events that succeed the main event in time.

In providing information about the temporal order of events, relative tenses are often associated with a particular aspectual interpretation and refer to the preparatory phase of an event or its termination. For this reason, these tenses are semantically incompatible with Stative verb forms, which designate non-dynamic situations without internal temporal structure.

RELATIVE TENSE	TEMPORAL RELATION	ADV-CL > M-CL	M-CL > ADV-CL
TEMPORAL NTETP-q-cwTH after/when he had heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
TERMINATIVE WANT(ε)-q-cwTH until he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	marked option	yes
CONJUNCTIVE N-q-cwTH and he hears/heard	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes
RELATIVE PRESENT ε-q-cwTH while he hears/heard	SIMULTANEITY	yes	yes
CONDITIONAL ε-q-wAN-cwTH if/when he hears/heard	PRECEDENCE	yes	marked option
INFERENTIAL TAPε-q-cwTH and/so he shall hear	SUBSEQUENCE	no	yes

TABLE 8.1 The relative tense system

8.1.2 The Temporal

Adverbial clauses corresponding to 'AFTER'-clauses in English are formed with the Temporal conjugation **NTETP-q-cwTH** 'after/when he had heard'. The Temporal operates in tandem with a following Perfect to indicate past anteriority and locates some event prior to the main clause event.

8.1.2.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Temporal conjugation is shown in table 8.2 below. The base morpheme **NTETP** /ən.te.re/ may be phonologically reduced to **NTETP** /ən.te.r/.

TEMPORAL

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Ν-ΣΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Κ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΤΗ-ΣΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-ΣΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΣΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε)-Σ-ΣΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΝΤΕΡ(Ε) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΣΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.2 The Temporal conjugation

8.1.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses and the temporal organisation of the narrative

The Temporal conjugation designates anterior events, which have been accomplished some time before the main event starts. In introducing a series of temporally ordered events that push forward the storyline, adverbial clauses formed with the Temporal belong to the foregrounded portions of the narrative.

a) Change of temporal location

The Temporal is used to signal a change in time or progression in the development of the storyline. The discontinuity of temporal location and succession of events is often highlighted by the Greek discourse marker ΔΕ, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΤ ΟΥΩ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ 'when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ), they finished (Α-Υ-Τ ΟΥΩ) working (Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach.6:5), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΘ ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΓΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'after the great (Π-ΝΟΘ) king (Ν-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (it) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ), he gathered (Α-Γ-ΣΩΟΥΖ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his soldiers (Ν-ΝΕΓ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)' (Eud. 44:25-26), ΝΤΕΡΟΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΠΕΓΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΛΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΖΕΘΟΣ 'when they (the brothers) proceeded (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΧΝ) the Eucharist (ΤΕ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ), the eagle (Π-ΛΕΤΟΣ) did not come (ΝΠΕ-Γ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) as (ΚΑΤΑ) usual (Π-ΖΕΘΟΣ)' (AP Chaïne, no. 192, 49:31-32).

b) Discourse cohesion

Temporal subclauses provide a bridge between two narrative units: they commonly recapitulate the most important information of the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΓΧΟΟΥ ΑΓΚΟΤΓ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΓΗΑΒΩΚ 'when he (Andrew) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Γ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ), he turned away (Α-Γ-ΚΟΤ-Γ ΕΒΟΛ) to (ΧΕ) leave (Γ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)' (Ac. A&P 196:41), ΝΤΕΡΕΓΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΓΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ (...) 'when he (the landlord) had heard (ΝΤΕΡ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ) this, he rejoiced (Α-Γ-ΡΑΨΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) (...) (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9).

c) Extending the paragraph marker ΑΣΩΠΤΕ 'it happened (that)'

When extending the existential sentence Α-ΣΩΠΤΕ 'it happened (that)', the Temporal clause has a scene-setting function and marks the beginning of a new discourse paragraph, e.g. ΑΣΩΠΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΜΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'it happened (Α-ΣΩΠΤΕ) when I had come (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ι-ΒΩΚ) to the abyss (Ε-Π-ΝΟΥΝ), (that) I saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) the residence (Ε-Η-ΜΑΝ-ΨΩΠΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the souls (Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ)' (Ac. A&P 198:72-73), ΑΥΩ ΑΣΩΠΤΕ ΝΠΕΙΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΟΥΩΤ (...) ΝΤΕΡΟΥΧΙ ΝΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΗ ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ (for ΕΠΚΑΙΩΝ) (...) ΑΓΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΡΨΕΙΡΕ (for ΕΠΖΡΨΕΙΡΕ) ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ 'and (ΑΥΩ) it happened (Α-ΣΩΠΤΕ) in that same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) period (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) when they had brought (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΧΙ) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Pachôm to another world (Ε-Π-ΚΑΙ-ΕΩΝ) (...), (that) he saw (Α-Γ-ΝΑΥ) the innocent (Ν-ΒΑΛΖΗΤ) child (Ε-Π-ΖΡ-ΨΕΙΡΕ)' (V. Pach. 86:6-9).

8.1.3 Terminative aspect

Coptic has a special verbal aspect to indicate that some event lasted until some other event took place. Due to its delimiting meaning and function, the ΨΑΝΤ-Γ-ΣΩΤΗ 'until he hears' pattern will be referred to as Terminative aspect in this grammar.

8.1.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Terminative is presented in table 8.3. In the first person singular, there are two allomorphs, ΨΑΝΤ- /santi-/ and

ψΑΝΤΑ- /santa-/, the latter representing the less common variant, e.g. *†*ΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΚΝΑ† ΔΟΜ ΝΑΙ ΨΑΝΤΑΧΙ ΗΠΕΚΛΟΗ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ 'I will know (†-ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) you will give (Κ-ΝΑ-†) me (ΝΑ-†) strength (ΔΟΜ) *until I receive* (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΧΙ) the imperishable (Ν-ΑΤ-ΤΑΚΟ) crown (Η-ΠΕ-ΚΛΟΗ)' (KHML II 30:5-6).

TERMINATIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΨΑΝ†-CΩΤΗ, ΨΑΝΤΑ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-CΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Κ-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΤΝ-CΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΨΑΝΤΕ-CΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-Q-CΩΤΗ	ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-CΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ΨΑΝΤ(Ε)-C-CΩΤΗ	
before noun	ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.3 Terminative aspect

8.1.3.2 The delimitative meaning of 'UNTIL'-clauses

The Terminative is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English 'UNTIL'-clauses. It designates the initial stage of some event beyond which the event described by the preceding main clause no longer continues.

a) Delimitative

The Terminative describes a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential to go on beyond that point. As an aspect, it has no inherent tense value: the event it describes is temporally interpreted as taking place after the main event has been accomplished, e.g. *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΘΩ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΙΨΛΗΑ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ* 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) stayed (Α-Ι-ΔΩ) at (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ) praying (Ε-Ι-ΨΛΗΑ) *until* the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) *advanced* (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ)' (Onnophr. 206:10-12), *ΤΕΝΟΥ Δ[Ε] [ΠΕ]ΨΑΧΕ [†]ΝΑΚΤ[ΟQ] ΕΥ[C]ΛΖΟΥ ΨΑΝ[ΤΑΕΙΡΕ] ΝΟΥΚΒΑ ΜΗ ΚΗΜΕ* 'so (ΔΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) I will turn (†-ΝΑ-ΚΤΟ-Q) this word (ΠΕΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) into a

curse (Ε-Υ-CAZΟΥ) *until I do* (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) vengeance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΒΑ) with (ΜΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ)' (Camb. 2:18-20), *†*ΨΟΟΠ ΝΗΜΕ ΨΑΝΤΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ ΕΝΤΑΙΖΩΝ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΕ 'I am (†-ΨΟΟΠ) with you (ΝΗΜΕ) *until you complete* (ΨΑΝΤΕ-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) everything (Ν-ΖΩΒ ΝΗΜ) that I ordered (ΕΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΖΩΝ) you (ΕΤΟΟΤ-Ε) (to do)' (Eud. 52:13-14), *ΝΓΨΛΗΑ ΕΧΩC ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑC ΗΠΤΑΛΔΟ* 'and you should pray (Ν-Γ-ΨΛΗΑ) for her (ΕΧΩ-С) *until* the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) *grants* (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) her (ΝΑ-С) healing (Η-Π-ΤΑΛΔΟ)' (Hil. 9:4-5), *ΛQΤΡΕ CΟΟΥ ΝΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC ΖΩΩΚΕ ΜΗΟQ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΕQСΝΟQ ΖΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ* 'he (the king) let (Α-Q-ΤΡΕ) six (CΟΟΥ) torturers (Ν-ΚΕCΤΩΝΑΡΙΟC) beat (ΖΩΩΚΕ) him (Απα Nahrōw) (ΜΗΟ-Q) *until* his blood (ΠΕQ-СΝΟQ) *dropped* (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΖΕ) down on (ΕΧΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (KHML I 5:25)

b) Purposive

The Terminative may assume a purposive interpretation, when the delimiting event designates the attained goal of some prior action, e.g. *ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΝΤQ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ* 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) walked (Α-Υ-ΜΟΟΨΕ) with him (Pachōm) (ΝΗΜΑ-Q) *so that they brought him* (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΤ-Q) inside (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the monastery (ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Ε-Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 87:20-21), *ΑΥΑΛΕ ΕΠΧΟΙ ΑΥΕΩΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΡΟQ* 'they went (Α-Υ-ΑΛΕ) onto the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) (and) went away (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) *until they reached* (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) it (ΕΡΟ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 196:51-52), *ΑQΝΤΟΥ ΕQΗΟΟΨΕ ΖΑΤΕΥΖΗ ΨΑΝΤΟΥCΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ* 'walking (Ε-Q-ΜΟΟΨΕ) in front of them (the Persians) (ΖΑ-ΤΕΥ-ΖΗ) he (Constantine) brought them (ΑQ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) *so that they could drink* (water) (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-СΩ) with (ΜΗ) their cattle (ΝΕΥ-ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ)' (Eud. 48:16).

8.1.4 The Conjunctive

The Conjunctive *Ν-Q-CΩΤΗ* 'and he hears' occupies a special position in the Coptic conjugation system, since it has no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of its own, but receives its semantic interpretation from a preceding verbal tense. As the most underspecified member of the Coptic conjugation system, the Conjunctive may indicate a broad

spectrum of structural relations between clauses, crossing the traditional distinction between coordination and subordination.

8.1.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Conjunctive conjugation exhibits a considerable degree of allomorphy in various person, gender, and number distinctions. This paradigmatic irregularity results from the interaction of two parameters of allomorphic variation, one of which concerns the distribution of the alternants **ΝΤΕ-** /ənte-/ and **Ν-** /nə/, and the other the variable position of the *schwa* /ə/, as indicated by the different placement of the superlinear stroke (for its prosodic interpretation, see section 1.3.1.3 of Unit 1). Moreover, there are two allomorphs for the first person singular, **ΝΤΑ-** /ənta/ and **ΤΑ-** /ta-/ , the latter involving the deletion of the morpheme-initial syllabic nasal **Ν-** /ən/.

CONJUNCTIVE		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	(Ν) ΤΑ-ÇΩΤΗ	ΝΤ(Ε)-Ν-ÇΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	Ν-Γ-ÇΩΤΗ	ΝΤΕ-ΤΗ-ÇΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΝΤΕ-ÇΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	Ν-Ç-ÇΩΤΗ	Ν-ÇΕ-ÇΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	Ν-Ç-ÇΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ÇΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.4 The Conjunctive conjugation

Examples: (1st sing.) **ΝΤΑ-ΠΩ2Τ ΕΒΟΛ** 'and I pour out (εβόλ)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:11-12), **ΤΑ-ΩΣΤ ΗΜΟΙ** 'and I strangle myself (ημο-ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:103), (2nd sing. masc.) **Ν-Γ-ÇΙ** 'and you carry' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:28), **Ν-Γ-ΩΠΕ** 'and you will be' (Camb. 8:2), (2nd sing. fem.) **ΝΤΕ-ΒΩΚ** 'and you (woman) go' (Eud. 52:5), (3rd sing. masc.) **Ν-Ç-ΩΧΑ** 'and he will spoil' (Test. Is. 231:16), **Ν-Ç-Π** **ΖΟΤΕ** 'and he will fear' (Camb. 8:12), **Ν-Ç-ΤÇΑΒΟ-ΟΥ** 'and he will teach them' (Test. Is. 231:12), (3rd sing. fem.) **Ν-Ç-ΡΙΜΕ** 'and she wept' (Hil. 9:14) (1st pl.) **Ν-ΤΗ-ΟΥΩΗ** 'and we eat' (Onnophr. 215:29), **ΝΤΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΗΡΗ ΖΙΟΥÇΟΝ** 'and

may we all (**ΤΗΡ-Ν**) be saved (**ΝΤΕ-Ν-ΟΥΧΑΙ**) together (**ΖΙ-ΟΥ-ÇΟΝ**)' (Zen. 199:4) (2nd pl.) **ΝΤΕ-ΤΗ-ΕΙ** 'and you shall come' (Camb. 10:5), (3rd pl.) **Ν-ÇΕ-ΠΩΤ** 'and they run' (AP Chaîne no. 50, 11:11), (before noun) **ΝΤΕ ÇΤΟΟΥ ΝΧΟΕΙ ΜΟΟΝΕ** 'and four (**ÇΤΟΟΥ**) ships (**Ν-ΧΟΕΙ**) should land (**ΝΤΕ ... ΜΟΟΝΕ**)' (Eud. 62:11).

8.1.4.2 Clause chaining

In a clause chain consisting of two or more consecutive verbs Conjunctive morphology may appear on medial or final verbs, but not on the initial verb that introduces the chain, e.g. **ΜΗΝÇΩÇ ΟΝ ÇΝΑΛΛΕ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΨΕ ΝÇΡÖÇ ΝÇΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΤΗΡÇ ΝÇΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΠΕÇΜΕΖΩΜΗΝΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΝÇΨΩΛ ΝΑΜΗΤΕ ΝÇÇΕΙ** (for **ΝÇÇΙ**) **ΝΤΗΜΤΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡÇ ΝΤΟΟΤÇ ΜΠΧΧΕ** 'after that (**ΜΗΝÇΩ-Ç**) he (Jesus Christ) will ascend (**Ç-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ**, on (**ΕΧΝ**) a cross (lit. a wood (**ΟΥ-ΨΕ**) of cross (**Ν-ÇΡÖÇ**) and will die (**Ν-Ç-ΜΟΥ**) for (**ΖΑ**) the whole (world) (**Π-ΤΗΡ-Ç**) and rise (**Ν-Ç-ΤΩΟΥΝ**) on the third (lit. his third) (**Μ-ΠΕÇ-ΜΕΖ-ΩΜΗΝΤ**) day (**Ν-ΖΟΟΥ**) and destroy (**Ν-Ç-ΨΩΛ**) Hell (**Ν-ΑΜΗΤΕ**) and take (**Ν-Ç-ÇΕΙ**) all (**ΤΗΡ-Ç**) humanity (**Ν-Τ-ΗΜΤ-ΡΩΜΕ**) away from the hands (**ΝΤΟΟΤ-Ç**) of the enemy (**Μ-Π-ΧΧΕ**)' (Test. Is. 231:14-16). See figure 8.1 for further illustration:

CHAIN-INITIAL VERB [ABSOLUTE TENSE]	CHAIN-MEDIAL VERB(S) [+ CONJUNCTIVE]	CHAIN-FINAL VERB [+ CONJUNCTIVE]
Ç-ΝΑ-ΛΛΕ he will ascend	Ν-Ç-ΜΟΥ ... Ν-Ç-ΨΩΛ and die ... and destroy	Ν-Ç-ÇΕΙ and take away

FIGURE 8.1 Clause-chaining with Conjunctive verb forms

As a clause-chaining device, the Conjunctive covers some kind of middle ground between coordination and subordination. Coordination involves the combination of two or more clauses, neither of which is syntactically dependent on the other. Subordination, on the other hand, occurs when two clauses are combined such that one clause is embedded in or syntactically dependent on the other.

a) Topic continuity

The Conjunctive typically connects subject-identical clauses, which indicate topic continuity, i.e. the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions or activities, e.g. *ερε πε̄χ̄ς σοι ερο* *νᾱτ̄ σοι νε* 'may Christ (πε̄χ̄ς) bless (ερε ... σοι) you (ερο) (woman) and give (ν-γ-τ̄) you (νε) power (σοι)' (Eud. 56:12-13), *σεναμερε π̄ιος νταναχωρησις ετουλαβ νεαποτασσε μπκοσμος (...)* 'they (the hermits) will love (σε-να-μερε) the life (π-βιος) of holy (ετ-ουλαβ) seclusion (ν-τ-αναχωρησις) and renounce (ν-σε-αποτασσε) the world (μ-π-κοσμος) (...)' (Test. Is. 233:13-14). The Conjunctive resumes the number and gender specification of the expressed second person subject of a preceding imperative, e.g. *κει* (for *κι*) *ννεκβαλ εζραι νγναγ ενκολασις* '*lift* (κει εζραι) your eyes (ν-νεκ-βαλ) and look (ν-γ-ναγ) at the punishments (ε-ν-κολασις)' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (see below, section 8.2.1.2).

Occasionally, a topical noun phrase recurs for a second time in the Conjunctive clause, e.g. *χε ερε ζενφυχη νᾱτ̄ ζηγ̄ αγω ντε ζενφυχη βωκ ερατ̄κ̄ μπνουτε ζν τββο νιμ* 'so that (χε) the souls (ζεν-φυχη) will benefit (lit. gain (τ̄) profit (ζηγ̄)) and (αγω) the souls (ζεν-φυχη) will come (ντε ... βωκ) to (ερατ̄-κ̄) God (μ-π-νουτε) in (ζν) every (νιμ) purity (τββο)' (Sh. III 40:28-29).

b) Switch reference

Despite its ample attestation in series of subject-identical clauses, the Conjunctive can also be used to connect different-subject clauses, which involve switch reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. In sequences of different-subject clauses, switch reference often involves a change in grammatical functions. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *εν̄χι μμο̄κ̄ επτοπος ναπα μ̄νᾱ αφ̄η ν̄χαριζε νᾱκ̄ μ̄π̄ταλ̄σο* 'we bring (ε-ν-χι) him (the possessed boy) (μμο̄-κ̄) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος) of Apa Mēna (ν-απα μ̄νᾱ) and perhaps (αφ̄η) he will grant (ν-γ-χαριζε) him (νᾱ-κ̄) healing (μ-π-ταλ̄σο)' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8), *μ̄ν̄νᾱ π̄χωκ̄ ν̄ναῑ τη̄ρο̄ῡ κ̄νᾱσω̄τ̄π̄ μ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄κ̄νο̄ο̄ῡς̄ ν̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄ ν̄κ̄ο̄ῡω̄ν̄ζ̄*

νᾱγ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ν̄νε̄κ̄μ̄υσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄ ν̄κ̄τ̄κᾱβο̄ο̄ῡ επ̄τῡπος̄ μ̄πε̄κ̄σω̄μᾱ μ̄ν̄ πε̄κ̄κ̄νο̄κ̄ ν̄ᾱλ̄λ̄η̄ο̄ιν̄ον̄ ζ̄ῑτ̄ν̄ ο̄ῡο̄εῑκ̄ μ̄ν̄ ο̄ῡη̄ρ̄π̄ ν̄τε̄ πο̄εῑκ̄ ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄κ̄ω̄μᾱ ν̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ν̄τε̄ π̄η̄ρ̄π̄ ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄κ̄νο̄κ̄ ν̄νο̄ῡτε̄ 'after (μ̄ν̄νᾱ) the completion (π-χωκ̄) of all (τη̄ρ̄-ο̄ῡ) these (years) (ναῑ) he (Jesus) will choose (γ-να-σω̄τ̄π̄) twelve (μ-μ̄ν̄τ̄-κ̄νο̄ο̄ῡς̄) people (ν-ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄) and reveal (ν-γ-ο̄ῡω̄ν̄ζ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄) his divine secrets (ν-νε̄κ̄-μ̄υσ̄τη̄ρῑον̄) to them (νᾱ-γ̄) and teach them (ν-γ-τ̄κᾱβο̄-ο̄ῡ) the nature (ε-π-τῡπος̄) of his real (ν-ᾱλ̄λ̄η̄ο̄ιν̄ον̄) body (μ-πε̄κ̄-σω̄μᾱ) and (μ̄ν̄) blood (πε̄κ̄-κ̄νο̄κ̄) through (ζ̄ῑτ̄ν̄) bread (ο̄ῡ-ο̄εῑκ̄) and (μ̄ν̄) wine (ο̄ῡ-η̄ρ̄π̄) and the bread (π-ο̄εῑκ̄) will become (ντε̄ ... ψ̄ω̄πε̄) a divine (ν-νο̄ῡτε̄) body (ν-κ̄ω̄μᾱ) and the wine (π-η̄ρ̄π̄) will become (ντε̄ ... ψ̄ω̄πε̄) divine (ν-νο̄ῡτε̄) blood (ν-κ̄νο̄κ̄)' (Test. Is. 231:10-14).

Switch reference is particularly common with non-emphatic personal pronouns, e.g. *τε̄νο̄ῡ σε̄ τ̄ω̄ο̄υν̄ μᾱρον̄ ν̄τᾱχῑτε̄ ε̄κ̄μ̄ πε̄κ̄τᾱφο̄ς̄* 'now (τε̄νο̄ῡ) then (σε̄), rise (τ̄ω̄ο̄υν̄), let's go (μᾱρο̄-ν̄) and let me take you (woman) (ν̄τᾱ-χῑτ̄-ε̄) to (ε̄κ̄μ̄) his (Jesus Christ's) tomb (πε̄κ̄-τᾱφο̄ς̄)' (Eud. 68:10-11), *λᾱτ̄ ν̄νο̄ς̄ ζ̄ν̄ τε̄κ̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νο̄ῡτε̄ ν̄γ̄τ̄ θε̄ ναῑ τᾱᾱπο̄λο̄γῑζε̄ μ̄πεῑανο̄μος̄ ν̄ζ̄η̄γ̄ε̄μ̄ων̄* 'make me (ᾱᾱ-τ̄) strong (ν-νο̄ς̄) through (ζ̄ν̄) your divinity (τε̄κ̄-μ̄ν̄τ̄-νο̄ῡτε̄) and give (ν-γ-τ̄) me (νᾱ-ῑ) the means (θε̄ < τ̄-ζε̄) to defend (myself) (τᾱ-ᾱπο̄λο̄γῑζε̄) against this criminal (μ-πεῑ-ανο̄μος̄) governor (ν-ζ̄η̄γ̄ε̄μ̄ων̄)!' (KHML II 35:2-4).

When the switch-referenced subject is a common noun or proper name, it frequently undergoes subject-verb inversion: the inverted subject noun occurs in postverbal position and is morphologically marked by the focus particle *ν̄ο̄ῑ*, while the preverbal subject position is occupied by a co-referential pronoun, e.g. *ε̄ῡε̄τᾱμον̄ ζ̄ν̄ ο̄ῡμ̄ν̄τ̄μ̄ε̄ επ̄εν̄τᾱγ̄νᾱγ̄ ε̄ρο̄κ̄ χ̄ε̄κ̄ας̄ ε̄ῡε̄ψ̄ω̄πε̄ ε̄ῡς̄μᾱμᾱᾱτ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νε̄γ̄ζ̄β̄η̄γε̄ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ᾱγω̄ ν̄κε̄εῑ ε̄ζ̄ραῑ ε̄κ̄ω̄ο̄ῡ ν̄ο̄ῑ νε̄κ̄μο̄ῡ τη̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄τ̄κ̄η̄ζ̄* 'they shall inform us (ε-γ-ε-τᾱμο̄-ν̄) truthfully (lit. in (ζ̄ν̄) a truthful manner (ο̄ῡ-μ̄ν̄τ̄-μ̄ε̄)) about what they have seen (ε-πε̄-ν̄τ̄-ᾱ-γ̄-νᾱγ̄) so that (χ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱας̄) they become (ε-γ-ε-ψ̄ω̄πε̄) blessed (ε-γ-ς̄μᾱμᾱᾱτ̄) through (ζ̄ν̄) all (τη̄ρ̄-ο̄ῡ) their works (νε̄γ̄-ζ̄β̄η̄γε̄) and all (τη̄ρ̄-ο̄ῡ) the blessings (νε̄-κ̄μο̄ῡ) written down (ε̄τ̄-κ̄η̄ζ̄) (in the Scriptures) will come (ν-σε̄-εῑ) upon them

(εχω-ογ)' (Sh. III 158:28-31). A more detailed analysis of subject-inverted clauses will be offered in Unit 10.

c) Subordinate clauses

In chains of same-subject and different-subject clauses, the Conjunctive serves primarily to coordinate and connects clauses of equal status, but it is equally suitable for various types of subordinate clauses.

- Subject clauses appear postverbally after the existential verb *φωπτε* 'to happen', while the preverbal subject position is occupied by the expletive third person singular feminine pronoun -c 'it', e.g. *εσφωπωπτε δε νσεεине ναφ νζεντετ н ζενκεοινογωμ (...)* 'when it happened (ε-с-φωп-φωπτε) (that) they brought (н-се-εине) him (Pachôm) (на-φ) fish (н-ζен-теτ) or (н) other food (ζен-ке-οι-но-γωμ) (...)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3), *αγω εσφωпωπτε ανοκ таер ρωме тамоу татωоуп εβολ ζн netmooγt mneζωmнт nζooγ tнатpe oγon nim ep mneeγe mπetnpaн nceenkaλeи mнωтп ναγ neиωт 'and (αγω) when it happens (ε-с-φωп-φωпτε) (that) I (ανοκ) become (та-ер) human (ρωме) and die (та-моу) and rise (та-тωоуп) from (ζн) the dead (н-ет-мооγт) on the third (н-п-мез-ωmнт) day (н-ζooγ), I will cause (т-на-тpe) everybody (oγon nim) to remember (lit. make (ep-) remembrance (п-мееγe) of) your name (н-пeтп-pan) and call upon (н-се-epиkaλeи) you (mнω-тп) for them (на-γ) as a father (н-ειωт)' (Test. Is. 237:1-4), *nnecφωпte mmoι тaoyωγт nneknoγte нbote* 'it will not happen (nnе-с-φωпte) to me (mmo-и) (that) I worship (та-oyωγт) your abominable (н-bote) gods (н-нек-ноγте)' (KHML I 5:21-22).*
- Conjunctive clauses are often used as propositional complements of verbs of cognition, such as *ειμε* 'to know', e.g. *xeκac eγeeime nceawhize etpeγωпte neγcia mπnoγte (...)* 'so that (xeκac) they shall know (ε-γ-ε-ειμε) (that) they (the holy fathers) fought (н-се-awhize) to become (ε-тpe-γ-ωпte) a sacrifice (н-εγcia) for God (н-п-ноγте)' (V. Pach. 253a:25-28).

- Conjunctive-inflected verb forms may also introduce adverbial purpose clauses that specify the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. *ειвнκ επτοпoc нaпa мнa нтаφaнa* 'I am on my way (ε-и-внκ) to the shrine (ε-п-тoпoc) of Apa Mēna to pray (нт-а-φaнa)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25), *mπi2ε επeccωнa зωλωc (for зoλωc) тaтωмc mmoγ* 'I have actually (зωλωc) not found (м-πi-2ε) her body (ε-пec-ωнa) to bury (та-тωмc) it (mmo-γ)' (Hil. 8:1), *пzαгioc пeтpoc пapxнeπicкoпoc пapaкaλeи mπeχc нqдннkeи mπaβioc кaтa пeqoyωγ* 'holy (п-зaгioc) Peter, archbishop (п-apxнeπicкoпoc), ask (пapaкaλeи) Christ (н-пe-χc) to guide (н-γ-дннkeи) my life (н-пa-βioc) according to (кaтa) his will (пeq-oyωγ)!' (Hil. 3:29-30).
- Finite Conjunctive clauses alternate with non-finite infinitival clauses in control constructions, which express indirect directive or commissive speech-acts, e.g. *тoγeз cαzнe etpeγωмwe mπnoγte nπte мп пeqχc ic мп пeпnā etoγaλb нceтmoγz бe etootoy etayε пpaн mнeиawoн εβολ ζн тeγтaпpo* 'I (hereby) give (т-oyeз) order (cαzнe) (that) they should follow (ε-тpe-γ-ωмwe) the God (н-п-ноγте) of heaven (н-т-пe) and (мн) his Christ (пeq-χc) Jesus and (мн) the Holy (εт-oyaλb) Spirit (пe-пnā) and (that) they never again (н-се-тп-oyz etoot-oy) pronounce (ε-тayε) the name (п-pan) of the idols (н-нe-иawoн) with (ζн) their mouths (тeγ-тaпpo)' (Eud. 40:6-8), *ανοκ γap eioyωγ нтапωт нтапωzт εβολ mπacнoγ εхм пpaн mπaxoeic ic пeχc* 'since (γap) I (ανοκ) want (ε-и-oyωγ) to go (нтa-пωт) and shed (нтa-пωzт) my blood (н-пa-снoγ) for (εхм) the name (п-pan) of my Lord (н-пa-xoεic) Jesus (ic) Christ (пe-χc)' (Mena, Mir. 10a:10-15).

d) Clausal connectives

A range of clause connectors may specify the syntactic relation between the Conjunctive clause and the preceding main clause.

- Conjunctive clauses may be combined with various rhetorical conjunctions that indicate a particular discourse relation, such as contradiction (ἀλλὰ 'but') or topic switch (Δε), e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΤΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΗΤΖΗΤ ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΗΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΤΗΤΡΕΤΕΤΗΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ) ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΤΗΧΙ ΖΗΗΤΗΝ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ (...) 'for (ΕΤΒΕ) this (reason) (ΠΑΙ) I appeal (ΤΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to your sound judgement (ΝΤΕΤΗΝΗΤ-ΖΗΤ) not to concern (yourselves) (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΕ-ΤΕΤΗ-ΖΟΜΕΛΕΙ) with them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) to pay heed to (ΝΤΕ-ΤΗ-ΧΙ ΖΗΗ-ΤΗ) the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) (...)' (Sh. III 31:2-5), ΕΥΨΑΝΤΗΡ ΑΝΑΨ ΗΠΡΑΝ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΕΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΚΕΑΝΑΨ ΝΣΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΗΟΨ (...) 'if they do not swear (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-Ρ) an oath (ΑΝΑΨ) in (ΖΗ) the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), yet swear (Ν-ΣΕ-ΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ) a different (kind of) oath (Ν-ΚΕ-ΑΝΑΨ) and violate (Ν-ΣΕ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ) it (ΜΗΟ-Ψ) (...)' (Sh. III 19:4-6).
- Particularly common is the combination of Conjunctive verb forms with coordinating conjunctions like αὖθ 'and' and ἢ 'or', e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΕΨΟΡΨΡ ΝΝΡΠΗΥΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΜΑ Ν[ΤΑ]ΛΕ ΜΑΣΕ <Ε2>ΡΑΙ (...) ΝΣΕΚΑΛΥ ΜΜΑ ΝΡΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΣΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝΣΕΨΙ ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΟΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) they shall destroy (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΨΟΡΨΡ) the temples (Ν-Ν-ΡΠΗΥΕ) and (ΜΗ) their places (ΝΕΥ-ΜΑ) of bull (ΜΑCΕ) sacrifices (Ν-ΤΑΛΕ) (...) and they shall make them (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΑΛ-Υ) places (Η-ΜΑ) of tears (Ν-ΡΜΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) they shall (re-)build (Ν-ΣΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) the churches (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ) and celebrate (Ν-ΣΕ-ΨΙ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:8-10), ΘΩΠΕ [Ν]ΗΜΑΙ ΑΥΩ [Ν]ΓCΩΤΗ Ε[Ρ]ΟΙ ΜΠΟΟΥ [Π]ΙΩΤ ΗΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC 'be (ΘΩΠΕ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) and (ΑΥΩ) hear (Ν-Γ-ΩΤΗ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) today (ΗΠΟΟΥ), oh Father (Π-ΙΩΤ) of my Lord (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC)!' (Eud. 46:11-12), ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΨΙC ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΝΤΕ ΟΥΚΙΝΔΥΝΟC ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΩΟΥ (...) 'if an affliction (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΨΙC) comes upon them (the hermits) (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ) or (Η) a danger (ΟΥ-ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟC) rises up (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΩΟΥΝ) against them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) (...)' (Onnophr. 211:31-32).

- Conjunctive direct object clauses are often introduced by the finite subordinating complementisers ζωστε and ζωc '(such) that' and their negative counterparts μηπωc and μηποτε 'that not', e.g. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΨΩΝΑΖ ΖΗ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΖΗ ΟΥCΟΡΑΖΤ ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΗΕ ΤΗΨΘΗCΘΗ ΕΤΩΗΝΤ ΕΡΟΨ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ 'he (ΠΑΙ) lived (Α-Ψ-ΩΝΑΖ) in (ΖΗ) silence (ΟΥ-CΟΡΑΖΤ) for (ΖΗ) a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΨ) such that (ΖΩCΤΕ) many (ΖΑΖ) who were in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) the village (Π-ΤΗΕ) could not (ΝΤΕ ... ΤΗ-Ψ-ΘΗ-CΘΗ) meet (Ε-ΤΩΗΝΤ) him (ΕΡΟ-Ψ) on many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) occasions (Ν-CΟΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 210:54:25-27), ΑΨΩΝΕ ΖΩC ΝΨΡ ΘΕ ΝΚΕΡΨΜΕ 'he (the senior monk) changed (Α-Ψ-ΩΝΕ) such that (ΖΩC) he became (Ν-Ψ-Ρ) like (ΘΕ <Τ-ΖΕ) another man (Ν-ΚΕ-ΡΨΜΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:2-3), ΕΝΧΩ ΘΕ ΗΠΑΙ ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΟΟC ΧΕ (...) 'we actually (ΘΕ) say (Ε-Ν-ΧΩ) this (Η-ΠΑΙ) so that (ΜΗΠΩC) someone (ΟΥΑ) will not say (ΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C) that (ΧΕ) (...)' (V. Pach. 291:6), ΔΑΧΤΗΥΤΗ ΖΗ ΤΕCΨΩ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΟΥC (...) 'wrap yourselves up (ΔΑΧ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) in (ΖΗ) the teaching (ΤΕ-ΨΩ) so that (ΜΗΠΟΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) does not become angry (ΝΤΕ ... ΝΟΥC) (...)' (V. Pach. 329a: 14-17 [Ps. 2:12]).

e) Clause-initial Conjunctions

The impossibility of a chain-initial Conjunctive can be directly related to the serializing character of this conjugation pattern. Yet, there are a few counterexamples to this positional restriction, where a Conjunctive occurs clause-initial position, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΑΑ[Ρ]ΟΝΙΖΕ (for ΤΑΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ) ΜΗ ΝΕΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΚΕΚΟΥΙ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) myself (ΖΩ) will fight (ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ) with (ΜΗ) the Jews (ΝΕ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) a little more (Ν-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ)' (Ac. A&P 194:15-16). It looks as if this example involves verb ellipsis, where a matrix control verb like ούωψ 'to want' has been deleted from the surface structure of the clause, although its semantic content is recoverable from the strong intentional reading of the Conjunctive verb form ΤΑ-ΑΓΟΝΙΖΕ 'I will fight'.

8.1.4.3 Event composition

The different degrees of structural integration between main clauses and Conjunctive clauses roughly correlate with different degrees of semantic integration between the main event and the consecutive events referred to by the chain-medial or chain-final Conjunctive verb forms.

a) Complex events

Conjunctive clause chains can describe a complex event consisting of two or more subevents, e.g. *ψαспа2тс εχм пка2 нсрime φανтес2εpπ тка2 2н несрmeiooye* 'she used to throw herself (*ψα-с-па2т-с*) on (*εχм*) the ground (*π-ка2*) and weep (*н-с-рime*) until she drenched (*φανте-с-2εpπ*) the ground (*π-ка2*) with (*2н*) her tears (*нес-рmeiooye*)' (Hil. 9:13-14), *ντερεqдоkιμαze xe* (read *δε*) *μηооу нqиnαу xe нaнoу пeyсмoт aqт exωoу нпecxиmα μμoнaxoc aqφoπoу epoq 2н oуpaψe* 'when he (Pachōm) had tested (*ντερε-q-доkιμαze*) them (the novices) (*μμo-oy*) and seen (*н-q-нaу*) that (*xe*) their character (*пey-смoт*) was good (*нaнoу*), he put (*α-q-т*) the monkish (*н-μoнaxoc*) habit (*н-πε-сxиmα*) on them (*εxω-oy*) (and) received them (*α-q-φoπ-oy epo-q*) with (*2н*) joy (*oу-paψe*)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), *αγω нтеуноу ψαγka βoλ нппαθoc αγω нтеуноу ψαpe πoуxαи ψωπε нaу нceнтoн нceт eooу нпнoуte μн нeψaнa нпeneиoт eтoуaaб aπa μaθθaиoc* 'and (*αγω*) immediately (*нтеуноу*) they vomitted (*ψα-γ-ka βoλ*) the evil (*н-π-παθoc*) and (*αγω*) they recovered (lit. recovery (*π-oуxαи*) happened (*ψαpe ... ψωπε*) for them (*нa-γ*)) and were relieved (*н-ce-нтoн*) (from sickness) immediately (*нтеуноу*) and praised (lit. give (*н-ce-т*) praise (*eooу*)) God (*н-π-нoуte*) as well as (*μн*) the prayers (*нe-ψaнa*) of our holy (*εт-oуaaб*) father (*н-πeн-εиoт*) Apa Matthew' (KHML II 10:16-20).

b) Polarity switch

A series of Conjunctive clauses may present a situation from different points of view, for instance, by switching from positive to negative polarity, e.g. *μape μмaтoи βωк нceqeи (for нceqi) ннeπaλx epε пeqcнoq xи2 epooу нceнoxoу eθaλaccα ннпωc нceнaу epooу*

нceπicтeуe epεqнoуte 'let the soldiers (*н-мaтoи*) go (*μape ... βωк*) and remove (*н-ce-qeи*) the (pavement) stones (*н-нe-πaλx*) on which his (Apa Nahrōw's) blood (*пeq-снoq*) has been smeared out (*epε ... xи2*) and throw them (*н-ce-нox-oy*) into the sea (*ε-θaλaccα*) so that (*μнпωc*) they do not see (*н-ce-нaу*) them (*epo-oy*) and have faith (*н-ce-πicтeуe*) in his god (*ε-пeq-нoуte*)' (KHML I 6:27-30).

c) Discourse paragraph

The Conjunctive may be consistently used throughout an entire discourse paragraph, describing a succession of events that are grouped together under a single contextual parameter, e.g. *βωк 2н oυδeπн нгcoβte нac нqтooу нcтpaтнaλтнc μн qтooу нтba μмaтoи μн qтooу н2apмa ннecтpaтнaλтнc μн φoмнт нтppω тпapθeнoc μн oунoуb εнaψωq εβoλ 2н пнι нпeкxoeиc (...)* *нгтаac нac εтpecxo εβoλ eπтoпoc нпeнxoeиc iċ пeċc (...)* *нтe qтooу нxoeи μoone 2aθн нqтooу нтe qтooу ψωπε 2н θaλaccα φaнтcωк εβoλ н2ωb ним eнтa пxoeиc xooу нac нп2oун нcaψq н2ooу нceμoone eθiλhμ αγω нгcнмaнe [н]пeneиoт [нe]πicкoпoc нqcyнaгe [н]тпoλic тнpc нпooу (...)* *μннca нaи дe тнpoу нгp пaи 2н oуcпoудн нψopт eнaи тнpoу нгxooу нoυπeнтнkонтapxoc μн пeqтaиoу μмaтoи εβoλ 2н т2иh нпppo нψopт нqснмaнe нμпoλic μн нтne xecac ннeутapaccе (...)* 'go (*βωк*) quickly (*2н oυδeπн*) and make ready (*н-г-coβte*) for her (*нa-с*) four (*н-qтooу*) generals (*н-cтpaтнaλтнc*) and (*μн*) forty thousand (*qтooу н-тba*) soldiers (*н-мaтoи*) and (*μн*) four (*qтooу*) chariots (*н-2apмa*) for the generals (*н-нe-cтpaтнaλтнc*) and (*μн*) three (*φoмнт*) (chariots) for the virgin (*т-пapθeнoc*) queen (*н-т-ppω*) and (*μн*) a large amount of (*ε-нaψω-q*) gold (*oу-нoуb*) from (*2н*) the house (*π-нι*) of your lord (*н-пeк-xoeиc*) (...) and give it (*н-г-тaλ-с*) to her (*нa-с*) to spend (*ε-тpe-с-xo εβoλ*) on the place (*ε-π-тoпoc*) of our Lord (*н-πeн-xoeиc*) Jesus (*iċ*) Christ (*пe-xċ*) (...) and four (*qтooу*) ships (*н-xoeи*) shall lie in port (*нтe ... μoone*) before (*2aθн*) four (*н-qтooу*) and four (ships) (*qтooу*) shall lie (*нтe ... ψωπε*) on (*2н*) sea (*θaλaccα*) until she accomplishes (*φaнт-с-xωк εβoλ*) everything (*н-2ωb ним*) that the Lord (*π-xoeиc*)

told (ΕΝΤ-Α ... ΧΟ-ΟΥ) her (ΝΑ-С) within (Η-Π-ΖΟΥΝ) seven (Ν-СΑΨΩ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ), and they shall land (Ν-СΕ-ΜΟΟΝΕ) at Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΙΛΗΗ) and you shall notify (Ν-Γ-СΗΜΑΝΕ) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) the bishop (Ν-ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC) that he assembles (Ν-Q-СΥΝΑΓΕ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-С) city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) today (ΗΠΟΟΥ) (...); in addition to (ΜΗΝCΑ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (orders) (ΝΑΙ) you shall do (Ν-Γ-Ρ) this (ΠΑΙ) swiftly (ΖΝ ΟΥ-CΠΟΥΔΗ), before (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (Ε-ΝΑΙ) you shall send (ΝΓΧΟΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) first (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) a commander-of-fifty (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΡΧΟC) and (ΗΝ) his fifty (ΠΕQ-ΤΑΙΟΥ) soldiers (Η-ΜΑΤΟΙ) on (ΖΝ) the king's (Η-Π-ΡΡΟ) road (Τ-ΖΗ) and he shall notify (Ν-Q-СΗΜΑΝΕ) the cities (Ν-Η-ΠΟΛΙC) and (ΗΝ) villages (Ν-†ΜΕ) that (ΧΕΚΑC) they will not be troubled (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΤΑΡΑCCE)' (Eud. 62:4-18).

d) Aspectual verbs

Verbs of *inherently directed motion* like ΕΙ 'to come' and ΒΩΚ 'to go' and *assume position* verbs like ΤΨΟΥΝ 'to stand up' may be used as auxiliary verbs, indicating the entrance into some event or state. When construed with such aspectual verbs of initiation, Conjunctive clauses have a single event interpretation, e.g. ΑΜΟΥ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΟΥCΙΑ 'come (ΑΜΟΥ) and look (Ν-Γ-ΝΑΥ) at my state of being (Ε-ΤΑ-ΟΥCΙΑ)!' (V. Pach. 86:13-14), ΟΥΔΕ ΗΠΕΙΕΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΥΝΑ ΕΝΕΖ Η ΟΥCΟΥΖ ΤΑΧΟΟC ΖΩC ΕΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΕΧΟΥCΙΑ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) I never (ΕΝΕΖ) intended (lit. I never went (ΗΠΕ-Ι-ΕΙ)) to go (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to a place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) or (Η) a congregation (ΟΥ-CΟΥΖ) and speak (ΤΑ-ΧΟΟ-С) as if (ΖΩC) I had (Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Ι) authority (Τ-ΕΧΟΥCΙΑ)' (V. Pach. 90:3-5), ΝΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΤΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΗΟQ '(if the Lord were in this place), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΤΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΜΗΟ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ΕΙΝΑΤΨΟΥΝ ΤΑΨΩΤ ΜΗΟΙ 'I will stand up (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΤΨΟΥΝ) and strangle (ΤΑ-ΨΩΤ) myself (ΜΗΟ-Ι)' (Ac. A&P 202:102-103).

8.1.4.4 Tense construal

The Coptic Conjunctive is an extremely flexible serialisation pattern, which links two or more finite verb forms and describes events of various complexities. Apart from signalling sequentiality and consecutivity, it

makes no further contribution to temporal, aspectual or modal interpretation of the clausal chain in which it appears. The Conjunctive is assigned a particular tense or mood by being anaphorically related to preceding verbal tense. Not only absolute but also relative tenses can serve as antecedents for the semantically underspecified Conjunctive conjugation. In this case, both the relative tense and the Conjunctive describe a complex event that occurs before or after the main clause event.

Examples: (absolute tense as an antecedent) ΠΕΙΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΤΖΝ ΤΕΤΝΗΜΤΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΙΜΨΑ ΝQΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ 'this other person (ΠΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΑ) who is in (ΕΤ-ΖΝ) your midst (ΤΕΤΝ-ΗΜΤΕ) that I am not worthy (ΕΤ-ΗΠΕ-Ι-ΗΠΨΑ) (that) he talks (Ν-Q-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (KMHL II 30:18-19), ΑΥΩ ΑQΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝCCENTQ ΕΧΗ ΠΒΗΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (the governor) ordered (Α-Q-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ) (that) they brought him (Απα Nahrōw) (Ν-СΕ-ΕΝΤ-Q) to (ΕΧΗ) the tribune (Π-ΒΗΜΑ)' (KHML I 5:18-19), †ΝΑQITQ ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧQ ΕΘΑΛΑCСΑ 'I will take it (the corpse) (†-ΝΑ-QIT-Q) and throw it (ΝΤΑ-ΝΟΥΧ-Q) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΑCСΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:5-7); (relative tense as an antecedent) ΝΤΕΡΕQΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝQΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΑQΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΑQΧΕ ΠΕQΑΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩC 'when he had gone (away) (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-ΒΩΚ) and become (Ν-Q-Ρ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC), he became (Α-Q-ΨΩΠΕ) negligent (lit. in (ΖΝ) a negligence (ΟΥ-ΑΜΕΛΙΑ)) and (ΑΥΩ) spent (Α-Q-ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) his time (ΠΕQ-ΑΖΕ) badly (ΚΑΚΩC)' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:3-4), ΜΗΝCΩC ΑΥΨΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕQΖΗ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧITQ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΝCΕΤΟΜCQ ΝCΟΥΜΗΤΗ ΗΠΕΙΕΒΟΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΑΨΩNC 'after this (ΜΗΝCΩ-С) they sang psalms (Α-Υ-ΨΑΛΛΕΙ) in front of him (Pachōm) (ΖΑ-ΤΕQ-ΖΗ) until they took him (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΧIT-Q) to the mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ) and buried him (Ν-СΕ-ΤΟΜC-Q) on the fifteenth day (Ν-CΟΥ-ΗΜΗ) of that same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) month (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΕΒΟΤ) Pashōns (ΠΑΨΩNC)' (V. Pach. 95:25-27).

8.1.4.5 Apodosis clauses

The Conjunctive may appear in the apodosis clause (the 'THEN'-clause) of a conditional construction, which relate two hypothetical events in terms of cause and effect, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΝΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ ΝΤNCΥΝΑΓΕ ΗΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΖΗ ΠCΔΒΒΑΤ.Ν ΜΗ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ '(ΑΥΩ) whenever we came (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) to the outer (ΕΤ-ΖΙΒΟΛ) mountain (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥ), we celebrated the Eucharist (Ν-ΤΗ-СΥΝΑΓΕ) with (ΜΗ) the

brothers (NE-CNHY) on (2M) Saturday (Π-CΛΒΒΑΤ.Ν) and (MN) Sunday (Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ)' (BMisc. 441:32-442:1).

8.1.5 Absolute-relative tenses

The verbal tenses considered so far are anaphoric tense categories, which receive a temporal interpretation from a contextually specified reference point. In this respect, they are semantically contrastive with the absolute tenses, which are deictic tense categories where time reference is determined with respect to the present moment. Absolute-relative tenses combine these two kinds of temporal reference. As combined deictic-anaphoric tense categories, absolute-relative have a reference point that is located at, before, or after the present moment and in addition locate a situation at, before, or after that reference point.

8.1.5.1 Forms

Coptic has three absolute-relative tenses, which are morphologically derived from "basic" First Tenses by adding the relative marker ε- in front of the verbal cluster, cf. table 8.5:

	RELATIVE PRESENT	RELATIVE FUTURE	RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	ε-Ι-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Ι-ϸΩΤΗ
2 nd sing. masc.	ε-Κ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Κ-ϸΩΤΗ
2 nd sing. fem.	ερε-ϸΩΤΗ	ερε-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ρε-ϸΩΤΗ
3 rd sing. masc.	ε-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-ϸ-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ
3 rd sing. fem.	ε-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-ϸ-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ
1 st plural	ε-Ν-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Ν-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Ν-ϸΩΤΗ
2 nd plural	ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ϸΩΤΗ
3 rd plural	ε-Υ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α-Υ-ϸΩΤΗ
Before noun	ερε πρΩμε ϸΩΤΗ	ερε πρΩμε ΝΑ-ϸΩΤΗ	ε-Α πρΩμε ϸΩΤΗ

TABLE 8.5 Absolute-relative tenses

8.1.5.2 Syntactic differences with Second Tenses

Absolute-relative tenses share with Second Tenses the relative marking of the main tense/aspect inflection. But while the verbal paradigms of the Relative Present and the Relative Future are formally identical to those of the Second Present and Second Future, the Relative Perfect ε-Α-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ 'when/while he heard' and the Second Perfect ΝΤ-Α-ϸ-ϸΩΤΗ 'he heard' are morphologically distinguished with respect to the relative markers ε- and ΝΤ-, respectively.

a) Syntactic dependency

Second Tenses represent a special type of inflectional morphology, which flags main clauses with a marked information structure, such as question-answer pairs (see below, section 7.2.2 of Unit 7), e.g. εκϷΩΝε εΟΥ - ΠḲ̄ εΙϷΩΝε ΕΠΑΖΗΠΑΡ 'from what (ε-ΟΥ) do you suffer (ε-κ-ϷΩΝε)? - Lord (Π-Ḳ̄), I am suffering (ε-Ι-ϷΩΝε) from my liver (ε-ΠΑ-ΖΗΠΑΡ)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). Absolute-relative tenses, on the other hand, are syntactically dependent tenses that introduce various types of complement and adjunct clauses, e.g. χε ΑΝΖε ΕΡΟϸ ΡΩ ΕϸΟΝΖ 'because (χε) we found (Α-Ν-Ζε) her (Hilaria) (ΕΡΟ-ϸ) at last (ΡΩ) being alive (ε-ϸ-ΟΝΖ)' (Hil. 12:6-7), ΑΥΩ ΑΙΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕϸΟΖϸ ΑϸΖε ΕΠΕϸΗΤ ΕΧΕΝ (for ΕΧΗ) ΠϸΖΟ (for ΠϸΖΟ) ΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤε 'and (ΑΥΩ) when (ΑΙΤΕΙ) he (Pachôm) was harvesting (ε-ϸ-ΟΖϸ)], he fell (Α-ϸ-Ζε) down (ΕΠΕϸΗΤ) on (ΕΧΕΝ) his face (Πϸ-ΖΟ) in (ΖΗ) their (the brothers') midst (ΤΕΥ-ΜΗΤε)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17).

b) Copula support

Absolute-relative tenses differ syntactically from the corresponding Second Tenses with respect to their external distribution and the applicability of copula support. Coptic has a rule of copula support in present tense sentences with indefinite subjects, which thus take the form of existential sentences. Copula support applies in full force in the Relative Present, e.g. ΑΥΖε ΕΡΟϸ ΕΥΝ ΟΥΝΟϸ ΝΖΜΟΗ ΖΗ ΠϸϸΩΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠϷΩΝε 'they found (Α-Υ-Ζε) him (Pachôm) (ΕΡΟ-ϸ) while (there) was (ε-ΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟϸ) fever (Ν-ΖΜΟΗ) in (ΖΗ) his body

(ΠΙ-ΩΝΑ) because of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the illness (Π-ΩΩΝΕ)’ (V. Pach. 87:19-20), ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΕΜΝ ΖΒΩ ΤΩ ΖΙΩΩΚ ‘why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) are you naked (lit. stripped off (Ε-Κ-ΚΗΚ) naked (ΑΖΗΥ)) without (there) being (Ε-ΗΝ ... ΤΩ) clothes (ΖΒΩ) on you (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)?’ (Onnophr. 207:1-2). The corresponding Second Tense sentence is, however, exempt from copula support, e.g. ΖΩC ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΤΑΡΙΟΝ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΩΚ ‘as if (ΖΩC) a (varigated) tunic (ΟΥCΤΑΡΙΟΝ) were placed (ΕΡΕ ... ΤΟ) on him (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)’ (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:25).

8.1.5.3 Syntactic distribution

Absolute-relative tenses have a flexible syntax and appear before or after the main clause with respect to which their temporal interpretation is determined. They indicate various types of clausal dependencies (concomitance, sequentiality, secondary predication).

a) Clauses of circumstance and concomitance

The Relative Present is widely used ‘WHEN’- and ‘WHILE’ adjunct clauses that indicate the co-temporality of two situations, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΙC ΤΤΟΟΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΥΕΙ ΜΠΟΥΕ ‘and (ΑΥΩ) while I was looking (Ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) at them (the trees) (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) and (ΜΝ) their fruits (ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), look (ΕΙC), four (ΤΤΟΟΥ) young (ΨΗΜ) fellows (Ν-ΩΗΡΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) from a distance (Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ)’ (Onnophr. 219:28-30), ΕΥΜΟΥΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΚΑΘΗΚΙ ΝΝΕΥΩΨ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΠΡΗΝΗΕΙ ΧΟΟΣ ‘when they reflect upon (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΨΤ) the instruction (Ν-Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΙ) they shall not stretch out (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΨΩΨ) and not (ΟΥΤΕ) turn (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) to the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΟΥ) until the house-keeper (Π-ΡΗΝ-ΗΕΙ) says so (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C)’ (praec. Pach. 123).

Adverbial time clauses of concomitance often have non-temporal meanings, providing background information about the setting, the conditions or the circumstances under which the main event/situation took place, e.g. ΝΤΚ ΝΙΗ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ‘you (ΝΤΚ) (are) who (ΝΙΗ) such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) that this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)?’ (Eud. 50:28-52:1).

A range of temporal connectives can further specify the co-temporality between the main clause and the dependent clause situation. Particularly common are the subordinators (Ε)Ν ΖΟCΟΝ ‘as long as, during, when’ and ΕΤΙ ‘while, still’, e.g. ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΡΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ‘while (ΕΝ ΖΟCΟΝ) we were talking (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) with (ΜΝ) each other (ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ), the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) district (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΩΡΑ) came (Α-Κ-ΕΙ) in (ΕΖΟΥΝ)’ (KHML I 143:12-14), ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟC ΑΚΤ ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ‘while (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟC), an old (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Κ-Τ) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose name (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΡΑΝ) (was) John (ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC)’ (Abbatōn 228:13-15). A more detailed discussion of WHEN’- and ‘WHILE’-clauses will be offered in section 12.2.2.1 of Unit 12.

b) Predicative adjuncts

Sentence constructions with predicative adjuncts express two types of predicative relationships, one between the subject and the main verb (the “primary” predicate) and another between the subject, direct and indirect object and an additional predicate expression, the predicative adjunct (or “secondary” predicate). Predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the subject referent are called subject depictives and predicative adjuncts that describe the state of the direct or indirect object are called object depictives. Predicative adjuncts are optional sentence constituents: they can be omitted without any unsystematic change of meaning, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΕΙΧΑΖΗ ‘but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am afraid (Τ-ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ) of entering (Ε-ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) (of the holy Apa Mena) being impure (Ε-Ι-ΧΑΖΗ)’ (Mena, Mir. 29b:14-17), ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΗΝΑΝΤΑ ΕΦΗΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΖΟΡ ‘and (ΑΥΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will bring him (Constantine) (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Α) bound (Ε-Κ-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-ΖΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ a dog) (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΡ)’ (Eud. 44:11-12), ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΨΩΝΕ ‘you find (lit. you see (ΚΝΑΥ)) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) sick (Ε-Ι-ΨΩΝΕ)’ (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20).

c) Resultative complements

The Relative Present is widely used to form the resultative complement clauses of aspectual verbs of continuation or completion, such as ὥ 'to remain', μοῦν εἶναι 'to stay, continue', λο 'to stop', οὔ 'to have already done', which assert the accomplished or ongoing state of some event, e.g. καὶ νυνεὶ οὐκ εἰκηκεν ἄνθρωπον 'so that (καὶ) I would not stay (νυνε-ι-ὄν) naked (lit. stripped off (ε-ι-κηκεν) naked (ἄνθρωπον))' (Onnophr. 217:31), ἀπομοῦν δὲ εἶναι ἐκ ψυχῆς ἁρῶς (...) 'he (Απο) Sarapiōn remained (α-μ-μοῦν) praying (ε-μ-ψυχή) for her sake (ἁρῶς-ς) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5), αἰὼν εἰσῆλθε ἐπαρῆναι 'I stopped (α-ι-λο) being sick (ε-ι-ψῶν) at my liver (ε-παρῆναι)' (Onnophr. 209:10), ἀπογῶν ἐμῶν 'he is already (α-μ-οὔ) dead (ε-μ-οὔ)' (Ac. A&P 196:24).

d) Sequential-consecutive clauses

Relative-absolute tenses may have a sequential-consecutive function and connect two or more clauses in a series. In elaborating on the description of some situation, such sequentially used absolute-relative tenses extend the narration in the same time-line as the preceding clause, e.g. ΠΑΝ ΔΕ ΝΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΕ ΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΝΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΖΙΟΥСОП ΕΡΕ ΤΡΗΝΗ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΗΜΗΗΤΕ ΕΝΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΟΥΕCΥΧΙΑ (for ΟΥΗCΥΧΙΑ) ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΝΤ ΕΟΟΥ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'the name (Π-ΡΑΝ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) monastery (ΝΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ) (was) Erête and we lived (Ε-Ν-Ο) together (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-СОП) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ) in harmony (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) and peace (ΤΡΗΝΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΗΝΗ) was (ΕΡΕ ... ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) our midst (ΤΗ-ΜΗΗΤΕ) and we were (Ε-Ν-ΨΟΟΠ) at (ΖΝ) ease (ΟΥ-ΕCΥΧΙΑ) with (ΜΝ) one another (ΝΕΝ-ΕΡΗΥ) and praised (Ε-Ν-† ΕΟΟΥ) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Onnophr. 210:23-26).

Absolute-relative tenses may assume a purposive reading and describe the intended outcome of the main clause event, e.g. $\kappa\eta\eta\gamma \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \ \nu\tau\epsilon \ \pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\iota \ \mu\pi\varsigma\bar{\alpha}\beta\alpha\tau.\eta \ \mu\eta \ \tau\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$ 'an angel ($\omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) of ($\nu\tau\epsilon$) God ($\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) comes ($\kappa\eta\eta\gamma$) and serves (the Eucharist) ($\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon$) to me ($\mu\mu\omicron\iota$) on Saturday ($\mu\text{-}\pi\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\beta\alpha\tau.\eta$) and ($\mu\eta$) Sunday ($\tau\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\alpha\kappa\eta$)' (Onnophr. 214:22-23),

ΜΗΝΝCΑ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΧ̄C λqει ψαροq νόι ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΝΗΠΗΟΥΕ ΕΑΓΤCΑΒΟQ ‘after (ΜΗΝΝCΑ) the glorification (Π-ΕΘΟΥ) of
 Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄C), Michael, the archangel (Π-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of heaven
 (Ν-Μ-ΠΗΟΥΕ), came (Α-Q-ΕΙ) to him (Constantine) (ΨΑΡΟ-Q) and
 instructed him (Ε-Α-Q-ΤCΑΒΟ-Q)’ (Eud. 42:1-2).

8.1.5.4 Tense distinctions

Absolute-relative tenses combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation. They express three different ranges of temporal reference.

a) **Relative Present**

The Relative Present ε-q-cwtm 'when/while he hears/heard' depicts events or states that lasted during the time at which another event took place, e.g. ἀγαπάντα ἐπζηγέμων ἐQBHK ἐπBHHΑ 'they met (α-γ-απάντα) the governor (ε-π-ζηγέμων) on his way (ε-q-BHK) to the tribunal (ε-π-BHHΑ)' (Ac. A&P 208:171-172), ἀγω εἰς σε νρoмπε τωoπ 2N τιεpHμια εἰμοoυε 2N нтooγ нее ннеoнpиoн 'and (αγω), behold (εἰς), (for) sixty (се) years (нρoмπε) I have been living (τ-ωoп) in (2N) this desert (тi-epHμια), wandering around (ε-т-мooυε) in (2N) the mountains (н-тooγ) in the manner (нее < н-т-2ε) of wild beasts (н-не-oнpиoн)' (Onnophr. 210:18-20), καὶ δε ἐqχω ннooγ nepe oεωdωpoc 2mooc нпoyε нoγкoyι ep (for epε) пq2o нпeчнт 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (ε-q-χω) these (words) (καὶ), Theodore was sitting (nepe ... 2mooc) at a little (н-oγ-кoyι) distance (н-п-oυε), his face (пq-2o) (turned down) to the ground (ep ... н-п-εчнт)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

b) Relative Future

The Relative Future **ε-q-na-cwtm** ‘when/while he is/was going to hear’ describes an event that was about to happen when another event took place, e.g. **αc2ε εγχοι εqnaψδhr εγπολιc xε cαραλhα** ‘she (Hilaria) found (α-c-2ε) a ship (ε-γ-χοι) *ready to sail* (ε-q-na-ψδhr) to a city (ε-γ-πολιc) called (xε) Saralêa’ (Hil. 3:17-18), **ταρχη γαρ εynaβωk**

ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCIC (for ΕΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCIC) ψΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΚΟ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΒΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) *when they are about to enter* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) the solitary life (Ε-Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCIC), they rejoice (ΨΑ-Υ-ΡΑΨΕ) much (ΕΜΑΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ) and (ΜΝ) the thirst (Π-ΕΙΒΕ)' (Onnophr. 211:14-15), ΕΚΝΑΘΩΨΤ ΝCΩΙ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑΚΟ 'will you watch (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΘΩΨΤ) me (ΝCΩ-Ι) *going down* (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to destruction (Ε-Π-ΤΑΚΟ)?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91).

c) Relative Perfect

The Relative Perfect Ε-Α-Q-CΩΤΗ 'when/while he has/had heard' indicates an anterior event that had been accomplished some time before another event started, e.g. ΑΥΖΕ ΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΕΛΦΟΥ ΕΦΜΟΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) the little (ΨΗΜ) boy (Ε-Π-ΩΗΡΕ) *having already* (Ε-Α-Q-ΟΥ) died (Ε-Q-ΜΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 196:48), ΛΙΘΩΨΤ ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΑΓΕΛΕΙ (for ΕΥΑΓΕΛΗ) ΝΨΟΥ ΕΛCΕΙ ΗΠΟΥΕ 'I looked up (Α-Ι-ΘΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) a herd (Ε-Υ-ΑΓΕΛΕΙ) of antilopes (Η-ΨΟΥ) *having approached* (Ε-Α-C-ΕΙ) from a distance (Η-Π-ΟΥΕ)' (Onnophr. 206:13-14), ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΕΛQΡ ΒΛΛΕ ΕΠΕQΒΑΛ CΝΑΥ 'they found (Α-Υ-ΖΕ) him (Diocletian) (ΕΡΟ-Q) *having become* (Ε-Α-Q-P) blind (ΒΛΛΕ) in both (CΝΑΥ) his eyes (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΒΑΛ)' (Eud. 36:22-23).

8.2 Moods

Mood is a grammatical category used to describe the speaker's attitudes or beliefs towards non-observable facts. A major division in the modal domain concerns the distinction between epistemic and deontic modality, where the former deals with matters of knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said and the latter with obligation and desire. Epistemic and deontic modality are therefore related to the informative and the pragmatic functions of language, respectively. The inventory of Coptic basic moods is presented in table 8.6 below.

DEONTIC MODALITY	EPISTEMIC MODALITY
IMPERATIVE CΩΤΗ listen!	CONDITIONAL Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ if/when he hears/heard
JUSSIVE ΜΑΡΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ may he hear	INFERENTIAL ΤΑΡΕ-Q-CΩΤΗ and/so that he shall hear

TABLE 8.6 Basic moods

In expressing a proposal for action, the imperative and the Jussive relate to deontic modality. The Conditional and the Inferential, on the other hand, are epistemic modal patterns that express hypothetical situations and emphatic assertions and deductions, respectively.

N.B. Besides the involvement of the speaker in the event under consideration, deontic and epistemic modal pattern have little in common semantically. Thus, it is never possible to interpret a deontic modal pattern like the Jussive epistemically in terms of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what is being said. Neither can an epistemic modal like the Conditional be used deontically to elicit some action from the person they are directed to. In this respect, Coptic moods differ systematically from the modalised future tenses, which have epistemic as well as deontic uses (see above, section 7.3.3 of Unit 7).

8.2.1 The imperative

The imperative represents the quintessential form of deontic modality that encodes events imposed by the speaker. In Coptic, as in many other languages, the imperative is an impoverished conjugation pattern. It is morphologically impoverished in the sense that most imperatives lack special formal marking and syntactically impoverished in the sense that imperatival mood can only have second person reference.

8.2.1.1 Forms

Imperatives can be formed morphologically either by unmarked infinitival verbs or by irregular imperatives with a distinct imperatival marker.

a) Infinitival imperatives

Most verbs have infinitival imperatives, where an uninflected absolute or construct state stem is used as the main predicate of the imperational clause, e.g. ΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'farewell (ΟΥΧΑΙ), my holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) fathers (ΝΑ-ΕΙΟΤΕ)!' (Hil.8:13-14), CΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ 'turn yourself (CΑΖΩ-Κ) away from (ΕΒΟΛ) the idols (Ν-Ν-ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ)!' (Eud. 38:12-13), ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΦΟΧΝΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΛΛΑ 'you (ΝΤΟΚ), on your part (ΖΩΩ-Κ), take council (ΦΟΧΝΕ), think (ΜΕΕΥΕ), ponder (ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ), consider (well) (ΕΙΜΕ) what (ΟΥ) you will do (Π-ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΛ-Γ)!' (Camb. 9:12-15), ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΙ 'tell (ΧΟΟ-Υ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)!' (Eud. 54:17).

b) Irregular imperatives

Coptic has a number of so-called irregular imperatives, which are characterised morphologically by a special imperational prefix α- or by a suppletive verb stem that is phonologically unrelated to the basic form of the verb. Some irregular imperatives are also inflected for gender and number.

SING. MASC.	SING. FEM.	PLURAL	BASE VERB	GLOSS
ΑΛΟ=Κ	ΑΛΟ	ΑΛΩ=ΤΝ	ΛΟ	stop!
ΑΜΟΥ	ΑΜΗ	ΑΜΗΕΙ=ΤΝ	ΕΙ	come!
ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-	ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-	ΑΝΙΝΕ, ΑΝΙ-,	ΕΙΝΕ	bring!
ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΑΡΙΡΕ, ΑΡΙ-	ΕΙΡΕ	make!
ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΑΧΙ-, ΑΧΙ=	ΧΩ	say!
ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΑΟΥΩΝ	ΟΥΩΝ	open!
ΑΝΑΥ	ΑΝΑΥ	ΑΝΑΥ	ΝΑΥ	see!
ΜΟ, ΜΩ	ΜΟ	ΜΜΗΕΙΤΝ	ΧΙ	take!
ΜΑ-	ΜΑ-	ΜΑ-	†	give!

TABLE 8.7 Irregular imperatives

Examples: ΑΜΟΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΦΑΡΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 'come (ΑΜΟΥ) down (ΕΠΕCΗΤ) to me (ΦΑΡΟ-Ι), holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ)!' (Onnophr. 210:12), ΑΜΗ ΝΤΕΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΔΙΧ ΜΗ ΠΑCΠΙΡ 'come (woman) (ΑΜΗ) and look (ΝΤΕ-ΝΑΥ) at my hands (Ε-ΝΑ-ΔΙΧ) and (ΜΗ) my side (ΠΑ-CΠΙΡ)!' (Eud. 52:3), ΑΜ[Η]ΕΙΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC 'come (ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ) outside (ΕΒΟΛ) (and) open (ΑΟΥΩΝ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) the gate (Ν-Τ-ΠΥΛΗ) of the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)!' (Ac. A&P 206:166-167), ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC 'remember (lit. make (ΑΡΙ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ)), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC)!' (Ac. A&P 200:83), ΑΝΙΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕCΤΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΜΑ 'bring (ΑΝΙΝΕ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) the four (Μ-ΠΕ-CΤΟΟΥ) gospels (Ν-Ν-ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ) here (Ε-ΠΙ-ΜΑ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ΑΝΙ ΟΥΓΝΩΜΗ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ω ΝCΑΖ ΜΠΗ ΜΠΗΛ 'give (ΑΝΙ) us (ΝΑ-Ν) advice (ΟΥ-ΓΝΩΜΗ), oh (Ω) educated people (Ν-CΑΖ) of the house (Μ-Π-Η) of Israel!' (Eud. 52:23), ΑΧΙC ΝΑΥ 'tell it (ΑΧΙ-C) to them (ΝΑ-Υ)!' (Hil. 11:25), ΤΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ 'our mistress (ΤΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC), open (ΑΟΥΩΝ) to us (ΝΑ-Ν)!' (Eud. 54:20), ΜΩ ΝΓCΟΥΕΝ ΤΟΙΧ ΝCΖΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΜΗ ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC 'take (it) (the letter) and you will recognise (Ν-Γ-CΟΥΕΝ) your father's (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΕΙΩΤ) handwriting (lit. the hand (Τ-ΟΙΧ) of writing (Ν-CΖΑΙ)) and (ΜΗ) his seal (ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC)!' (Victor, Martyrd. 29:25-26), ΑΥΩ ΜΑ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) give (ΜΑ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) the baptism (Μ-Π-ΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ)!' (Pist. Soph. 111:6).

c) Prefixation of ΜΑ-

Lexical Τ-causatives have two imperational forms that appear in free variation. On the one hand, there are "bare" infinitival imperatives, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΜΘΟΜ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) be strong (ΤΑΧΡΟ) and vigorous (ΝΤΕ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ)!' (Eud. 50:22). On the other hand, there are irregular imperatives formed with the suppletive imperational verb ΜΑ- 'give!', e.g. ΜΑΤCΑΒΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΝΟΥΧΓ ΕΠΜΟΟΥ 'inform me (ΜΑ-ΤCΑΒΟΙ) about the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ), where (ΝΤ-Α) Paul threw himself (ΝΟΥΧ-Γ) into the water (Ε-Π-ΜΟΟΥ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:50-51), ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ 'make (ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΙΟ) me (ΝΑ-Ι) a drag net (Ν-ΟΥ-ΑΒΩ)!' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-35).

8.2.1.2 The imperative and second person reference

In Coptic, as in many other languages, imperatival mood can only have second person reference. By using the imperative, the speaker proposes that the addressee take action, while the Jussive mood must be selected when he or she issues a command from another speech participant. Since the subject of imperatival clauses refers to the addressee, the use of second person pronouns becomes redundant and only a few irregular imperatives show second person inflection on the verbal stem. The number and gender specification of the unexpressed second person subject of imperatival clauses may, however, be co-referenced by various types of pronouns:

- So-called ethical datives, which reinforce the necessity or urgency of the proposed action, e.g. *ⲥⲉⲱⲡⲉⲓ* (read *ⲥⲉⲱⲡⲉⲓ*) *ⲛⲁⲕ* 'see (*ⲥⲉⲱⲡⲉⲓ*) for yourself (*ⲛⲁ-ⲕ*)!' (KHML II 21:26), *ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲥⲉ ⲃⲓⲧⲥ* (for *ⲥⲓⲧⲥ*) *ⲛⲁⲕ* *ⲁⲓⲭⲱⲓ* 'now (*ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ*) take it (the cloak) (*ⲃⲓⲧ-ⲥ*) (away) from me (*ⲁⲓⲭⲱ-ⲓ*)!' (V. Pach. 92:15), *ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ* '(if you want to become a monk) go (*ⲃⲱⲕ*) for yourself (*ⲛⲁ-ⲕ*) to the Henaton (*ⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲛ*)!' (Hil. 5:17)
- The second person subject pronoun of a following Conjunctive, e.g. *ⲱⲱⲡⲉ* [N]ⲛⲙⲁⲓ *ⲁⲩⲱ* [N]ⲓⲕⲱⲧⲙ *ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲩⲩ* 'be (*ⲱⲱⲡⲉ*) with me (*ⲛⲛⲙⲁ-ⲓ*) and listen (*ⲛ-ⲓ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ*) to me (*ⲉⲣⲟ-ⲓ*) today (*ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲩⲩ*)!' (Eud. 46:11)
- Appositionally used independent pronouns, which are added to the imperatival verb for emphatic purposes, e.g. *ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓ* 'sit (*ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲥ*), you (*ⲛⲧⲟⲕ*), in (*ⲁⲛ*) your cell (*ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲣⲓ*)!' (AP Chaine no. 49, 10:30-11:1).

8.2.2 The Jussive

Coptic has a Jussive mood, which is formally distinct from the corresponding imperative. Both deontic modals are in complementary distribution with respect to grammatical person. While the imperative has only second person forms, the Jussive instantiates specific first and third person forms for orders, requests, entreaties, and the like, e.g. *ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱⲧⲙ* 'and (*ⲁⲩⲱ*) guide me (lit. take (*ⲭⲓ*) road (*ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ*) before me

(*ⲁⲩⲱⲧ*)) in (*ⲁⲛ*) your light (*ⲛⲉⲕ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ*) and (*ⲁⲩⲱ*) let me know (*ⲙⲁⲣⲓ-ⲉⲓⲙⲉ*), oh (*ⲱ*) light (*ⲛ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ*), that (*ⲭⲉ*) you (*ⲛⲧⲟⲕ*) (are) my saviour (*ⲛⲁ-ⲣⲉⲕ-ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲩⲱⲧⲙ*)!' (Pist. Soph. 79:18).

8.2.2.1 Forms

The defective pronominal paradigm of the Jussive mood is presented in table 8.8. The empty paradigmatic cells in the second person singular and plural are filled by the corresponding imperatives.

	JUSSIVE	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	<i>ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲓ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ</i>	<i>ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ, ⲙⲁⲣⲟ-ⲛ</i>
2 nd		
3 rd masc.	<i>ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲥ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ</i>	<i>ⲙⲁⲣ-ⲟⲩ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ</i>
3 rd fem.	<i>ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲕ-ⲕⲱⲧⲙ</i>	
Before noun	<i>ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲕⲱⲧⲙ</i>	

TABLE 8.8 Jussive mood

8.2.2.2 The metaphorical extension of deontic modality

From a syntactic point of view, the imperative and the Jussive may be treated as a single verbal pattern, since the forms are in complementary distribution. Yet, both deontic modals differ from one another both semantically and pragmatically: semantically in the sense that the Jussive always implies the presence of a remote causer; pragmatically in the sense that it is used as a politeness form in those contexts where the imperative would be socially inappropriate.

a) Remote causer

The conjugation base *ⲙⲁⲣ(ⲉ)-* represents the imperatival counterpart of the causative verb *ⲧⲣⲉ-* 'cause to do' (for its syntax, see section 6.4.3 of Unit 6). The Jussive therefore implies the presence of an implicit CAUSER, denoting the entity that is capable of initiating the proposed action, e.g.

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΥ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ), may your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon them (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)!' (Abbatôn 242:31). Third person plural Jussives may have a passive interpretation, where the causer is left unspecified, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΜΟΥΡ ΜΠΧΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΟΝΤΩ ΝΖΗΤΩ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) let the ship (Μ-Π-ΧΟΙ) be moored (lit. let them moore (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥΡ)) at the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you have found it (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΟΝΤ-Ω)!' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146), ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΥΚΑΑΤ ΚΑΖΗΥ ΝΤΑΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ (for ΝΤΑΛΕΒΙΤΩΝ) ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΚΟΟΤ ΝΗΜΑΣ 'don't let me (ΜΠΕΡ-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΚΑΑ-Τ) be bared (ΚΑΖΗΥ) of my habit (Ν-ΤΑ-ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) let them bury me (ΜΑΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΟΟΤ-Τ) with it (ΝΗΜΑ-Σ)!' (Hil. 12:23-24).

b) Third person imperatives

The Jussive replaces the imperative in manipulative speech acts (orders, instructions) with third person reference, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΝΦΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΜΑΡΕΨΤ ΝΝΟΥΨ ΝΑΝ 'if (ΕΨΧΕ) he will not (ΑΝ) rise (Ν-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), he shall give (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-Τ) to us (ΝΑ-Ν) what is his (ΝΝΟΥ-Ψ)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212), ΜΑΡΕΨΩΚ ΝΨΟΤΗΕΣ ΝΤΟΟΤΩ (read ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ) ΝΝΕΤΝΟΙ 'he should go (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΩΚ) and hear it (the testament) (Ν-Ψ-ΟΤΗΕ-Σ) from those (ΝΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) who know (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΟΙ) (to read)!' (Test. Is. 236:4).

c) Politeness form

The Jussive is used as a politeness form in manipulative speech-acts when the addressee outranks the speaker on a social or ontological hierarchy, e.g. ΑΙΟ ΠΑΓΙΩΤ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΑΖΟΝ ΤΗΡΗ 'please (ΑΙΟ), my good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ψ) father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), let your grace (ΠΕΚ-ΝΑ) come upon us (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΤΑΖΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)!' (Onnophr. 216:24-25), ΕΙΣ ΤΕΙΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΜΑΡΕΣΩΝΖ ΜΠΕΚΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙΣ), this other (girl) (ΤΕΙ-ΚΕ-ΟΥΕΙ), let her stay alive (ΜΑΡΕ-Σ-ΩΝΖ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Hil. 8:5), ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΝΑΣΟΥΤΗ ΤΑΖΗ ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΙΕ ΜΑΡΙΣΩΤΗ ΕΖΕΝΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΨΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ '(oh) Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Almighty (Π-ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ), if (ΕΨΧΕ) you want to direct

(Κ-ΝΑ-ΣΟΥΤΗ) my way (ΤΑ-ΖΗ) in (ΖΗ) the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) that I want to pursue (ΕΨΝΑΒΩΚ < ΕΤ-Ψ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)), then (ΕΙΕ) let me hear (ΜΑΡ-Ι-ΣΩΤΗ) Scripture readings (Ε-ΖΕΝ-ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ) that are suited (Ε-Υ-ΠΡΕΠΕΙ) to my goal (Μ-ΠΑ-ΣΚΟΠΟΣ)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

d) Optative

The Jussive can have an optative reading, expressing the speaker's hopes about some state of affairs that has not yet been realised, e.g. ΑΚΣΕΤΗ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΨΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΜΑΚ 'you have heard (Α-Κ-ΣΕΤΗ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ). (So) may it stay (ΜΑΡΕ-Ψ-ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) with you (ΝΗΜΑ-Κ)!' (Test. Is. 228:9-10), ΜΑΡΕ ΤΑΘΥΣΙΑ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΩΠΗ ΜΠΕΚΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ 'may my sacrifice (ΤΑ-ΘΥΣΙΑ) be (ΜΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) accepted (Ε-Σ-ΩΠΗ) in your presence (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΗΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ)!' (Test. Is. 232:32-33).

e) Exhortative

First person plural Jussives are conventionally associated with an exhortative meaning and function, expressing desires for actions involving the speaker and some other speech participant, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΜΑΡΝΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΨ ΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΙ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'let us now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), my beloved (ΝΑ-ΜΕΡΑΤΕ), be zealous (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to give (Ε-Ψ) love (ΑΓΑΠΗ) and (ΖΙ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ)!' (Abbatôn 247:34-248:2). The freestanding form ΜΑΡΟΝ 'let's go' is used as a parenthetical expression that reinforces the proposition for action that is described, e.g. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΜΑΡΟΝ ΝΤΑΧΙΤΕ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΨΤΑΦΟΣ 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ), rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ), let's go (ΜΑΡΟΝ) and I will take you (woman) (ΝΤΑ-ΧΙΤ-Ε) to (ΕΧΗ) his (Christ's) tomb (ΠΕΨ-ΤΑΦΟΣ)!' (Eud. 68:10-11).

8.2.3 Conditional mood

The Conditional Ε-Ψ-ΨΑΝ-ΣΩΤΗ 'if/when he hears' introduces the subordinate adjunct clause (the protasis) of an open conditional sentences, which describes hypothetical situations that have the potential of becoming reality.

8.2.3.1 Forms

The Conditional conjugation **ε-q-ψαν-ωtm** 'if/when he hears' is a compound verbal tense, consisting of an initial relative marker **ε-** and the modal auxiliary **ψαν**, which has a fully grammaticalised meaning and function. It undergoes subject-verb inversion in the context of full noun phrases: **ερε NP_{subject} ψαν** → **εψαν NP_{subject}** (see above, section 7.1.2.4 of Unit 7).

CONDITIONAL		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ε-ι-ψαν-ωtm	ε-ν-ψαν-ωtm
2 nd masc.	ε-κ-ψαν-ωtm	ε-τεtn-ψαν-ωtm
2 nd fem.	ε-ρ-ψαν-ωtm	
3 rd masc.	ε-q-ψαν-ωtm	ε-γ-ψαν-ωtm
3 rd fem.	ε-ς-ψαν-ωtm	
Before noun	(ε)ρψαν πρωμε ωtm	

TABLE 8.9 Conditional mood

8.2.3.2 Modal and aspectual uses of the Conditional

The Conditional conjugation has a broad spectrum of semantic connotations. Depending on the tense-aspect selected in the apodosis clause, it assumes a more modal or more temporal interpretation ('whenever, every time he hears').

a) Real conditions

As an epistemic modal, the Conditional anticipates a situation about which the speaker has some positive belief that it will occur at some point in the future. The apodosis clause of such realis conditionals frequently contains a future tense, asserting that if one event takes place some other will naturally follow, e.g. **εψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροq τηροq σεναπιστευε εροq** (Eud. 52:21-22) 'because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-οy) those (people) who saw (ν-εντ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-q) come to

know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (σε-να-πιστευε) in him (ερο-q)' (Eud. 52:21-22), **εψανει νσεονtn ενρηc τtnαχι σοοy** 'if they come (ε-γ-ψαν-ει) and find us (ν-σε-ονtn-ν) awake (ε-ν-ρηc), we will be glorified (lit. receive (tn-να-χι) glory (σοοy))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), **αγω τπιστευε xε εψανει ψαρον τtnαθεν zny τηρν zιtn νεqψαηλ** 'and (αγω) I believe (τ-πιστευε) that (xε) when he comes (ε-q-ψαν-ει) to us (ψαρο-ν), we all (τηρ-ν) will benefit (lit. gain (tn-να-θεν) profit (zny)) from (zιtn) his prayers (νεq-ψαηλ)' (Hil. 10:30-31).

b) Quantification over event types

The Conditional may express quantification over types of situations rather than possible scenarios in some imaginary world. The quantificational meaning is reinforced by the selection of habitual aspect in the consequent clause, e.g. **εcψαντωοyn εψαηλ νεψαcψαηλ νμηαc** 'whenever she (Hilaria) rose (ε-ς-ψαν-τωοyn) to pray (ε-ψαηλ), she used to pray (νε-ψα-ς-ψαηλ) with her (her younger sister) (νμηα-ς)' (Hil. 9:12), **αλλα ρψαν οycon τmκa2 ναq zνnoy2ωq** (for **zν οy2ωc**) **νεψαqμεcτωq** 'but (αλλα) whenever a brother (οy-con) hurt (ρψαν ... † mκa2) him (the ill-tempered monk) (να-q) in anything (zνn-οy-2ωq), he used to hate him (νε-ψα-q-μεcτω-q)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3).

c) With other deontic modals

Realis conditionals may restrict the deontic force of a manipulative speech act by specifying a condition or circumstance under which an order must be obeyed, e.g. **αγω οn νεcνηy εγψαναμελεi εκene2ce ημοοy zm πνωμοc** (read **πνωμοc**) **επnoyτε** (read **ηπnoyτε**) 'and (αγω) also (οn) (as far as) the brothers (νε-ςνηy) (are concerned): if they become negligent (ε-γ-ψαν-αμελεi) you shall raise (ε-κ-ε-νε2ce) them (ημο-οy) up in (zm) the law (π-νωμοc) of God (η-π-noyτε)' (V. Pach. 94:14-16).

8.2.4 Inferential mood

The Inferential **ТАΡΕ-Q-СΩΤΗ** 'and/so that he shall hear' instantiates a relatively unique case of evidential modality in the Sahidic Coptic conjugation system. Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functions words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.

8.2.4.1 Forms

The entirely regular inflectional paradigm of the Inferential **ТАΡΕ-Q-СΩΤΗ** is represented in table 8.10. Contrary to what is stated in many Coptic reference works, there is no evidence for a paradigm gap in the first person singular. Yet, it seems to be the case that first person singular Inferentials (**ТАР-І-СΩΤΗ**) can only be used under specific contextual conditions.

	INFERNENTIAL	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ТАР-І-СΩΤΗ	ТАР-N-СΩΤΗ
2 nd masc.	ТАРЕ-К-СΩΤΗ	ТАРЕ-TN-СΩΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ТАРЕ-СΩΤΗ	
3 rd masc.	ТАРЕ-Q-СΩΤΗ	ТАР-ΟΥ-СΩΤΗ
3 rd fem.	ТАРЕ-С-СΩΤΗ	
Before noun	ТАРЕ ΠΡΩΜΕ СΩΤΗ	

TABLE 8.10 Inferential mood

8.2.4.2 Inferential evidentiality and first person reference

In a system based on a primary division of the source of knowledge into the speaker and other speech participants, inferred evidence is intrinsically related to the speaker. When the speaker was a knowing participant in some event, either as a voluntary agent or conscious experiencer, the knowledge of that event is normally direct and evidential markers are therefore often omitted. First person singular inferentials do, however,

occur in those contexts where the speaker distances himself from his own actions and takes the stance of an outside observer, e.g. **ΛΥΩ QI ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΤΑΡΙΕΙ ΝCΩΚ ΖN ΟΥΡΑΩΕ ΕΜΕΝ ΩCΚ** 'and (ΛΥΩ) take (QI) care (Π-ΠΟΟΥΩ) and I shall fetch (ΤΑΡ-І-ΕΙ) you (NCΩ-Κ) with (ΖN) joy (ΟΥ-ΡΑΩΕ) without (Ε-ΜΕΝ) delay (ΩCΚ)' (Test. Is. 230:9-10), **ΜΑΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΙ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΤΑΡΙΚΑ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖN ΝΕΚΩΙΧ** 'make (ΜΑ-ΤΑΜΙΟ) a drag net (N-ΟΥ-ΑΒΩ) for me (ΝΑ-Ι) so that I keep (ΤΑΡ-І-ΚΑ) something (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) for myself (ΝΑ-Ι) from (ΖN) your hands (ΝΕΚ-ΩΙΧ)' (AP Elanskaya 23b:34-24a:1), **ΧΕΚΑC ΕΛΙΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΕΙΚΕΤ ΤΑΡΙΡ ΨΗΜΟ ΕΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΝΙΜ** 'such that (ΧΕΚΑC) I, having learnt (Ε-ΑΙ-ΕΙΜΕ) about this other (thing) (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΚΕΤ), become (ΤΑΡΙ-Ρ) free (lit. alien (ΨΗΜΟ)) from all (ΝΙΜ) ignorance (Ε-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΟΥΝ)' (AP Chaîne no. 211, 60:5).

8.2.4.3 The validitional function of the Inferential

The Inferential can be characterised as introspective evidential, which encodes not only inference based on (non-)observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent. Consequently, the speaker takes responsibility for the truth of his assertion.

a) Assertive-promissive

The Inferential is commonly used in prescriptive contexts, where the speaker assures the addressee about the emergence of some state of affairs once his instructions are followed. In this usage, it indicates the high degree of certainty the speaker has for his assertion without actually specifying the source of knowledge or evidence type. In other words, the validity of the inference is solely based on the speaker's authority, e.g. **ΛΥΩ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΖΟΥΟ СΩΤΗ ΝCΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑРЕQΝΑΖМЕК** 'and (ΛΥΩ) most of all (ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΖΟΥΟ) listen (CΩΤΗ) to (NCΑ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (be assured) he will save you (ТАРЕ-Q-ΝΑΖМЕ-К)' (Catéch. Pach. 5:7-8), **ΑΛΛΑ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΚΘΕΒΗΥ ΤΑРЕΚΩ ΖM ΠΕΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΛQ ΝΑΚ** 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) remain (ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) humble (Ε-Κ-ΘΕΒΗΥ) and (be assured) you shall remain (ТАРЕ-К-Ω) in (ΖM) the glory (Π-ΕΟΥ) that God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) has given (ΝΤ-Α ... ΤΑΛ-Q) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)' (Catéch. Pach.

7:13-14), $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\nu\omicron\gamma\psi\eta\mu$ $\nu\rho\epsilon\tau$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\mu\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\gamma\iota\chi\omega\kappa$ 'become ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) a tree ($\mu-\omicron\gamma-\psi\eta\mu$) which brings forth ($\mu-\rho\epsilon\tau$) fruit ($\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) and (trust me) the Lord's ($\mu-\pi-\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) blessing ($\pi\epsilon-\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma$) will come down ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$... $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) on you ($\gamma\iota\chi\omega-\kappa$)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

b) Reported indirect speech

The Inferential may introduce indirect speech, where the speaker himself makes a report of a report and is therefore the source of knowledge, e.g. $\gamma\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ λ $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\nu\alpha\mu$ $\tau\alpha\rho\nu\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\gamma\eta$ $\psi\eta\mu$ $\mu\iota\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\gamma\mu$ $\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\psi\eta\mu$ $\nu\varsigma\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\nu\alpha\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\iota$ $\mu\eta$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'concerning ($\gamma\eta$) eating ($\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$), the Lord ($\mu-\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) told (λ ... $\chi\omicron\omicron-\varsigma$) us ($\mu\lambda-\mu$) that we can eat ($\tau\alpha\rho-\mu-\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$) from ($\gamma\eta$) every ($\mu\iota\mu$) tree ($\psi\eta\mu$) in ($\epsilon\tau-\gamma\eta$) Paradise ($\mu-\mu\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$) except for ($\epsilon\iota\mu\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$) the tree ($\mu-\psi\eta\mu$) of knowing ($\nu-\varsigma\omicron\gamma\eta$) what is good ($\mu-\mu\epsilon\tau-\nu\alpha\nu\omicron\gamma-\tau\iota$) and ($\mu\eta$) what is bad ($\mu\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\gamma < \mu-\mu-\epsilon\tau-\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$)' (Abbatôn 237:12-14), $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\mu\alpha\iota$ τ $\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\gamma\iota\chi\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu$ $\mu\iota\mu$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ $\nu\alpha\iota$ $\mu\pi\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\nu\kappa\chi\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$ (for $\nu\kappa\chi\omega\rho\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$) $\nu\alpha\iota$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\nu\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$ 'for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) this (reason) ($\mu\alpha\iota$) I will ask ($\tau-\nu\alpha-\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$) God ($\mu-\mu-\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$), who is above ($\mu-\epsilon\tau-\gamma\iota\chi\eta$) everyone ($\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu$ $\mu\iota\mu$) that he opens ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-\tau-\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$) for me ($\mu\lambda-\mu$) the speech ($\mu-\mu-\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) provides ($\mu-\tau-\chi\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$) me ($\mu\lambda-\mu$) with what I shall say ($\mu-\mu-\epsilon-\tau-\nu\alpha-\chi\omicron\omicron-\gamma$) (...)' (KHML II 49:3-5).

c) Purposive

As an introspective evidential, the Inferential often assumes a purposive reading, revealing the speaker's motivation for issuing a command or reflecting his view on the intended result of somebody else's action, e.g. $\varsigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\mu\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\rho\tau$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\gamma\tau\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\nu\varsigma\eta\gamma$ $\gamma\omega\gamma$ $\omicron\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\nu\varsigma\epsilon\varsigma\omega$ 'withdraw yourselves ($\varsigma\alpha\gamma\epsilon-\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta$ $\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota$), oh entire ($\tau\eta\rho-\tau$) nation ($\mu-\mu\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma$) of the Romans ($\mu-\mu\epsilon-\gamma\tau\omega\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$) that your brothers ($\mu\epsilon\tau\nu-\varsigma\eta\gamma$), the Persians ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\epsilon\rho\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon$), may also ($\gamma\omega-\omicron\gamma$) come ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$... $\epsilon\iota$) and drink ($\mu-\varsigma\epsilon-\varsigma\omega$)' (Eud. 46:23-25), $\mu\mu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\tau$ $\tau\epsilon\iota\kappa\gamma\tau\eta$ $\gamma\eta$ $\mu\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\mu\eta$ $\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\lambda\gamma\kappa\gamma\tau\eta$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\psi\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\omicron\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\tau$ $\mu\eta\rho\tau$

'they should not rebuild ($\mu\mu\epsilon-\gamma-\kappa\epsilon\tau$) this vault ($\tau\epsilon\iota-\kappa\gamma\tau\eta$) in ($\gamma\eta$) my time ($\mu\lambda-\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$) that the entire ($\tau\eta\rho-\varsigma$) world ($\tau-\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\mu\eta$) will come to know ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$... $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$) that a vault ($\tau\omicron\gamma-\kappa\gamma\tau\eta$) fell down (λ ... $\gamma\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) Shiêt because ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) of one cup ($\omicron\gamma-\alpha\mu\omicron\tau$) of wine ($\mu-\mu\eta\rho\tau$)' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27-28), $\lambda\gamma\mu\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\tau\psi\lambda\eta$ $\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ λ $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau$ 'he (Apa Sarapiôn) remained ($\lambda-\tau-\mu\omicron\gamma\eta$) praying ($\epsilon-\tau-\psi\lambda\eta$) for her sake ($\gamma\alpha\rho-\varsigma$) that she might recover ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-\varsigma-\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) God ($\mu-\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) hearkened ($\lambda-\tau-\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$) him ($\epsilon\rho\omicron-\tau$)' (AP Chaîne no. 240, 73:5-6).

d) Inference through reasoning

The Inferential can be used to express the speaker's expectation with regard to the outcome of some event. The inferred evidence may involve mental constructs, i.e. reasoning about behaviour, based on logic, intuition, traditional wisdom or previous experience, e.g. $\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\mu$ $\omicron\gamma\mu\pi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\omicron\gamma\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$) $\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\iota\chi\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\theta\lambda\iota\phi\iota\varsigma$ $\lambda\psi\alpha\iota$ $\mu\alpha\tau$ $\nu\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha$ $\mu\iota\mu$ $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\mu\gamma\eta\tau$ $\mu\kappa\kappa\eta\rho\mu$ 'if a temptation ($\omicron\gamma-\mu\pi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$) comes ($\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\mu$... $\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta$) against ($\epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\iota\chi\eta$) someone ($\omicron\gamma-\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$), the hardships ($\mu\epsilon-\theta\lambda\iota\phi\iota\varsigma$) become more intense ($\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$... $\lambda\psi\alpha\iota$) for him ($\mu\lambda-\tau$) on every ($\mu\iota\mu$) side ($\mu-\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha$) such that he becomes disencouraged (lit. faint-hearted ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon-\tau-\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota$ $\mu\gamma\eta\tau$)) and vexed ($\mu-\tau-\kappa\eta\rho\mu$)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:18-20).

Key Terms:

Relative tenses	are anaphoric tense categories that locate some event with respect to another event rather than a fixed temporal reference point. Coptic relative tenses express three different ordering relations, viz. co-occurrence, precedence and subsequence.	§8.1.1
Iconicity	is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1
Terminative aspect	is used in temporal clauses corresponding to English "until"-clauses. The Terminative depicts a delimiting event that provides an endpoint for the main clause event, although this event had the potential of going on beyond that point.	§8.1.3
Topic continuity	Subject identical clauses express the sameness of the same topic throughout a series of clauses, often designating the involvement of the same discourse participant in a series of actions.	§8.1.4.2
Switch reference	designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Absolute-relative tenses	are mixed deictic-anaphoric tense categories that combine the absolute time location of a reference point with the relative time location of a situation.	§8.1.4
Epistemic and deontic modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2

Realis conditionals	indicate real conditions involving a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the probability of the state of affairs that is described. In Coptic, such realis conditionals are expressed by the Conditional mood ε-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ 'if/when he hears'.	§8.2.3
Inferential evidentiality	encodes not only inference based on (non-) observable facts, but also indicates the speaker's belief that the inferred evidence is particularly robust and cogent.	§8.2.4

Exercises**8.1 Comprehension and transfer**

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. The Temporal conjugation **NTETC-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ** 'when he had heard' has a single event reading.
 2. Terminative aspect **ϣ-NTETC-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ** 'when he had heard' occurs in main and embedded clauses.
 3. The Conjunctive **N-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ** 'and he hears/heard' takes over the temporal, aspectual or modal value of the preceding verb form.
 4. The Conjunctive is the only relative tense that can be combined with the Stative stem pattern.
 5. The Relative Future **ε-ϣ-NA-ϣ-ϣ-ϣ** 'while he will hear' cannot occur as a resultative complement of aspectual verbs of completion like **ΛO** 'to stop'.
 6. Imperative mood is restricted to second person reference.

7. **ερωαν**-conditionals may describe a pattern of events, when the apodosis clause contains habitual aspect.
8. The Inferential **ταρε-γ-ωτη** 'and/so that he hears' has a defective pronominal paradigm.

8.2 Relative Tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following verbal tenses, e.g. **ντερε-γ-ωτη**: Temporal 3rd pers. sing. masc. 'when/after he had heard'.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS
νqcωτη		ψαντεqcωτη	
ντερεcωτη		νσεcωτη	
εaccωτη		ψανταcωτη	

- B. Analyse and translate the following verb forms and verbal constructions, e.g. **ντερε-γ-ει επειμα**: Temporal 3rd pers. sing. masc. 'when he had come to this place'.

VERB FORM/VERBAL CONSTRUCTION	ANALYSIS
αγω ντερεqcωτη ετβηητq	(V. Pach. 138:16)
ψαντκp πε200γ cηay	(Ac. A&P 196:34)
νqтcαβοoy	(Test. Is. 231:12)
нгβωк ε2oγн επpηε	(KHML I 1:15)
νσεκοtoγ	(Eud. 40:9-10)
ψανtoγψηηε νcωк	(Test. Is 230:26)
εαq2εп 2ωк epoq	(V. Pach. 1:7)

- C. Identify the relative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) **oγн κε2ηε cηooγce ηγεηα ηaoγηηε ψαντεqει νoi πεχc** 'forty-two other (κε2ηε cηooγce) generations (η-γεηα) will come (oγн ... ηα-oγηηε) ____' (Test. Is. 231: 7-8) (νoi marks the inverted nominal subject)
- (2) **ηηηηcα ψoηte δε ηpoηηε εcογη2 2η ηηα εтηηay λ πxοεic βελп πai εβoλ εayα пaмβω xε oγc2ηηε te** 'after (ηηηηcα) three (ψoηte) years (η-ηoηηε) ____ in (2η) that (εт-ηηay) place (η-ηα), the Lord (η-xοεic) revealed (βελп εβoλ) this (matter) (πai) to Apa (ε-ayα) Pambδ, (namely) that (xε) she (Hilaria) (te) (was) a woman (oγ-c2ηηε)' (Hil. 6: 20-22)
- (3) **ηπaληпωpoc ηтaкp oγ тeηoγ ψaηткпa2т<к> ηγoγψт ηпaиaβoλoc** '(oh you) miserable person (η-тaληпωpoc), what (oγ) did you do (ηтaк-п) now (тeηoγ) ____ and ____ the Devil (η-η-αиaβoλoc)!' (Ac. A&P 202:121-122)
- (4) **ητερεcβωк ε2oγн epaкoтe ac† пecoyoi 2η θopηη ηпecпнā** '____ into (ε2oγн) Alexandria (ε-пaкoтe), she (Hilaria) went forth (lit. gave (λ-c-†) her way (пec-oγoi)) (driven) by (2η) the impulse (т-2opηη) of her spirit (η-пec-пнā)' (Hil. 3:26-27)
- (5) **ceηηγ εβoλ 2η xωpa ηηη ψaηtoγeи νceoyψт epηa ηтaηacтacic ηпψηpe ηпnoγte** 'they come (ce-ηηγ) from (2η) every (ηηη) country (xωpa) ____ and ____ at the place (ε-η-ηα) of the resurrection (η-т-αηacтacic) of the Son (η-η-ψηpe) of God (η-η-noγte)' (Eud. 54:9-10)

- (6) ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΜΟΟΣ ΕΞΝ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ
Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ '____ on (ΕΞΝ) (the throne) of the
kingdom (ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ) of the Romans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ), God
(Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) was (Α ... ΦΩΠΕ) with him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)' (Eud. 40:1-2)

D. Complete the translation of the following Coptic examples by translating the Conjunctive clauses.

- (1) ΕΙΒΗΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΝΤΑΦΑΝΑ 'I am on my way (Ε-Ι-ΒΗΚ)
to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ) ____',
(Mena, Mir. 27b:23-25)
- (2) ΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΓΩΦ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΜΑ ΜΑΥΑΛΚ 'rise (ΤΩΟΥΝ) and
go (ΑΜΟΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) ____' (Onnophr. 207:6)
- (3) ΕΝΧΙ ΜΗΟΦ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΡΗΥ ΝΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΦ
ΜΠΑΛΛΟ 'we bring (Ε-Ν-ΧΙ) him (the possessed boy) (ΜΗΟ-Φ) to
the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of Apa Mena (Ν-ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ); perhaps
(ΑΡΗΥ) ____' (Mena, Mir. 24b:4-8)
- (4) ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΙΟΥΦΩ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΤΑΠΩΤ ΕΤΗΠΕ
ΝΝΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ 'My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (Ε-Ι-ΟΥΦΩ) you to
baptize (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) ____' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-
b:4)
- (5) †ΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΑΡ ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ (Pach. 147:9) 'I will go (†-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ)
____ (ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΝ 'man of wordly profession')
- (6) ΦΕΙ (for ΦΙ) ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΚΟΛΑΣΙC 'open (ΦΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ)
your eyes (Ν-ΝΕΚ-ΒΑΛ) ____' (Test. Is. 235:5-6) (ΚΟΛΑΣΙC
'punishment')

E. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Relative Present.

- (1) Α ΤΗΛΛΥ ΔΕ ΗΠΝΕΕΦ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕCΩΗΡΕ ΕΦΝ[Η]Υ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΕΚΡΟ
(Ac.A&P 194:4-5)
- (2) ΝΤΕΡΕΦΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΕΦCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΙ Α ΤΑΘΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ (Onnophr.
209:25-26)
- (3) ΠΛΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΚ ΝΗΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ
(Mena, Mir. 30b:8-12)
- (4) ΑΦΗΟΩΦΕ ΜΑΥΑΛΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΠΟΟΥ Ε[ΜΗ] ΛΑΛΥ ΜΟΩΦΕ
ΝΗΜΑΦ (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:5)

F. Translate the following text fragment.

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ΜΗΝCΩC ΑΥΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ (read ΖΥΜΝΕΙΕ) ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΖΗΝΟΥΝΟC (for ΖΗ
ΟΥΝΟC) ΝΟΥΡΟΤ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤΦ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΕΜΤΟΝ ΖΩCΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΑ
ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΗΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ Ρ ΖΗΜΗΗΦΕ (for ΖΕΝΗΜΗΗΦΕ) ΝΖΟΟΥ
ΕΦΩΦ C†ΝΟΥΒΡΕ (for C†ΝΟΥΦΡΕ) ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΑΥΠΩΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΥΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΕΥΡΙΜΕ) ΑΥΑCΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΦΤΑΠΡΟ
ΜΗ ΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΦ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΑΥΦ ΑΥΡ ΠΩΦΧΠ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ
ΜΗ ΤΕΥΦΗ ΤΗΡC ΕΥΩΦ ΜΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΘΗCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ (read
ΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ). ΝΤΕΡΟΥΡ ΤCΥΝΑΖΙC ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΦΩΡΠ ΑΥΚΩΝC
(read ΑΥΚΩC) ΜΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ (...).
ΜΗΝCΩC ΑΥΦΑΛΛΕΙ ΖΑΤΕΦΖΗ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΧΙΤΦ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΝCΕΤΟΜCΦ
ΝCΟΥΗΝΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΕΒΟΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΑΦΟΝC ΕΑ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΕΘΕΝΕΕΤΕ ΖΗ{ΝΟΥ}ΝΟΥΝΟC ΜΝΟΥΦΩΦ (for ΝΟΥΦΩΦ) ΝΖΗΤ ΜΗ
ΘΒΒΕΙΟ (for ΘΒΒΙΟ). (V. Pach. 95:9-27)

NOTES: a. ΖΗΜΝΕΥΕ 'to sing hymns' b. ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΗΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'the
place where he (Pachôm) went to rest (i.e. was buried)' (a relative clause) c.

zωcλε 'such that' d. φωφ εβολ 'to spread out' e. acπaze 'to salute, to kiss'
f. cωna 'body' g. ετογaaε 'holy' h. εγcιαcτηpιον 'altar' i. cγναcic 'service'
j. φαλλει 'to sing psalms' k. ογωφq nζηт 'affliction'.

8.3 Moods

A. Fill in the right form of the imperative by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) (aνι/εινε) πειψηρε κογι ψapoi ταψαχε νημαq κατα πεqογωψ 'bring (sing. masc.) this little (κογι) boy (πει-ψηρε) to me (ψapο-ι) so that I talk (τα-ψαχε) with him (νημα-q) according to (κατα) his wish (πεq-ογωψ)!' (KHML II 32:20-21)
- (2) (apι-/p-) παμееεγε δε ω παcон мμepиτ 'remember (sing. masc.) me (lit. make my remembrance (πα-мееεγε)), oh (ω) my beloved (м-мepиτ) brother (πα-сон)!' (Onnophr. 209:16)
- (3) (amheιтn/amoγ) εzoγν πx̄c нηмак 'come (sing. masc.) inside (εzoγн), (may) the Lord (π-x̄c) (be) with you (νημα-κ)!' (Onnophr. 213:4)
- (4) (amh/ει) нтeнay εναδix ηн παcπip 'come (sing. fem.) and look (нтe-нay) at my hands (ε-на-δix) and my side!' (Eud. 52:3)
- (5) (нт-/aνι-) тeψγxη нioγaac εzpaι 'bring (sing. masc.) the soul (тe-ψγxη) of Judas (н-юγaac)!' (Ac. A&P 202:113-114)
- (6) (βωκ/βηк) нηтн εβολ zη nζεθnoc [н]тeтнπαana ηmooy 'go (pl.) away (εβολ) under (zη) the nations (н-ζεθnoc) and lead them (ηηo-ογ) astray (нтeтн-παana)!' (Ac. A&P 206:157-158)
- (7) тeнxoeic (aoyωн/oyωн) ηaн 'our mistress (тeн-xoeic), open (sing. fem.) to us (на-н)!' (Eud. 54:20)

B. Translate the following Coptic sentences that contain a Jussive.

- (1) μαρεqтne oγzηke noeik (Test. Is. 235:26)
- (2) μαρεq† nnoγq ηaн (Ac. A&P 210:211-212)
- (3) акceтн oγψaxe μαρεqmoγн εβολ ηηмак (Test. Is. 228:9-10)
- (4) μαpoycзaι нтeqδιαθηкη нceкaaс нтooтoγ (Test. Is. 235:21)
- (5) μαρεqazε paтq ηqxe ψomηт нcoп ηψaηa eπnoγтe зη παpaн (Onophr. 216:26-28)

C. Translate the following conditional sentences.

- (1) εψωπε eтeтнψaηπαpакaλaει ηпxoeic qηaxapize ηптaλδo нтaψeepe зитн neтнψaηψa ηacηηγ (Hil. 8:12-13)
- (2) εcψaηδωψт εzoγн εzpac ψape пecca ηzoγн бωλ εβολ ψacпazтc εxη пkaз нcpиe (Hil. 9:13-14)
- (3) εγψaηeнkoтk нδi ηepωne нтeмpω †naqιтq нтaнoγxq eθaλacca (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7)

D. Determine the contextual function of the Inferential by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) μαpηφοpει нтmoкzс таpηp бppe зη птbbo μαpηp ηaιpωne таpηp ψbηp ειηcoγc пηaιpωne 'let us bear (μαp-η-φοpει) affliction (н-т-мокzс) and (believe me) we will become (таp-η-р) new (бppe) in (зη) purity (п-тbbo), let us become (μαp-η-р) maп-lovers (ηaι-ρωne) and (trust me) we will become (таp-η-р) friends (ψbηp) with Jesus who loves mankind (п-ηaι-ρωne)' (Catéch. Pach. 20:17-19)

☐ assertive-promissive

☐ reported speech

- (2) ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ ΤΑΡΕΚΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΠΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ 'for (ΓΑΡ), look (ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ), he already (Λ-Ο-ΩΡΠ) told (ΧΩ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) the punishment (Ν-Τ-ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ) so that you can escape (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-Ρ ΒΟΛ) from the danger (Ε-Π-ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ)' (BHom. 21:17-18)

□ inference through reasoning □ purposive

- (3) ΟΥΛΖΜΕΩ ΝΚΕΩΣ ΝΚΟΥΗΠΟΣ (for ΚΟΜΒΟΣ) ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΑΝΖΟCΙΟC ΖΡΟΚ ΜΗΟΩ ΖΝ ΤΕΩΜΗΤΖΑΖ ΝΨΑΧΕ 'let him (Αρα Ptolemaios) again receive (ΟΥΛΖΜΕ-Ω) another stroke (Ν-ΚΕ-ΩC) with the girth (Ν-ΚΟΥΗΠΟΣ) that this impious (person) (ΠΕΙ-ΑΝΖΟCΙΟC) cease (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΖΡΟΚ) from (ΖΝ) his multitude (ΤΕΩ-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΖ) of words (Ν-ΨΑΧΕ)' (KMHL II 32:1-2)

□ assertive-promissive □ purposive

- (4) ΝΤΝΩΙ ΝΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΤΑΡΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΟΩΨΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΤΕΘΥCΙΑ ΝCΕΚΑΛΝ ΝΤΝΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΑΦΟC ΜΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ 'and we will offer (ΝΤ-Ν-ΩΙ) the Eucharist (Ν-ΤΕ-ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) so that the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) will come (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΜΟΩΨΕ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) with (ΜΝ) the sacrifice (ΤΕ-ΘΥCΙΑ) and allow us (Ν-CΕ-ΚΑΛ-Ν) to go (ΝΤ-Ν-ΕΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the tomb (Ε-Π-ΤΑΦΟC) of our salvation (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΟΥΧΑΙ)' (Eud. 72:23-25)

□ assertive-promissive □ inference through reasoning

Unit 9

Modes of negation

This Unit examines the negative counterparts of the various verbal tenses, aspects and moods discussed so far. The negative is a grammatical category used to deny the actuality of some situation or portions thereof. For the most part, negative statements are not utilised to add any new information, but rather to express denial and contradiction of a previous statement, rejecting its content either entirely or partially and convey this evaluation to the addressee. A negated clause is obtained by modifying an affirmative clause in some way. Coptic has an extensive set of negative conjugation patterns, which are formed with such diverse morphological devices as negative affixes and adverbs, auxiliary verbs, as well as specialised negative tense-aspect markers.

An overview of the negative verbal system is presented in section 9.1. The addition of a negative marker to the verb may make the entire clause negative, but it is also possible to use the same negation pattern to explicitly negate a single clausal constituent, leaving the rest of the clause outside of the scope of negation. Section 9.2 settles some general issues concerning the operation of negative scope, i.e. the different meanings associated with negative sentences. Section 9.3 deals with the double negation Ν ... ΑΝ, in which negative polarity corresponds to two distinct markers, viz. the negative prefix Ν- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not'. Section 9.4 deals with negative tenses, where negative

polarity and a particular temporal, aspectual, or modal category are expressed by a single, indivisible morph. Another topic of this section concerns negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb $\tau\mu$ 'to do not'.

9.1 Basic strategies for negation

Negation interacts in complex ways with mood. Negative assertions can occur in any of the traditional sentence moods (declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives) and may be uttered with complete certainty or with some doubt. For this reason, the negative is generally not treated as a particular type of mood, but as an inflectional category in its own right. Coptic makes productive use of three morphologically distinct negation strategies, viz. (i) the double negation $\mathbf{n} \dots \mathbf{\Delta n}$, which involves two negative elements that together constitute a single instance of negation, e.g. $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\Gamma}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{\Delta n} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\epsilon} \mathbf{z}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{t}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{l}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{c}$ 'I do not ($\mathbf{\Delta n}$) know ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\Gamma}\mathbf{c}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{n}$) anybody ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) in ($\mathbf{z}\mathbf{n}$) this city ($\mathbf{t}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{-p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{l}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{c}$)' (Hil. 4:23), (ii) specialised negative tenses, which are portmanteau realisations of negative polarity and a particular tense, aspect or mood. The Negative Perfect $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{\epsilon}$ -, for instance, denies the occurrence of some event in the past, e.g. $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{\alpha} \mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{y} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\pi} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{i} \mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o} \mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}$ $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon} \mathbf{m}\mathbf{n} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\epsilon}$ 'I did not place ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-i}\mathbf{-k}\mathbf{\alpha}$) any ($\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{\lambda}\mathbf{y}$) obstacle ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-x}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\pi}$) for you ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{-t}\mathbf{n}$) in front ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{-\pi}\mathbf{-m}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{o} \mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{\lambda}$) of God ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{-\pi}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) and ($\mathbf{m}\mathbf{n}$) mankind ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-p}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\epsilon}$)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8), and (iii) the negative auxiliary verb $\tau\mu$ 'to do not', e.g. $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\epsilon} \mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon} \mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{k}$ 'not to commit ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-t}\mathbf{h}\mathbf{-p}$) a sin ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{b}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) against the God ($\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-\pi}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon}$) who has created you ($\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{-\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-t}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{-k}$)' (V. Pach. 89: 28)

The distribution of the three basic negation strategies among different verbal tenses, aspects, and moods is shown in table 9.1 below. Each negative conjugation pattern is presented with the corresponding affirmative.

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
DOUBLE NEGATION $\mathbf{n} \dots \mathbf{\Delta n}$	FIRST PRESENT $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE FIRST PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he is not hearing
	RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is hearing	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PRESENT $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ while he is not hearing
	SECOND PRESENT $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ while he is hearing	NEGATIVE SECOND PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he is not hearing
	FIRST FUTURE $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE FIRST FUTURE $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he is not going to hear
	SECOND FUTURE $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he is going to hear	NEGATIVE SECOND FUTURE $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he is not going to hear
	PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he was hearing	NEGATIVE PRETERIT PRESENT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{-n}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he was not hearing
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{-\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{-\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m} \mathbf{\Delta n}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
NEGATIVE TENSES	FIRST PERFECT $\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{n}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{-\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT $\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-m}\mathbf{\pi}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he has not heard, he did not hear
	HABITUAL PRESENT $\mathbf{\psi}\mathbf{\alpha}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{\epsilon}\mathbf{-q}\mathbf{-c}\mathbf{w}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{m}$ he usually does not hear

NEGATION STRATEGY	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
	UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE Α-Ϛ-ΟΥΩ Ε-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ('NOT-YET') ΗΠΑΤΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he had not yet heard, before he heard
	THIRD FUTURE Ε-Ϛ-Ε-ϚΩΤΗ he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE ΝΝΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ he shall not hear
	IMPERATIVE ϚΩΤΗ hear!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ΗΠΡ-ϚΩΤΗ do not hear!
NEGATIVE AUXILIARY ΤΗ	CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ and he hears	NEGATIVE CONJUNCTIVE Ν-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ and he does not hear
	CONDITIONAL Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-ϚΩΤΗ if/when he hears	CONDITIONAL Ε-Ϛ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ, Ε-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ if/when he does not hear
	TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ϚΩΤΗ after/when he had heard	NEGATIVE TEMPORAL ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΗ-ϚΩΤΗ after/when he had not heard

TABLE 9.1 The negative verbal system

The negative verbal patterns listed in table 9.1 above differ systematically with respect to the morphological marking of the negative. Although negation would appear to be a simple non-decomposable concept, the primary negation strategy in Coptic is the double negative Ν- ... ΑΝ. Negative tenses, on the other hand, represent the diametrically opposite pattern, since the negative marker and the tense-aspect-mood markers have been merged to form a portmanteau morpheme. No such form-meaning mismatches apply to negative conjugations formed with the auxiliary verb ΤΗ 'to do not'.

9.2 Negative scope

The primary function of negated sentences is to deny something that has been put forward tentatively or confidently. The scope of the negation is the part of the meaning that is negated. The negative marker may have scope over every constituent in a clause. As a result, the entire content of that clause is rejected. The negative may also be more limited in scope, rebutting only part of the information that is presented. The operation of negative scope can be illustrated by way of the double negative Ν ... ΑΝ, but notice that the contrast between wide scope and narrow scope negation can also be observed in negative tenses.

9.2.1 Locality conditions on negative scope

The scope of negation is reflected by syntactic structure in an obvious and elementary way. In a complex sentence construction, the subordinate clause is outside the scope of matrix clause negation (clausal embedding is indicated by brackets); e.g. ΝΕϚϚΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΟΥϚΖΙΜΕ ΤΕ 'he did not (ΑΝ) know (ΝΕ-Ϛ-ϚΟΥΝ) [that (ΧΕ) she (ΤΕ) (was) a woman (ΟΥ-ϚΖΙΜΕ)]' (Hil. 6:14-15), ΝϚΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕϚΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤϚ 'he did not (ΑΝ) want (Ν-Ϛ-ΟΥΨ) [to hear (Ε-ϚΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ)) also (ΡΩ) erotic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6), ΑΡΗΥ ΗΠϚΟΝ ΤΗΤ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΝ ΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΝ 'perhaps (ΑΡΗΥ) the brother (Π-ϚΟΝ) does not (ΑΝ) agree (lit. be persuaded (Ν- ... ΤΗΤ) of heart (Ν-ΖΗΤ)) [to talk (Ε-ΨΑΧΕ) to us (ΝΗΜΑ-Ν)]' (AP Chaîne no. 238, 70:21).

Due to the clause-bound character of negative scope, negative marking must be added to the embedded clause to express its negative polarity, e.g. †ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ[ΟΒΨϚ] ΑΝ ΕΡΟΝ 'I believe (†ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) God (Π-ΠΟΥΤΕ) will not (ΑΝ) forget (ΝΑ-ΟΒΨ-Ϛ) about us (ΕΡΟ-Ν)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14). In this example, the negative is located within the clause functioning as the complement to the matrix verb ΠΙϚΤΕΥΕ 'to believe'. It is generally the case that a negative in one clause does not have scope over another clause that it is coordinated with, e.g. ΨΑΡΕ ΠΑΙ Ρ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΝΟΒΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝϚΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΝ 'how many (ΟΥΗΡ) sins

(*Ν-ΝΟΒΕ*) does this one (*ΠΑΙ*) commit (*ΦΑΡΕ ... Ρ*) and (*ΟΥΔΕ*) *he does not* (*ΑΝ*) (even) *work* (*Ν-Q-P* *ΖΩΒ*)!' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:25-26).

9.2.2 Wide scope

When negation has wide scope over an entire clause, its function is to deny that some condition or state holds true without specifying the grounds, e.g. *ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ* 'the brothers (*ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ*) *do not* (*ΑΝ*) *need* (lit. *make* (*Ν- ... Ρ*) *need* (*ΧΡΙΑ*)) (it) (i.e. the money)' (AP Elanskaya 16b:6-7), *ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕQCOOYN ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΗΝΤΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ* 'the senior monk (*Π-ΖΑΛΟ*) *did not* (*ΑΝ*) *know* (*ΝΕ-Q-COOYN*) Greek (*Μ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΟΥΕΙΕΙΝΙΝ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:23-24), *ΖΩC ΝΤCPOBT ΑΝ* 'since (*ΖΩC*) *I am not* (*ΑΝ*) *at leisure* (*Ν-Τ-CPOBT*)' (AP Elanskaya 24a:16).

Negative descriptions of events are generally interpreted relative to a rich context, providing some background information why a particular course of action was not taken. Against such an explanatory background, negative statements become salient and informative, e.g. *ΑΡΗΥ ΑQMOY ΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΝQΝΑΕΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΒΑCΑΝOC* 'perhaps (*ΑΡΗΥ*) he (Ara Ptolemaios) died (*Α-Q-MOY*): since (*ΓΑΡ*) he (*ΠΕ*) (is) noble (*ΟΥ-ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ*), *he would not* (*ΑΝ*) *be able to bear* (*Ν-Q-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΩΟΥΝ*) the tortures (*Ν-ΒΑCΑΝOC*)' (KHML II 34:6-7), [*ΝΖOCO*] *Ν ΑΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΚΝΟΒΕ* [*ΑΝΟ*] *Κ* [*ΖΩ*] *ΝΤΝΑΖΟΠΤ ΕΡΟΚ* [*ΑΝ*] 'since (*ΝΖOCON*) you have confessed (*Α-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ*) your sin (*Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΝΟΒΕ*), I (*ΑΝΟΚ*), on my part (*ΖΩ*), *will not* (*ΑΝ*) *hide myself* (*Ν-Τ-ΝΑ-ΖΟΠ-Τ*) from you (*ΕΡΟ-Κ*)' (Mena, Mir. 16a:3-7), *ΝQΤCO ΑΝ ΖΩΑOC* (for *ΖΟΑOC*) *qōwpe* *ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ* 'he (the pagan commander) *does not* (*ΑΝ*) *spare* (*Ν-Q-Τ CO*) (anybody) at all (*ΖΩΑOC*), as (*ΓΑΡ*) he locks up (*Q-ΩΠΕ*) everybody (*Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ*) in prison' (KMHL II 29:13-14), *ΝΤOC ΔΕ ΑCΩΤΗ ΝCΩQ ΕΝΕCCOYΩΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΗΕΥΕ ΜΠΕQΖΗΤ ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕQΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑC ΝΟΥΜΕΤΜΑΙΡΩΝΕ* 'she (the woman pilgrim) (*ΝΤOC*) listened (*ΑC-CΩΤΗ*) to him (the landlord) (*ΝCΩ-Q*), *not* (*ΑΝ*) *knowing* (*Ε-ΝΕ-C-COYΩΝ*) his intentions (lit. the thought (*Μ-Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) of his heart (*Μ-ΠΕQ-ΖΗΤ*)), since (*ΓΑΡ*) she thought

(*ΝΕ-C-ΜΕΕΥΕ*) that (*ΧΕ*) he was doing (*Ε-Q-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ*) her (*ΝΗΜΑ-C*) a favour (*Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ*)' (Mena, Mir. 27b:7-14).

In contradictions, negation signifies a person's mental act of denying, rejecting or rebutting a statement that is actually made or envisioned as being made by someone, e.g. *ΚCOOYN ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΦΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓCOOYN ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΗΡ* 'you know (*Κ-COOYN*) how many (*ΟΥΗΗΡ*) years (*Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ*) you lived (lit. made (*Α-Κ-Ρ*)) so far (*ΦΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you *do not* (*ΑΝ*) *know* (*Ν-Γ-COOYN*) how many other (years) (*ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΗΡ*) you will live (*Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ*)' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), *ΝΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΥ* (read *ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ* (read *ΤΕΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ*) *ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΥΤΕ* 'you *shall not* (*ΑΝ*) *die* (*Ν-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) you will become (*ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ*) like (*ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ*) gods (*Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ*)' (Abbatōn 237:17-18), *ΟΥΔΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΤΝΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΝΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΗΜΑΚ* 'and (*ΟΥΔΕ*) we (*ΑΝΟΝ*), too (*ΖΩΩ-Ν*), *will not* (*ΑΝ*) *run away* (*Ν-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ*), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*) (rather) die (*ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ*) together with you (*ΝΗΜΑ-Κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:9-10).

9.2.3 Narrow scope

The negative is not always semantically sentential, but may have narrow scope relative to a single constituent. In this case, negation applies to the asserted or focused portion of the sentence, leaving the presupposed or backgrounded portions outside of its scope. As a result, only specific aspects of the event in question are denied, thus tacitly allowing that some event of that kind did actually take place or will do so in the future, e.g. *ΚΥΡΕΗ* (read *ΚΥΡΙΕ*) *CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΝΕΝΒΗΚ ΑΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ* 'Lord (*ΚΥΡΕΗ*) knight (*CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ*), *we are not* (*ΑΝ*) *on our way* (*Ν-Ε-Ν-ΒΗΚ*) to that (*ΕΤΗΜΑΥ*) place (*Ε-Π-ΜΑ*) (i.e. Alexandria)' (Hil. 3:22) (meaning: *we are about to leave, but not to Alexandria*).

The focus of negation corresponds to the contrastively stressed focus brought into play by the Greek conjunction *ΑΛΛΑ* 'but', *ΝΝΕΨΑΥΤΑΖΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΗΠΗΥΕ ΖΗ ΠΩΛΧΕ Η ΖΗ ΠΡΑΝ* (...) *ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗ ΟΥΘΟΜ ΜΠΙCΤΙC* 'since (*ΓΑΡ*) *they did not* (*ΑΝ*) *reach* (*Ν-ΝΕ-ΨΑ-Υ-ΤΑΖΕ*) the heavenly (*Ν-Η-ΠΗΥΕ*) kingdom (*Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ*) by virtue of (*ΖΗ*) talk (lit. the word (*Π-ΨΑΧΕ*)) or (*Η*) a (good) reputation (*Π-ΡΑΝ*) (...), but (*ΑΛΛΑ*)

(rather) by virtue of (2N) strong (ΟΥ-ΘΟΜ) faith (Η-ΠΙΣΤΙC)' (*Pères apost.* 35:9-12), ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚ2 ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΛΑC ΝΑC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *grieved* (N-NE-Q-MOK2) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) that they (the brothers) caused (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΛ-C) him (ΝΑ-C), but (ΑΛΛΑ) (rather) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) the impudence (Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΖΟΤΕ) in which they persisted (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ)' (V. Pach. 6:12-14).

9.3 The double negation N- ... ΑΝ

The syntactically discontinuous negation N- ... ΑΝ involves the clause-initial particle N- and the clause-internal negation adverb ΑΝ 'not', both of which turn a positive clause into a negative one. Both negative markers display some degree of variation in linear order, which can be related to both the scope of negation and to syntactic constraints on enclitic function words and particles.

9.3.1 The negative scope definer N-

The clause-initial particle N- (assimilated form Η-) functions as a negative scope definer that assists in the accurate identification of negated sentences, e.g. ΝΑC ΝΖΕ ΝΤΕΝΝΑΡΩΚ2 ΑΝ ΖΕΝ (for 2N) ΤΕΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΗΠ̄ΝΙΚΩ̄Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΠΑΖΡΕ ΕΤ̄ ΚΒΟ ΝΝΨΥΧΗ 'how (lit. in what (kind) (N-ΑC) of manner (N-ΖΕ)) could we not (ΑΝ) *be inflamed* (N-ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΡΩΚ2) with (ΖΕΝ) this spiritual (Η-Π̄ΝΙΚΩ̄Ν) desire (ΤΕΙ-ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ) for the remedies (Ε-ΝΕ-ΠΑΖΡΕ) that give (ΕΤ-†) solace (ΚΒΟ) to the souls (N-N-ΨΥΧΗ)?' (Hil. 1:20-21), ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΟΥΩC ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕCΑΟ ΜΠΕΙΝΑ ΦΑ ΘΑΗ 'the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) does not (ΑΝ) *want* (Η- ... ΟΥΩC) it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (Ε-ΤΡΕ-C-ΛΟ) this place (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΝΑ) until (ΦΑ) the end (ΘΑΗ < Τ-ΖΑΗ)' (Eud. 76:18).

In clauses containing a Preterit or Second Tense form, the negative scope definer N- is attached to the Preterit auxiliary ΝΕ(ΡΕ)- and the relative marker Ε(ΡΕ)-, e.g. ΝΝΕΦΜΟΚ2 ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΖΙCΕ (...) 'he (Pachôm) was not (ΑΝ) *sad* (N-NE-Q-MOK2) because (ΕΤΒΕ) of the

suffering (Π-ΖΙCΕ) (...) (V. Pach. 6:12-13), ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΝΑCΙΤC ΝΖΗΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΘΟΡC ΝΚΡΟC ΝΕΥΝΑCΙΤC ΝΑC ΑΝ 'the light (Π-ΟΥΘΕΙΝ) that will be taken (lit. that *they* will take away (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-CΙΤ-C)) from me (ΝΖΗΤ) in (2N) a guileful (N-ΚΡΟC) ambush (ΟΥ-ΘΟΡC), *it will not* (ΑΝ) *be brought* (N-Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-C) to you (ΝΑ-Κ)' (Pist. Soph. 100:1-2).

The reverse order obtains in the context of relative embedding, where the negative prefix N- always follows the subordinating relative marker that introduces the relativised clause, e.g. ΠΠΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC ΕΤ̄ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΕΤΡΕCΠΥΡΑΖΕ (for ΕΤΡΕCΠΕΙΡΑΖΕ) ΗΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΝΦΟΥC ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕCΩ ΖΝ ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC (for ΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC) 'the Adversary (Π-ΑΝΤΥΚΙΜΕΝΟC), who is fighting (ΕΤ-†) with them (the hermits) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) to lead them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ) into temptation (Ε-ΤΡΕ-C-ΠΥΡΑΖΕ) with them (i.e. the grievances) (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), not (ΑΝ) *wishing* (Ε-Ν-C-ΟΥCΩ) for them to stay (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-CΩ) in (2N) the solitude (Τ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙCΙC)' (Onnophr. 211:16-18).

	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	RELATIVE MARKER	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE SECOND TENSE	N- NEG	Ε-	-Υ- <i>they</i>	ΝΑ-ΝΤ-C will-bring-it	ΑΝ NOT
	RELATIVE MARKER	NEGATIVE PARTICLE	SUBJECT PRONOUN	VERB	NEGATION ADVERB
NEGATIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE	Ε- while	N- NEG	-C- he	ΟΥCΩ want	ΑΝ NOT

FIGURE 9.1 Variable positions of the negative scope definer N-

The negative scope definer N- may be elided. When this happens, the negation adverb ΑΝ 'not' becomes the sole carrier of negative polarity, e.g. ΦCΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΗΚΕΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΦΑΥΕΙ ΦΑΡΟC ΕΘΗ ΠΩΙΝC ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ 'he (the abbot) did not (ΑΝ) *permit* (C-ΦΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ) the other monks (N-N-ΚΕ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) from outside (ΕΤ-ΖΙΒΟΛ), who came (ΕΤΕ-ΦΑ-Υ-ΕΙ) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-C) to visit (Ε-ΘΗ Π-ΩΙΝC) the brothers (N-NE-CΝΗΥ)' (V. Pach. 138:16-18), ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ 'would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΑΝ) *run away* (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?' (AP, Chaîne no. 186, 46:6), ΝΕΦΟΥΗΥ ΑΝ

μηοq πε 'he (Pachôm's brother) was not (αν) far away (νε-q-οyhy) from him (Pachôm) (μηο-q)' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

9.3.2 The clause-internal negation adverb αν

The negation adverb αν 'not' can also appear in more than one position. Its location with respect to the direct and indirect object and other postverbal constituents is determined by the following placement rules:

a) Direct object syntax

It is never possible for the negative adverb αν to disrupt the syntactic continuity of the construct state (see above, section 6.3.1.2 of Unit 6), e.g. ετβε οy τναφеп зice αν οyεφ (read: νοyεφн) νοyсс 'why (ετβε οy) can I not (αν) suffer (lit. receive (τ-на-φеп) suffering (зice)) without (οyεφ) getting angry (ноyсс)?' (V. Pach. 2:14), нтннакаак ан εει εzоyn εтенπολс εтβε пейан хе ic 'we will not (ан) allow you (н-тн-на-каа-к) to come (ε-ει) into (εzоyn) our city (ε-тен-πολс) because of (εтβε) this (disgraceful) name (пей-пан) Jesus' (Ac. A&P 196:31-32). By contrast, ан occupies an intermediate position between the absolute state marked verb and the prepositional object, e.g. нтсооyn ан нрoмe зн тeпoлс 'I do not (ан) know (н-т-сооyn) anybody (н-рoмe) in (зн) this city (тeп-πολс)' (Hil. 4:23), нтeφινe ан нca пaмapтypiон ' (why) do you (woman) not (ан) look (н-тe-φинe) for (нca) my tomb (па-мapтypiон)?' (Eud. 58:5).

b) Pronominal clitics

The negation adverb ан comes after dative clitics and pronominal objects, e.g. нтнат зoв εqзoce нак ан 'I will not (ан) burden (lit. give (н-т-на-т)) you (на-к) (with) a difficult (ε-q-зoce) job (зoв)' (KHML II 33:14-15), мнoн пнoутe ннexpictиaнoc нaнexε мнoк ан нтeizε φaвoλ 'if not (мнoн), the God (п-ноyтe) of the Christians (н-нe-xpictиaнoc) will not (ан) tolerate (на-анexε) you (мнo-к) in this manner (н-тeι-ze) forever (φa-вoλ)' (Eud. 38:13-14), ααα нeиnαy epooγ ан пe 'but (ααα) I could not (ан) see (нe-и-наy) them (epo-oy)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), нeqnαтннay (read нeqnαтннooγ)

φapoi ан пe 'he (Apa Poimên) would not (ан) have sent (a message) (нe-q-на-тннay) to me (φapo-и)' (AP Elanskaya 20b:11-12).

c) Functional clitic clusters

The negative adverbial ан is placed in clause-third position, following enclitic function words and particles, e.g. нeqcooyn Δε ан хе oγcзime тe 'he did not (ан) know (нe-q-cooyn) that (хе) she (тe) (was) a woman (oγ-cзime)' (Hil. 6:14-15), ннeφayтaze тннтepo γap ан ннпнyε зн пφaxε н зн пpan (...) 'since (γap) they did not (ан) reach (н-нe-φa-y-таze) the heavenly (н-н-пнyε) kingdom (т-ннт-epo) by virtue of (зн) talk (lit. the word (п-φaxε)) or (н) a (good) reputation (п-pan)(...)' (Pères apost. 35:9-12).

9.4 Negative tenses

Negative tenses represent a departure from the mainly analytic character of the Coptic tense-aspect-mood system with a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and categories of verbal semantics. As shown in table 9.2 below, all negative tenses are marked by a morpheme-initial labial or velar nasal н- or н-. Since the rest of the base does not bear any formal relationship with the affirmative counterpart, these negative conjugation patterns originate from the merger between negation and the relevant tense-aspect-mood marker into a single morph.

Negative tenses show contrasts between the wide scope and the narrow scope reading of negation similar to the syntactically discontinuous н- ... ан pattern. By contrast, the auxiliary verb тн 'to do not' can only be associated with the narrow scope of predicate negation.

AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
FIRST PERFECT α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE FIRST PERFECT ηπε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
SECOND PERFECT nt-α-q-cωtm he has heard, he heard	NEGATIVE SECOND PERFECT ετε-ηπε-q-cωtm he has not heard, he did not hear
HABITUAL PRESENT ψα-q-cωtm he usually hears	NEGATIVE HABITUAL με-q-cωtm he usually does not hear
UNEXPECTED PERFECTIVE α-q-oyw ε-q-cωtm he has already heard	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE ηπατε-q-cωtm he had not yet heard, before he heard
THIRD FUTURE ε-q-ε-cωtm he shall hear	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE νηε-q-cωtm he shall not hear
IMPERATIVE cωtm listen!	NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE ηηp-cωtm do not listen!

TABLE 9.2 Negative tenses

9.4.1 The Negative Habitual

Since it simultaneously expresses quantificational aspect and negation, the Negative Habitual με-q-cωtm 'he usually does not hear' is used for the negative description of an event pattern. It thus works in the opposite direction of the affirmative Habitual ψα-q-cωtm 'he usually hears', which indicates iterative, frequentative, or habitual action (see above, section 7.3.5.1 of Unit 7), e.g. ογρωμε νκοφος μεqνεx [ψαξε] νημ εβολ zιnai αλλα ψαqt† zτηq ε[netcω]tm εροoy 'a wise (ν-κοφος) man (oy-pwme) does not throw (με-q-νεx) away (εβολ) every (νημ) word.

(ψαξε) like that (zιnai) but (αλλα) focuses (ψα-q-†) his attention (zτη-q) towards those who listen (ε-n-ετ-cωtm) to them (ερο-oy)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7).

9.4.1.1 Forms

The complete inflectional paradigm of the Negative Habitual is presented in table 9.3.

	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PRESENT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE HABITUAL	NEGATIVE HABITUAL PAST
1 st sing.	με-ι-cωtm	ε-με-ι-cωtm	νε-με-ι-cωtm
2 nd sing. masc.	με-κ-cωtm	ε-με-κ-cωtm	νε-με-κ-cωtm
2 nd sing. fem.	μερε-cωtm	ε-μερε-cωtm	νε-μερε-cωtm
3 rd sing. masc.	με-q-cωtm	ε-με-q-cωtm	νε-με-q-cωtm
3 rd sing. fem.	με-c-cωtm	ε-με-c-cωtm	νε-με-c-cωtm
1 st plural	με-n-cωtm	ε-με-n-cωtm	νε-με-n-cωtm
2 nd plural	με-τεtn-cωtm	ε-με-τεtn-cωtm	νε-με-τεtn-cωtm
3 rd plural	με-y-cωtm	ε-με-y-cωtm	νε-με-y-cωtm
before noun	μερε πρωμε cωtm	ε-μερε πρωμε cωtm	νε-μερε πρωμε cωtm

TABLE 9.3 The Negative Habitual

9.4.1.2 Negative descriptions of event patterns

The Negative Habitual provides a negative description of an event pattern, asserting that a particular event did not take place over a long period of time, e.g. ερψαν ογα ναy εροq μεqzναq επ οyω οyδε εχitq εzoyν ετεqpi 'whenever someone (ογα) saw (ερψαν ... ναy) him (the brother) (ερο-q) he did not want (με-q-zνα-q) to reply (lit. to make (ε-p) reply (oyw)) and (oyde) to take him (ε-χit-q) into (εzoyν) his cell (ε-τεq-pi)' (AP Chaîne no. 45, 9:21-22), ντοq δε zωωq νεμεqτωβε ναy λαy αλλα νεψαqzρωy ηzηt εzpai εxωoy zη

ΟΥΝΟΘ ΜΗΝΤΖΑΡΩΖΗΤ 'he (Pachôm (ΝΤΟQ), however (ΖΩQ-Q), *did not take revenge* (ΝΕ-ΜΕ-Q-ΤΩΩΒΕ) against them (the brothers) (ΝΑ-Υ) in any way (ΛΑΛΥ), but (instead) he was patient (ΝΕ-ΦΑ-Q-ΖΡΟΦ) with them (ΕΧΩ-ΟΥ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) indulgence (Η-ΜΗΤ-ΖΑΡΩ-ΖΗΤ)' (V. Pach. 5:17-19).

a) Habitual

The non-occurrence of a particular event pattern may be conceptualised as a characteristic property or habit of the subject referent, e.g. ΕCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΦΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΤΟΥΟΧ ΕΦΩΝΕ ΜΕΙΧΤΙ 'when (Ε-C-ΦΩΠΕ) I observe (Ε-Ι-ΦΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) that (ΧΕ) I am cured (Τ-ΟΥΟΧ) from illness (Ε-ΦΩΝΕ), I *will not accept it* (the donkey) (ΜΕ-Ι-ΧΙΤ-Q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΛΟ ΕQΒΟΡΘ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΦΑ ΠΕQΖΑΕ ΝΝΙQΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) the devil (Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) *does not cease* (ΜΕΡΕ ... ΛΟ) waylaying (Ε-Q-ΒΟΡΘ) man (Ε-Π-ΡΩΜΕ) until (ΦΑ) his last (ΠΕQ-ΖΑΕ) breath (Ν-ΝΙQΕ)' (KHML II 48:7-9), ΜΕΓΑΝΙΧΕ (for ΜΕΓΑΝΕΧΕ) ΡΩΑΧΕ (read ΕΦΑΧΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ 'they (the monks) *usually do not bear* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΑΝΙΧΕ) to speak (Ε-ΦΑΧΕ) with them (women) (ΝΜΜΑ-Υ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ)' (Hil. 10:18).

b) Generic

When used in proverbs and gnomic assertions, the Negative Habitual Present ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he usually does not hear' receives a generic interpretation: the continuous absence of a particular type of event is presented as a general truth that holds at all times, e.g. ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤCΒΩ ΜΕQΖΑΡΖ ΕΥΦΑΧΕ Μ[ΜΥC]ΤΗΡΙΟΝ 'the imprudent (Ν-ΑΤ-CΒΩ) person (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ): *he does not keep* (ΜΕ-Q-ΖΑΡΕΖ) a secret (lit. a secret (Η-ΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ) word (Ε-Υ-ΦΑΧΕ))' (Teach. Ant. 5), ΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΛΛΑΥ ΜΠΑΘΟC ΕΝΕΖ 'he (ΠΑΙ) of such (ill-tempered) nature (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΙΝΕ) *will not manage* to ever (ΕΝΕΖ) master (ΜΕΡΕ ... (ΕΡ ΧΟΕΙC) any (Ε-ΛΛΑΥ) passion (ΠΑΘΟC)' (AP Chaîne no.12, 3:9), ΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥΠΕΖΤ CΟΘΝ ΕΧΝ ΤΕCΑΠΕ ΕCΖΗ ΠΕCΝΟQ 'and (ΟΥΤΕ) they *do not pour* (ΜΕ-Υ-ΠΕΖΤ) ointment (CΟΘΝ) on (ΕΧΝ) her (the girl's) head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ),

when she has her period (lit. when she is in (Ε-C-ΖΗ) the blood (ΠΕ-CΝΟQ))' (Sh. Zoega 589:20-21).

c) Backgrounding

The Negative Relative Habitual Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'usually without hearing' frequently occurs in negated circumstantial clauses and secondary predicates to provide background information about the main clause event, which is formulated in the affirmative, e.g. ΝΕΥΟ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΗ ΟΥΦΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΗ ΦΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ ΕΜΕΡΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΧΟΟC ΕΝΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ 'they (the brothers) were (ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) as one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) heart (Ν-ΟΥ-ΖΗΤ) and (ΜΗ) one (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) soul (ΟΥ-ΦΥΧΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) all (ΝΙΗ) things (ΝΚΑ) were (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΦΟΟΠ) in common (ΖΙ-ΟΥ-CΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) and *no one* (ΛΑΛΥ) *said* (Ε-ΜΕΡΕ ... ΧΟΟ-C) about what belonged (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΦΟΟΠ) to them (ΝΑ-Υ) »they (ΝΕ) (are) mine (ΝΟΥΙ)!« (V. Pach. 4:22-23), ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ ΝCΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΜΕQΧΩΖ ΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑQΡΩΚΖ ΝΗΡΕQΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) an intelligent (Ν-CΑΒΕ) blaze (ΟΥ-ΚΩΖΤ) (is) that one (Π-ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) (i.e. the burning river) *in not touching* (Ε-ΜΕ-Q-ΧΩΖ) the righteous ones (Ε-Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC), but (ΑΛΛΑ) burning (ΦΑ-Q-ΡΩΚΖ) the sinners (Ν-Ν-ΡΕQ-ΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ)' (Test. Is. 234:26-27).

9.4.2 The Negative Perfect

The Negative Perfect ΗΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' has the same temporal reference and aspectual meaning as the affirmative First Perfect Α-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he heard', e.g. ΑQΑΑΝ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΧΝ CΟΗ ΝΙΗ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΗΜΟΝ ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛQ 'he (Christ) made us (Α-Q-ΑΑ-Ν) masters (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) over (ΕΧΝ) all (ΝΙΗ) powers (CΟΗ) and (ΑΥΩ) (yet) *no one* (ΟΥΟΝ) of us (ΗΜΟ-Ν) *has dared* (ΗΠΕ ... ΤΟΛΜΑ) to do (Ε-Ρ) what you have done (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΑ-Q)' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

9.4.2.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative (First) Perfect ΗΠΕ-Q-ΩΤΗ 'he has not heard, did not hear' and the Negative Relative Perfect Ε-ΜΠ(Ε)-Q-ΩΤΗ 'without having heard' is presented in table 9.4. Due to

the reduction of the relative marker ϵ -, the Negative Relative Perfect is often written as $\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$, which makes it look like the Negative First Perfect from which it is derived.

	NEGATIVE PERFECT	NEGATIVE RELATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
1 st plural	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd plural	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd plural	$\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon)\text{-}\omega\gamma\text{-}\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	$\text{ἤν} \epsilon \text{ πρῶμε } \omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\text{ἤν}(\epsilon) \text{ πρῶμε } \omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 9.4 The Negative Perfect

9.4.2.2 Negative descriptions of past events

Negative descriptions of past events may also provide a descriptive background for the understanding of the foregrounded events by comparing them to an alternative mode of development that did, in fact, not take place, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ οὐ } \delta\epsilon \text{ τενκῶτκ } \epsilon\chi\eta \text{ οὐμα } \eta\eta\kappa\omega\tau\kappa \text{ ἡνοῦβ } \gamma\iota \text{ } \gamma\alpha\tau \text{ (...) } \epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\omega\eta\eta\epsilon \text{ νσα } \pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \text{ νταα} \eta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ 'why ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ οὐ}$) do you (woman) sleep ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\eta\kappa\omega\tau\kappa$) on ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) a couch (lit. a sleeping ($\eta\text{-}\eta\kappa\omega\tau\kappa$) place ($\omega\gamma\text{-}\mu\alpha$)) of gold ($\eta\text{-}\eta\omega\eta\beta$) and ($\gamma\iota$) silver ($\gamma\alpha\tau$) and did not look ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\pi\epsilon\text{-}\omega\eta\eta\epsilon$) for ($\eta\varsigma\alpha$) the place ($\eta\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of my resurrection ($\eta\text{-}\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$)?' (Eud. 50:23-25).

a) Wide scope

The Negative Perfect can be associated with either a wide or a narrow scope reading of negation. Under a wide scope interpretation, the Negative Perfect asserts that a particular type of event never took place. Very often,

such negative descriptions of events convey a strong sense of counterexpectancy, where the non-occurrence of that event is presented as a remarkable and noteworthy fact, e.g. $\eta\pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\gamma\eta \text{ } \epsilon\chi\eta \text{ } \pi\kappa\alpha\zeta \text{ } \eta\eta\epsilon\zeta\omega\omicron\gamma \text{ } \tau\eta\pi\omicron\gamma \text{ } \eta\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\alpha\eta\tau\iota\eta\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \pi\pi\omicron \text{ 'they (the Persians) did not again (lit. they did not place (ἤν-οὔ-οὔωζ) their hands (ἑτοοτ-οὔ)) raise up (ε-τῶογν) against (εχῆ) the country (π-καζ) in all (τῆρ-οὔ) the days (η-ηε-ζωογ) of King (π-πρo) Constantine' (Eud. 48:18-19), } \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha \text{ } \lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \text{ } \eta\chi\pi\omicron\pi \text{ } \eta\eta\tau\eta \text{ } \epsilon\zeta\pi\alpha\iota \text{ } \eta\pi\eta\tau\omicron \text{ } \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \text{ } \eta\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \text{ } \eta\eta \text{ } \eta\pi\omega\mu\epsilon \text{ 'I did not place (ἤν-ε-κα) any (λλαγ) obstacle (η-χρoπ) for you (ηῆ-τῆ) in front (η-π-ητο } \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \text{) of God (η-π-νοῦτε) nor (ἡῆ) mankind (η-ρῶμε)' (V. Pach. 89:7-8).}$

b) Narrow scope

The fused negation of the Negative Perfect may have narrow scope relative to the adjunct. In this case, it is not denied that a particular type of event took place, but rather it happened under different circumstances or for different reasons. The constituent that attracts the focus of negation corresponds to the contrastive focus constituent marked by $\lambda\lambda\lambda\alpha$ 'but', e.g. $\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\alpha \text{ } \eta\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha \text{ (for } \eta\eta\omicron\gamma\alpha \text{) } \eta\zeta\eta\tau\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta \text{ } \epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta \text{ (...) } \epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau \text{ } \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon \text{ } \pi\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\iota \text{ } \eta\tau\epsilon\phi\psi\chi\eta \text{ 'I never (εἰς) reprimanded (ἤν-εἰ-επειτμα) anyone (ηῆ-οὔα) of you (ηῆτ-τῆγτῆ) (...) except (εἰμῆτ) for (ετβε) the salvation (π-οὔα) of his soul (η-τῆφ-ψχῆ)' (V. Pach. 89:17-19), } \eta\pi\omega\pi \text{ } \pi\alpha\phi\eta\pi\epsilon \text{ } \eta\pi\omicron\gamma\tau\omicron\phi\kappa \text{ } \gamma\alpha\pi \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\kappa\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha \text{ } \lambda\lambda\alpha \text{ } \eta\tau\alpha \text{ } \pi\lambda\tilde{\varsigma} \text{ } \tau\omicron\phi\kappa \text{ } \epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha \text{ } \eta\eta\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta \text{ } \epsilon\tau\omega\omicron\pi \text{ } \gamma\eta \text{ } \pi\chi\alpha\iota\epsilon \text{ 'No (ἡπωρ), my son (πα-φῆρε)! For (γάρ) you have not been destined (lit. they have not destined you (ἤν-οὔ-τοφ-κ) for this career (ε-τ-οικονομία), but (λλα) the Lord (π-ᾱ̄ς) has appointed you (ητ-α ... } \tau\omicron\phi\text{-κ) as a comfort (ε-γ-σoλ\varsigma\alpha) for the holy (ετ-οὔαλβ) brothers (η-ηε-ςηῆγ) who live (ετ-ωοοπ) in (γῆ) the desert (π-χαιε)' (Onnophr. 216:33-217:1).}$

a) Negated secondary predicates

The Relative Negative Perfect is commonly used to negate a secondary predicate (see above, section 8.1.14). In this case, it denies that the subject or direct object referent attained a certain mental or physical state when

the main clause event took place, e.g. $\mu\alpha\psi \ \eta\zeta\epsilon \ \lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon\nu \ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda \ \nu\omicron\iota \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\varsigma \ \epsilon\mu\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'how (N- $\mu\alpha\psi \ \eta\zeta\epsilon$) did the Lord (N- $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) of the universe (N- $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$) pass by us (A- $\lambda\phi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\epsilon\nu$) without us noticing (E- $\mu\eta\pi\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$)?' (Pist. Soph. 21:5-6), $\lambda\phi\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \ \lambda\phi\omega\eta\epsilon \ \nu\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta \ \omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omega$ 'one day (N- $\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) he (the sick child) lay down (A- $\lambda\phi\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$) sick (A- $\lambda\phi\omega\eta\epsilon$) (and) did not eat (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta$) nor drink (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omega$)' (Ac. A&P 194:23).

9.4.2.3 The two negative Second Perfects

To express the marked combination of focus and negation, two negative counterparts of the Second Perfect are available, which differ with respect to scope of the negation.

a) $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\mu\pi(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ pattern is selected, when negation takes wide scope over the entire clause, e.g. $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \chi\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\tau \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\kappa \ \epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \mu\mu\omicron\eta \ \epsilon\iota\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$ 'and I see (N- $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$) whether (X ϵ) he (the eagle) did not come (E- $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta$) down (E- $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\tau$) because of you (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), if (E- $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) not (N- $\mu\mu\omicron\eta$), then (E- $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) because of me (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$)' (AP, Chaîne no. 192, 49:34-50:1), $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta \ \epsilon\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota \ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\tau \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\kappa \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \pi\omicron\varsigma\omicron\eta \ \psi\omicron\varsigma\eta \ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ 'thus (N- $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta$), he (the eagle) did not come (E- $\mu\pi\epsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta$) down (E- $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\tau$) because of you (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau\text{-}\kappa$), because (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon$) the brother (N- $\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\eta$) is angry (N- $\psi\omicron\varsigma\eta$) with you (E- $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$)' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta\eta \ \gamma\eta \ \lambda\psi \ \mu\mu\alpha$ 'in (N- $\gamma\eta$) what (N- $\lambda\psi$) place (N- $\mu\mu\alpha$) have you (woman) not been defiled (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\omega\zeta\eta$)?' (Besa, frag. 35, 116:14-15, [Jer 3:2]).

b) $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu \ \lambda\eta$ 'he has not heard, he did not hear'

The $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu \ \lambda\eta$ pattern, by contrast, has a bound, narrow scope interpretation, leaving the verb out of the scope of negation, e.g. $\eta\tau\alpha \ \pi\alpha\iota \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \ \lambda\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau \ \lambda\eta\omicron\kappa \ \gamma\alpha\rho \ \lambda\eta\gamma \ \omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \lambda\lambda\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \tau\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\alpha \ \mu\eta \ \eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \lambda \ \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \ \epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon \ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\epsilon$ 'this (N- $\pi\alpha\iota$) did not (N- $\lambda\eta$) happen (N- $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda \ \dots \ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) for my sake (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\tau$), since (N- $\gamma\alpha\rho$) (as for) me (N- $\lambda\eta\omicron\kappa$), I (N- $\lambda\eta\gamma$) (am) a nobody (N- $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$), but (N- $\lambda\lambda\alpha$) for the sake of (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) the widow (N- $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\rho\alpha$) and (N- $\mu\eta$) these orphans (N- $\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\rho\phi\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) had God

(N- $\mu\eta\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) done (N- $\lambda \ \dots \ \epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) this thing (N- $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\zeta\omega\epsilon$)' (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:31-33), $\eta\tau\alpha\iota\eta\tau\kappa \ \lambda\eta\kappa \ \lambda\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma \ \lambda\lambda\alpha \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ 'I have not (N- $\lambda\eta$) brought it (the wheat) (N- $\eta\tau\text{-}\lambda\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$) because of (E- $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) anything (N- $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma$) but (N- $\lambda\lambda\alpha$) my salvation (N- $\pi\alpha\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$)' (V. Pach. 138:2).

9.4.3 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

The Unexpected Negative Perfect $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not yet heard' comprises three layers of meaning, including negative polarity, completive aspect, and absolute time reference. For the time of the utterance, it is asserted that some event has not yet reached its termination, although it leaves this possibility open for the nearby future, e.g. $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa\rho \ \lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\mu\mu\alpha\varsigma$ 'you have not yet become (N- $\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\rho$) worthy (N- $\lambda\zeta\iota\omicron\varsigma$) to talk (N- $\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to him (Jesus Christ) (N- $\eta\mu\mu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$)' (KHML II 30:21-22).

9.4.3.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the $\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$ 'he has not yet heard' pattern is presented in table 9.5.

	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	RELATIVIZED UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE
1 st sing.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. masc.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd sing. fem.	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
1 st plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
2 nd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau(\epsilon)\text{-}\tau\eta\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
3 rd plural	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$
Before noun	$\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \varsigma\omega\tau\mu$	$\epsilon\text{-}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \ \varsigma\omega\tau\mu$

TABLE 9.5 The Unexpected Negative Perfective

9.4.3.2 Incompleteness and counterexpectancy

The Unexpected Negative Perfect, as the name suggests, carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out, e.g. *μηαῖπώρ ενεῖψι ντειδὸτ ἐτραχὶ σζιης ἐζοῦν ἐπαμανφωπε* 'I have not yet reached (*μηαῖπώρ*) such (*ν-τειδὸτ*) heights (*ε-νει-φι*) to take (*ε-τρα-χι*) a woman (*σζιης*) into (*ἐζοῦν*) my residence (*ε-πα-μα-ν-φωπε*)' (Hil. 9:6-7).

a) Absolute tense

When used as a main clause pattern, the Unexpected Negative Perfect has absolute time reference and denies that some event has been accomplished by the moment of speaking. It is in this context that the underlying negative presupposition applies in full force: the on-going state of the event in question is presented as a remarkable fact, e.g. *ἀγὼ εἰς ζηητες μηαῖτοῦων νηος παχοεῖς* 'and (*ἀγὼ*) look (*εἰς ζηητες*), I have not yet opened (*μηαῖτ-οῦων*) it (the sack with gold), my lord (*πα-χοεῖς*)' (Mena, Mir. 15b:22-25), *ἐνεμηπατοῦφωπε γαρ ζν κηης νβι μμοναστηριον ἐτωφ* 'since (*γαρ*) (there) were not yet (*ε-νε-μηπατ-οῦ-φωπε*) many (*ετ-οφ*) monasteries (*μ-μοναστηριον*) in (*ζν*) Egypt (*κηης*)' (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *ντοφ δε πρρο νενπατqχι βαπτισμα* 'but he (*ντοφ*), the king (*π-ρρο*), had not yet received (*νε-μηπατ-q-χι*) baptism (*βαπτισμα*)' (Eud. 42:1), *εβολ χε μηατεκειωρζ μπμτον ἐτηζεπιζε εροφ* 'because (*εβολ χε*) you have not yet perceived (*μηατε-κ-ειωρζ*) the peace (*μ-π-μτον*) that we are hoping (*ετ-ν-ζεπιζε*) for (*ερο-φ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:25-26).

b) Relative tense

In temporal adjunct clauses, the Unexpected Negative Perfective functions as a relative tense: the emergence of the main clause event is contingent on the completion of the subordinate clause event, although there is no evident logical relation or temporal overlap between both events. Moreover, the negative presupposition that underlies the *μηπατ(ε)-q-σωτη* no longer holds, e.g. *ειογφφ εναγ ετασωνε μηαῖτμογ* 'I want

(*ε-ι-ογφφ*) to see (*ε-ναγ*) my sister (*ε-τα-σωνε*) before I die (*μηαῖτ-μογ*)' (KHML I 75:20-21), *ογτε ννεγκωτε εζοῦν εβολ ζμ πῑης ἐμηπατογκωλζ* 'and (*ογτε*) they (the brothers) shall not go (*ννε-γ-κωτε*) in (*εζοῦν*) (and) out (*εβολ*) from (*ζμ*) the village (*π-ῑης*) before they ring (the bell) (*ε-μηπατ-ογ-κωλζ*)' (praec. Pach. 90), *τεκζμζαλ εγδοξια τετογφφ εει εζοῦν επεκασπασμος ἡπατε ππαλιον χωλν* 'your servant (*τεκ-ζμζαλ*) Eudoxia wants (*ετ-ογφφ*) to come (*ε-ει*) inside (*εζοῦν*) to your welcome (*ε-πεκ-ασπασμος*) before the palace (*π-παλιον*) gets busy (*ἡπατε ... χωλν*)' (Eud. 56:1-2).

9.4.4 The Negative Third Future

The Negative Third Future *ννε-q-σωτη* 'he shall not hear' serves as a deontic future tense in much the same way as the corresponding Third Future *ε-q-ε-σωτη* 'he shall hear' (see above, section 7.3.3.4 of Unit 7); but while the latter imposes an event on the addressee or some other party, the former is used to prevent some event from happening, e.g. *ἀγὼ πετεκναεπιθῶμει εροφ ννεκοῦωμq εκεοῦωμ δε ννεντα πνοῦτε τννοογcoγ νακ* 'and (*ἀγὼ*) (the food) that you might desire (*π-ετ-κ-να-επιθῶμει*) for (*ερο-φ*), you shall not eat (*ννε-κ-οῦωμ-q*), you should (rather) eat (*ε-κε-οῦωμ*) what God has sent (*ν-νε-ντ-α ... τννοογ-coγ*) you (*να-κ*)' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:15-16).

9.4.4.1 Forms

The inflectional paradigm of the Negative Third Future *ννε-q-σωτη* 'he shall not hear' is presented in table 9.6 below. Of the two first person singular allomorphs, *ννα-* represents the unmarked form, while the marked variant *ννε-ι-* represents a sporadically used analogical formation, induced by paradigm uniformity.

NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	NNA-CΩTH (rarely NNE-I-CΩTH)	NNE-N-CΩTH
2 nd masc.	NNE-K-CΩTH	NNE-TN-CΩTH
2 nd fem.	NNE-CΩTH	
3 rd masc.	NNE-Q-CΩTH	NNE-Y-CΩTH
3 rd fem.	NNE-C-CΩTH	
Before noun	NNE ΠΡΩΜΕ CΩTH	

TABLE 9.6 The Negative Third Future

9.4.4.2 Negative directives and commissives

The Negative Third Future is rarely used in connection with future time reference to assert the improbability for some event to happen, e.g. NNEKPIKE OYΔE NNEKZE AAA EKNAATE MΦWB NTAKZI TOOTK EPQ 'you will not go astray (NNE-K-PIKE) or (OYΔE) fall (NNE-K-ZE), but (AAA) you will succeed (E-K-NA-MATE) in the work (MΦWB < M-Π-ZWB) that you have undertaken (lit. that you have laid (NT-A-K-ZI) your hand (TOOT-K) on (EPQ-Q))' (Onnophr. 217:14-15). For the most part, it has a deontic meaning and function, expressing negative directive or commissive speech-acts.

a) Prohibitive

The Negative Third Future appears in prohibitions and prescriptions designed to withhold the addressee or others from engaging him- or herself in a particular course of action, e.g. NNE AAY NPOME OYH NKA NTEQPI 'no man (AAY NPOME) shall eat (NNE ... OYH) anything (NKA) in his cell (N-TEQ-PI)' (praec. Pach. 114), NNE AAY ΦAXE MN NEQEPHY ZH PKAKE 'no one (AAY) shall talk (NNE ... ΦAXE) with (MN) one another (NEQ-EPHY) in (ZH) the dark (Π-KAKE)' (praec. Pach. 94), NNEKZOTB NTCHBE (for NTCHQE) NNEKZOTB ON ZH ΠAAC 'you shall not kill (NNE-K-ZOTB) neither with the sword (N-T-CHBE) nor (ON) with (ZH) the tongue (Π-AAC)' (Test. Is. 233:22-23), NNEYKET TEIKYTH ZH ΠAOYOEIY

(...) 'this vault (TEI-KYTH) should not be rebuilt (lit. they should not build (NNE-Y-KET)) in (ZH) my time (ΠA-OYOEIY) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:27).

b) Commissives

In the context of first person reference, the Negative Third Future receives promissive interpretation, expressing the speaker's commitment to refrain from certain types of misbehaviour or transgressions in the future, e.g. NNEIXIOYE NNEIP MNTPE NNOYX NNEIXI SOL 'I shall not steal (NNE-I-XIOYE), I shall not make (NNE-I-P) false (N-NOYX) witness (MNTPE), I shall not tell (NNE-I-XI) lies (SOL)' (Sh. III 20:13-14), ANON OE ZΩWN NNEHOYΩZ ETOTTN EP ΠOΛEMOC HΠNOYTE NTTE 'and we (ANON OE), in our turn (ZΩW-N), we will not again (lit. set (NNE-N-OYΩZ) hand (ETOTTN) to) make (E-P) war (ΠOΛEMOC) with the God (H-Π-NOYTE) of heaven (N-T-ΠE)' (Eud. 48:13).

c) Negative purpose clauses

In purpose/reason adjunct clauses, the Negative Third Future describes the intended or anticipated negative outcome of the main clause event, e.g. NIOYΔAI AYTAΦPE TΠYAY (read TΠYAH) ZH OYTAΦPO XEKAC NNE NAΠOCTOΛOC EPBOK EZOYN ETΠOΛIC 'the Jews (N-IOYΔAI) strengthened (A-Y-TAΦPE) the gate (T-ΠYAY) very strongly (ZH OY-TAΦPO) so that (XEKAC) the apostles (N-AΠOCTOΛOC) could not go (NNE ... EP-BOK) into (EZOYN) the city (E-T-ΠOΛIC)' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ANI TEΦYXH NIOYΔAC EZPAI XEKAC NNE ΠΔIABOΛOC ON ΛOIBE EXΩ (read EXΩI) 'bring (ANI) the soul (TE-ΦYXH) of Judas up here (EZPAI) so that (XEKAC) the devil (Π-ΔIABOΛOC) won't find (NNE ... ON) a pretext (ΛOIBE) against me (EXΩ-I)' (Ac. A&P 202:114), NCENOCHO[Y] [E]XH ΠEQTAΦOC NCEZOBCCQ XEKAC NNE AAY NPOME P ΠEQMEEYE 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (N-CE-NOX-O[Y]) on (EXH) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠEQ-TAΦOC) and cover it (N-CE-ZOBC-Q) so that (XEKAC) no man (AAY N-POME) might remember it (lit. make (NNE ... P) its remembrance (ΠEQ-MEEYE))' (Eud. 58:21-22).

9.4.5 The Negative Imperative

Imperative clauses have a biclausal structure for negation, consisting of the negative auxiliary **μηπρ** 'do not!' and an infinitival complement clause. Negative imperatives can be used with various degrees of force, ranging from prohibitions to polite requests and entreaties, e.g. **μηρκοτκ ερνοβε** 'do not return (**μηπρ**-κοτ-κ) to sin (lit. to do (ε-ρ) sin (νοβε))!' (Onnophr. 209:6), **μηπρ ροτε τπαρεενοσ ετογλαβ** 'don't be (**μηπρ**-ρ) afraid (ροτε), holy (ετ-ογλαβ) virgin (τ-παρεενοσ)!' (Eud. 50:20-21), **μηπρκαλτ νσωκ** 'don't abandon me (lit. leave me (**μηπρ**-καλτ) behind you (νσω-κ))!' (Ac. A&P 200:82-83), **μηπερτρε λαλγ ειμε κε ντε ογςζημε** 'don't let (**μηπερ**-τρε) anybody (λαλγ) know (ειμε) that (κε) you (ντε) (are) a woman (ογ-ςζημε)' (Hil. 6:24-25).

N.B. The negative imperative **μηπρ** has an absolute state counterpart, where the infinitival clause has been elided, although its content can be recovered from the preceding context. Such elliptical imperatives function as negative parentheticals, meaning something like 'oh no, don't!', e.g. **εκναδωτ νσω ειναβωκ επτακο μηωρ παχοε** 'will you watch me going to perdition? Oh no (**μηωρ**), my Lord (πα-χοε)!' (Ac. A&P 200:91).

9.4.6 The negative auxiliary **τη**

Coptic has yet another group of negative conjugation patterns that are formed with the negative auxiliary **τη** 'to do not'. The auxiliary **τη** is semantically more restricted than other types of negation, since it can only take narrow scope over the main verb and its complements, e.g. **λαλ κε λφωταν ννεφβαλ ετμσωτ εροφ επτηρφ** 'but (λαλ) because (κε) he closed (λφ-ωταν) his eyes (ν-νεφ-βαλ) not to see (ε-τμ-σωτ) it (the sun) (ερο-φ) at all (επτηρφ)' (Zen. 200:27-28), **α ταδωμ ει εροι ρωστε ετμτραλσεανε επτηρφ κε †ρκοετ η †οβε** 'my strength (τα-δωμ) came (back) (α ... ει) to me (εροι) so that (ρωστε) I did not notice (ε-τμ-τρα-λσεανε) at all (επτηρφ) that (κε) I was hungry (†-ρκοετ) or (η) thirsty (†-οβε)' (Onnophr. 209:26-27).

The predicate negation properties of **τη** are particularly clear in the context of indefinite pronouns, which are uniformly interpreted as

negative polarity expressions (see above, section 4.3.3 of Unit 4), e.g. **παρο μημοναχοσ πε τηχπε λαλγ νζγλη ναφ** 'the treasure (π-αρο) of the monk (μ-π-μοναχοσ) (is) not to acquire (τμ-χπε) any (λαλγ) property (ν-ζγλη) for himself (να-φ)' (AP Chaîne no 30, 6:5-6), **[ρωστε] ντ[ετ]η [λαλγ] ε[ψωμ]δωμ ε[ναζ]μ[ε]φ εβολ [ζν να]οιχ** 'so that (ρωστε) nobody (λαλγ) will be able (ντε-τμ ... εψ-δωμ) to save himself (ε-ναζμε-φ) from (εβολ ζν) my hands (να-οιχ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3a:2-5).

9.4.1.1 Two different clausal positions

In the context of pronominal subjects, the negative auxiliary **τη** occupies an intermediate position in a cluster of modal verbs, coming after the conditional marker **ψαν** and before the epistemic modal verb (ε)φ- 'can, to be able to', e.g. **εψαντηρρεζ δε πτοποσ ναψωφ** 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-ν-ψαν-τη-ρρεζ), the place (π-τοποσ) will be deserted (να-ψωφ)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3). In the context of nominal subjects, however, it is no longer possible for the conditional marker **ψαν** and the negative auxiliary **τη** to remain in their base position. In this case, both auxiliary verbs move to an extra-clausal position, following the relative marker **ερε** and preceding the subject nominal: **ερε NP_{subject} ψαν-τη → ερ-ψαν-τη NP_{subject}**, e.g. **ερψαντη πρωμε αποτασσε νενκα νιμ ετζημ πκοσμοσ νφναψωπε αν μημοναχοσ** 'if a man (π-ρωμε) does not give up (ερ-ψαν-τη ... αποτασσε) everything (ν-ενκα νιμ) that belongs to (lit. that (is) in (ετ-ζημ)) the world (π-κοσμοσ), he will not (αν) be able to become (ν-φ-να-ψωπε) a monk (μ-μοναχοσ)' (AP Chaîne no. 242, 74:28).

9.4.1.2 Negative conjugation patterns with **τη**

The negative auxiliary verb **τη** has a broad syntactic distribution and is used as the marker of negative polarity in four negative tenses:

a) The Negative Temporal **ντερε-φ-τμ-σωτμ**

e.g. **επζαε δε ντερεφτμσωμδωμ νδω πεδρακων εταγο επεσχητ νναντωνιοσ** (for ναντωνιοσ) **αφωμτ εροφ νμιν νμοφ (...)** 'finally

(ε-π-2αε), *when* the dragon (πε-δρακων) *had not been able* (ντερε-q-τη-εψ-δμοδ) to cast (ε-ταγο) down (επεσнт) Antony (nn-αντωνιος) he became angry (α-q-δωνт) about himself (ερο-q-mmim nmo-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-7).

b) The Negative Terminative ψαντε-q-τη-σωτη

e.g. αγω αυγιοε ncow ψαντογтmka λaay επα2oy ετρεqoyxai 'and (αγω) they smote (α-γ-2ιοε) them (ncow-oy) until they did not leave (ψανт-oy-τη-ka) anyone (λaay) behind (επα2oy) to survive (ε-τρε-q-oyxai)' (Joshua 8:22).

c) The Negative Conditional ε-q-ψαν-τη-σωτη and the Negative Relative Present ε-q-τη-σωτη 'if he does not hear'

Both negative conjugations are used to express negative conditions. Thus, compare: ενψαντη2αρε2 δε πτοπος ναψωq 'if we do not keep (them) (i.e. the rules of the fathers) (ε-n-ψαν-τη-2αρε2), the place (π-τοπος) will be deserted (να-ψωq)' (AP Chaîne no.185, 46:3) vs. εψωπε εтетηтmδετη ειρε nπai 2n oy moy тетηna moy (read тетη-na-moy) 'if you do not hasten (ε-тетη-τη-δετη) to do (ε-ειρε) this (n-πai), you will surely die (lit. in (2n) a dying (oy-moy) you will die (тетη-na-moy))' (Eud. 58:28-60:1).

d) The Negative Conjunctive n-q-τη-σωτη

e.g. nтeti n2hke 2ωωq kωte 2n πεqhi n 2n net2itoγωq ψανтq2e eoγnob ntaio 'and would the poor (man) (n-2hke), in his turn (2ωω-q), not seek (nτε-τη ... kωte), in (2n) his (own) house (πεq-hi) or (n) in (2n) (that) of his neighbours (n-εт-2itoγω-q) until he finds (ψανт-q-2e) a great (ε-oy-nos) gift (n-taio)' (Eud. 72:13-14), nim nte nрwne εqnaδωψт nca πεqψηpe εqβhк nemтw nqтmbohεi epoq 'who (nim) (is) the man (n-рwne) who will watch (ε-q-na-δωψт) his son (πεq-ψηpe) drowning (lit. go (ε-q-βhк) to the depths (n-εmтw)) and would not help (n-q-τη-bohεi) him (epo-q)?' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90).

e) Negated infinitival clauses

Aside from these negative tenses, the auxiliary τη is the standard pattern of negation in infinitival clauses, e.g. α πενειωт πα2ωm 2ωn εтоотn εтнр πai 'our father (πεν-ειωт) Pachôm ordered us (εтоот-n) not to do (ε-τη-р) this (πai)' (V. Pach. 139:31), mωnωn (for monon) 2αρε2 epok εтнр nobe επноyте nтаqтаиok 'but (mωnωn) be careful (2αρε2) not to sin (lit. commit (ε-τη-р) sin (nobe)) against the God (ε-π-ноyте) who has created you (nt-α-q-таиo-к)' (V. Pach. 89:27-28). A more detailed description of infinitival clauses will be offered in section 12.3 of Unit 12.

Key Terms:

Wide vs. narrow scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.
Double negation	represents a negation strategy where negative polarity is encoded by two separate negative markers, viz. the negative scope definer n- and the negation adverb an 'not'.	§9.3
The Unexpected Negative Perfective	Coptic has a special verbal tense-aspect for the expression of incompleteness ("not yet"). The nπat(ε)-q-σωτη pattern carries a negative presupposition; it is tacitly assumed that this state of affairs runs counter to the addressee's expectations of how things normally work out.	§9.4.3

Exercises

9.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
- Double negation structures may occur without the initial negative particle *n-*.
 - The negation adverb *an* 'not' occupies an intermediate position between the verb and the direct object.
 - Both double negation patterns and negative tenses are compatible with a wide or a narrow scope interpretation of negation.
 - The narrow scope interpretation of a negative sentence can be reinforced by continuing it with a rectifying *alla* ('BUT')-clause.
 - The Negative Third Future *nne-q-cwtm* 'he shall not hear' functions as a deontic modal, which puts an obligation on the addressee or others to refrain from a particular action.
 - tm*-negatives can only appear in infinitival clauses.

9.2 Double negation

- A. The placement of the negation adverb *an* 'not' is the postverbal domain is regulated by a family of morpho-syntactic constraints, as discussed in section 9.3.2 above. Place the negative marker *an* in one of the two positions indicated by blanks in the Coptic examples.

- (1) *ncenaw* __ *omom* __ *ebel neichoy exn iakwe* 'they will not (an) be able (n-ce-na-ew-omom) to nullify (e-bel) these blessings (nei-choy) upon (exn) Jacob' (Test. Is. 229:32-33)

- (2) *ntnazet* __ *laay ewtn* __ 'I will not (an) hide (n-t-na-zet) anything (laay) from you (ewtn)' (Abbaton 231:19)
- (3) *alla nczare* __ *epibbo* __ *ntmntmonaxh* 'but (alla) she (the possessed girl) does not (an) watch (n-c-zare) the purity (e-p-ibbo) of the monastic life-style (n-t-mnt-monaxh)' (V. Pach. 141:13-14)
- (4) *anok de ntallo* __ *eimowe* __ *nmmhtn wa eprai etcunteia* (for *etcunteia*) *mpeiaon* 'I (anok) will not (an) cease (n-t-na-lo) walking (e-i-mowe) with you (nmmhtn) until (wa eprai) the completion (e-t-cunteia) of this era (mpei-aon)' (Abbaton 230:13-15)

- B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a negative present or future tense.

- (1) *nqnaew twoy n an za nbacanoc* (KHML II 34:6-7)
- (3) *ntcooy n an xe nta oy wape mmoc* (Hil. 7:30-31)
- (4) *ntnanay an epogoein wantoywne ncwi* (Test. Is. 230:15)
- (5) *tnnacwtm ncwk an* (V. Pach. 5:17)

9.3 Negative tenses

- A. Analyse and translate the following negative tenses.

VERBAL TENSE	ANALYSIS	TRANSLATION
<i>nnacwtm</i>		
<i>mpescwtm</i>		
<i>nempatoycwtm</i>		

B. Translate the following negative tense constructions.

NEGATIVE TENSE CONSTRUCTION	TRANSLATION
μηεφθεν οεικ	(Test. Is. 235:29)
μνεκογονη	(AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16)
νεμεφτωβε ναι	(V. Pach. 5:18)
νητμβονηει εροφ	(Ac. A&P 200:90)
μηρρ ζοτε	(Eud. 50:21)
ετηρ νοβε επινουτε	(V. Pach. 89:28)

C. Identify the negative tenses in the following examples and translate them.

- (1) ουτε ννετνημοος ετομ ετε[τη]ρ σναυ 'and (ουτε) ___ on a mat (ε-τομ) with the two of you (ε-τετη-ρ σναυ)' (praec. Pach. 95)
- (2) ννετνηχι ελλαυ ντοπος νσα πτοπος μηπιαζωραιοc κε ιε '___ (it) (the garbage) to-any (ε-λλαυ) place (ν-τοπος) (else) than (νσα) to the place (π-τοπος) of that Nazarene (μ-πι-ναζωραιοc) Jesus (ιε)' (Eud. 52:27-28)
- (3) εφφωρει ννογυτην (for νουγυτην) εδοογνε (read νδοογνε) μηεφογοειω τηρ ενεφογεν λαυ νσα οεικ ζι ζμογ ματε 'he was wearing (ε-φ-φωρει) a garment (νν-ογ-υτην) of sackcloth (ν-δοογνε) all (τηρ-φ) his time (μ-πεφ-ογοειω) ___ anything (λλαυ) but (νσα) bread (οεικ) and (ζι) salt (ζμογ) alone (ματε)' (V. Pach. 86:1-2)

- (4) ναι δε λφχαριζε μμοογ ννρωμε μηεφτηε κεκας ννεγενωχλει (for ννεγενωχλει) ναφ ην τεφωνε ζν λαυ νζωβ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (λ-φ-χαριζε) them (μμο-ογ) to the people (ν-ν-ρωμε) of his village (μ-πεφ-τηε) so that (κεκας) ___ him (να-φ) and (ην) his sister (τεφωνε) in (ζν) any respect (λλαυ ν-ζωβ)' (V. Ant. 4:18-20)

D. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

αυωκ δε νογοειω ψα απαχιλλας (read απα αχιλλας) νοι^a ψομντ νζαλο. πογα δε μμοογ ουνταφ^b μμαγ νογραν εφchw.^c πεχε ογα νζητογ μηζαλο κε ταμιο ναι νογαβω^d ταρικω ναι μηεφρ πμεεγε ζν ταμωνη.^e ντοφ δε πεχαφ κε ντςροφτ (for ντςροφτ) αν. πεχε πκεογα ναφ πετεογντφ^f πραν εθοογ^g κε ματαμιο ναι νογαβω ταρικα ογλαυ ναι εβολ ζν νεκδιx. λφογωψ κε ανοκ νναταμιοc νακ. λγχνογφ δε νσαογca^h νοι πζαλο σναυ κε ναφ νζε ανοκ ανςτςωπικ κε ταμιοc ναν αυω μηεκογωψ ελαc. παι δε λκχοοc ναφ κε νναταμιοc νακ. πεχε πζαλο ναφ κε λκχοοc νητην κε νναταμιοc αν αυω μηετναυπειⁱ ζωc^j ντςροφτ αν. παι δε ειτμηταμιοc ναφ φναχοοc κε νταφcwτη ετβε πανοβε μηεφογωψ εταμιοc αυω πη^k ναςωλπ μηπογζ^l ντεγνογ αλλα λιτογνεc τεφφγχη κε ννεγωκν^m μηπαι ντειμινε ζν ογλυπει (for ογλυπη) [2 Cor 2:7]. (AP Elanskaya 23b:19-24a:27)

NOTES: a. νοι subject-verb inversion marker (appears on the postverbal subject noun) b. ουντα-φ 'he had' c. ε-φ-chw 'despicable' (an attributive relative clause) d. λβω 'drag-net' e. μωνη 'monastery (here: cell, abode)' f. π-ετε-ογντ-φ 'he who had' (a free relative clause) g. εθοογ (< ετ-ζοογ) 'bad' (an attributive relative clause) h. νσαογca 'apart, in private' i. λγπει 'to be grieved (here: offended)' j. ζωc 'since' k. πη 'that one' (see above, section

4.1.1 of Unit 4) I. $\sigma\omega\lambda\tau\ \mu\pi\tau\sigma\gamma\zeta$ 'to break up (the connection) (lit. to cut off ($\sigma\omega\lambda\tau$) the rope ($\mu\pi\tau\sigma\gamma\zeta$))' m. $\omega\kappa\eta$ 'to make dark'

E. Consider the following two examples and decide whether negation has wide or narrow scope.

- (1) $\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ (for $\sigma\gamma\delta\epsilon$) $\sigma\eta$ $\eta\eta\epsilon$ $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\psi\beta$ $\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\sigma\sigma$ 'and ($\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$) also ($\sigma\eta$) *no one* ($\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$) *shall shave* ($\eta\eta\epsilon$... $\psi\beta$) anyone ($\rho\omega\eta\epsilon$) sitting ($\epsilon\gamma\zeta\mu\sigma\sigma$)' (praec. Pach. 97).

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

- (2) $\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$ $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\rho\omega$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\sigma\gamma\eta$ $\kappa\sigma\chi\mu\sigma$ $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$ 'they (the hermits) *usually do not* even ($\rho\omega$) *remember* (lit. make ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\rho$) thought ($\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) that ($\chi\epsilon$) a world ($\kappa\sigma\chi\mu\sigma$) exists ($\sigma\gamma\eta$... $\psi\sigma\sigma\pi$)' (Onnophr. 215:3-4)

☐ narrow scope reading ☐ wide scope reading of negation

Word order

The description of the Coptic conjugation system presented in units 7-9 dealt with the temporal, aspectual and modal properties of verbal tenses with little attention for sentence form. This is the first of three units on Coptic clause structure. The focus of the present unit is on word order variation with particular attention for the relation between the syntactic placement and the interpretative properties of clausal subjects. Unit 11 examines the relativisation system and Unit 12 revisits the main types of subordinate clauses.

Sahidic Coptic is a language with relatively flexible word order that permits several arrangements of the main constituents subject (S), verb (V), and direct object (O). The positional freedom of the subject and, to a lesser degree, the direct object and adverbial modifiers is largely determined by the information load that these constituents have in discourse. Since constituent ordering is sensitive not only to grammatical function but also to pragmatic considerations, Coptic may be classified as a discourse-configurational language, where topic and focus prominence involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order. The fully productive word alternations in Sahidic Coptic are dealt with in section 10.1. This leads to section 10.2, which examines the residual verb-initial V-S and V-S-O sentences. These verb-first sentence patterns are restricted to a closed class of adjectival, existential, and possessive verbs.

10.1 Subject order and information structure

In Coptic, simple declarative clauses are generally compatible with preverbal, postverbal and left-dislocated subjects. The removal of the subject noun from the preverbal position requires the presence of a pronominal placeholder that resumes its person, number and gender features (indicated as PRO_{SU} 'resumptive subject pronoun'). The label "subject inversion" is used here for word order patterns in which the subject comes after the verb and the direct object. Consider the sample sentences in table 10.1, which differ minimally with respect to the syntactic position of the subject.

SUBJECT POSITION	EXAMPLES
BASIC WORD ORDER (S-V-O)	<p> MINCA †ΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥ Α ΠΑΔΑΚΟΝΟΣ † ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ 'after (MINCA) five (†ΟΥ) days (ΝΖΟΥ) <u>the deacon</u> (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ) went (lit. gave (Α-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to the holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΕ) priest (Ε-ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) <i>Apa Pambô</i>' (Hil. 5:31-32) </p>
LEFT-DISLOCATION (TOPIC _{SU} -PRO _{SU} -V-O)	<p> ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ Α† ΠΕ[†]ΟΥΟΙ '(as for) <i>Andrew</i>, <u>he</u> went forth (lit. gave (Α-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ))' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153) </p>
SUBJECT INVERSION (V-PRO _{SU} -O-S)	<p> ΕΤΕΙ ΕΝΖΗΟΟΣ Α† ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΑΛΟ (...) 'when (ΕΤΕΙ) we were sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΗΟΟΣ), <u>a</u> <u>venerable</u> (Ν-ΖΑΛΟ) <u>priest</u> (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came (lit. gave (Α-†) his way (ΠΕΦ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) (...) (Abbatôn 228:13-14) </p>

TABLE 10.1 Positions for subjects in Sahidic Coptic

The syntactic distribution of subjects is not free, but determined by the need of marking them with respect to their discourse information content. The typical discourse role of the subject is that of topic,

representing the constituent that expresses what the sentence is about. As sentence topics, subjects are selected from the elements that are presupposed at a given point in a discourse. The subject may, however, also be the focus of the sentence, representing the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse. The topic or focus role of clausal subjects has visible syntactic effects to the effect that a nominal constituent that usually occurs preverbally occurs instead in a non-canonical position in the left or the right periphery of the clause.

10.1.1 S-V-O as the basic word order

In languages with relatively flexible word order, the practical problem arises as to how one can determine whether any particular order is basic. This section presents several diagnostics for identifying (S-V-O) as the basic word order of Sahidic Coptic from which other word order patterns are derived.

a) Precedence relations

S-V-O order can be established as the basic word order on syntactic grounds, since this is the order that reflects the basic structural relations between the verb and its arguments. Coptic is a head-initial language, where the verb precedes the direct and the indirect object. Moreover, most tense-aspect-mood inflections appear clause-initially in front of the subject. Since the TAM marker precedes both the subject and the verb, and the verb precedes the object, the subject must also precede the direct object, e.g. **Α ΟΥCON ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ (...)** 'a brother (ΟΥ-CON) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) *Apa Sarapion* (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24).

TAM-MARKER	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
Α PERFECT	ΟΥ-CON a brother	ΧΝΕ ask	ΑΠΑ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ <i>Apa Sarapion</i>

FIGURE 10.1 Precedence relations and S-V-O surface order

b) Markedness

The basic constituent order of a language typically occurs in sentence patterns involving a minimal amount of syntactic structure and morphological marking. As we will see in sections 11.1.3 to 11.1.5, both left-dislocation and subject inversion represent syntactically more marked options than canonical S-V-O sentences. To indicate the subject role of the dislocated nominal constituent, a pronominal placeholder must be inserted in the preverbal subject slot. Moreover, inverted subject nouns are morphologically marked by means of the focus marker *νσι*. Compare, then: (S-V-O) *α νζαλο χοοc κε (...)* 'the senior (monks) (N-2λλο) said (α ... χοο-c) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:8); TOPIC_{SU}-PRO_{SU}-V-O) *ντοq ον λqχοοc κε (...)* '(as for) him (Apa Isaac) (ντοq), he also (ον) said (α-q-χοο-c) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 25, 5:5); (V-PRO_{SU}-O-S) *λqχοοc νσι νενειοτε ετβε ογα κε (...)* 'Our fathers (NEN-EIOTE) said (α-γ-χοο-c) about (ετβε) someone (ογα) that (κε) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 148, 33:3).

c) Pragmatically neutral contexts

S-V-O is the order which arises in pragmatically neutral contexts that provide felicitous answers to questions like *what's going on?* or *what happened (next)?*, e.g. *α τεqωνε δε ωλ ννεqκεεc 'his* (Apa Mena's) *sister* (τεq-ωνε) gathered (α ... ωλ) his bones (N-NEQ-KEEC)' (Mena, Martyrd: 4a:1-2); *πχοεic να βει* (for q) *ννογνοδ* (for νογνοδ) *νεγcια ζη πεκνη ζη πεζοογ μπωλ 'the Lord* (π-χοεic) will require (να-βει) a big (NN-ΟΥ-ΝΟδ) sacrifice (N-Θγcια) from (ζη) your house (πεκ-νη) on (ζη) the day (πε-ζοογ) of the feast (N-Π-Φα)' (V. Pach. 88:12-13), *ζη τεγνογ δε α πεqλαc μεζ pωq λqpcqnt λqμογ 'suddenly* (ζη τενογ), *his* (Diocletian's) *tongue* (πεq-λαc) filled (α ... μεζ) his mouth (pω-q), he was eaten by (lit. he became (α-q-p)) worms (qnt) (and) died (α-q-μογ)' (Eud. 38:27).

S-V-O constructions with nominal subjects and objects are not particularly common in narrative discourse, since neither argument has an antecedent in the previous discourse that could be traced back by means of a personal pronoun or demonstrative. If such sentence structures do occur, they are used as general statement of facts or

truisms, e.g. *ωape τειβνε ταγε νντcноογc ναοογ νεννε κατα ρομπε 'this date-palm* (τεi-βνε) yields (*ωape ... ταγε*) twelve (NNT-CNOOYC) bunches (N-Λοογ) of dates (N-βνε) per (κατα) year (ρομπε)' (Onnophr. 208:11-13), *νερε διοκλ η ναγ νζενδωρον τερομπε ετβε πεοογ ννεγνογτε 'Diocletian* (διοκλ) gave (νερε ... η) them (the Persian kings) gifts (N-ζεν-δωρον) annually (τε-ρομπε) for (ετβε) the glorification (π-εοογ) of their gods (N-NEY-NOYTE)' (Eud. 42:14-15).

Quantificational sentences show a clear preference for the canonical S-V-O order, in particular when the subject is an indefinite pronoun, e.g. *ερωαν ογα ετι* (read λιτει) *μηοκ νογζωβ (...)* 'if anyone (ογα) asks (ερωαν ... ετι) you (μηοκ) something (N-ΟΥ-ζωβ) (...)' (AP Chaîne no. 161, 36:14), *α ογον ζη νετογααβ p ζμε νζοογ νατογωη νατcω 'one* (ογον) of (ζη) *the holy ones* (N-ΕΤΟΓΑΑΒ) spent (αp) forty (ζμε) days (N-ζοογ) without eating (N-ΑΤ-ΟΥΩΗ) (and) drinking (N-ΑΤ-CΩ)' (KHML II 35:18-20).

10.1.2 Constituent order in the postverbal domain

Coptic direct and indirect objects have a restricted syntactic distribution. This is because direct objects are assigned accusative case under adjacency with the verb and therefore resist "scrambling", i.e. the switch of position between object and adverbs for emphatic or contrastive purposes.

10.1.2.1 The canonical V > DO > IO > ADV order

The direct object must be located in the structural position that is closest to the verb, namely the complement position to its right. This position can be occupied by different categories: in the construct state, the complement position of the verb is only compatible with object nouns and pronouns, e.g. *coyn ππετνανογq ην ππεθοογ 'to know* (coyn) *what is good* (π-π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟγ-q) and (ην) *what is bad* (ππεθοογ < π-π-ΕΤ-ζοογ)' (Abbatōn 237:14), while prepositional objects as well as subordinate clauses are licensed in the complement position of verbs marked for the absolute state, e.g. *και γαρ τετncоογν нтаанaстрофн тнpc 'since* (και γαρ) you know (τετN-COOYH) *my entire* (тнp-с) *mode of life* (N-ТА-ΑΝΑCΤΡΟΦΗ)' (V. Pach. 88:25-26), *τετncоογн γαρ κε μειψεινε* (for μειψινε) *ηca παντον 'since* (γαρ) you know (τετN-COOYH) *that* (κε) I did not

look (ME-+WEINE) for (NCA) my own peace (ΠΑ-ΜΤΟΝ)]' (V. Pach. 88:28).

Ditransitive verb like † 'to give' and χαρίζε 'to grant' are construed as double object constructions in which the primary direct object designates the transferred entity and the secondary indirect object the goal or beneficiary of the transfer event that is described. When both objects are either nominal or pronominal, the direct object precedes the indirect one, e.g. ωαρε πνουτε † ουζηοτ ννετναπιστευε 'God (π-νουτε) will grant (ωαρε ... †) a favour (ου-ζηοτ) to those who will believe (ν-ν-ετ-να-πιστευε)' (Test. Is. 228:11), qnaχαριζε mπταλδο nταωερε ζιτη netnωαηα nacnny 'he (the Lord) will grant (q-na-χαριζε) healing (m-π-ταλδο) to my daughter (n-τα-ωερε) through (ζιτη) your prayers (netn-ωαηα), my brothers (na-cnny)' (Hil. 8:12-13), napec† nnoyq nan 'he should give (napec-q-†) us (na-n) what is his (nnoy-q)' (Ac. A&P 210:211-212).

Since adverbial modifiers are not included in the verb-complement structure, they appear at some distance from the verb in the clause-final domain. The preferred order is DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIONAL ADVERBS > MANNER ADVERBS > TEMPORAL ADVERBS, e.g. ayw acπwpw εβολ nneqδix εζραι επνουτε ζν ουριμε nteywh thpc xin pozε ωα ζτοογε 'and (ayw) he (Pachôm) lifted (a-q-πwpw) his hands (n-neq-δix) up (εζραι) to God (ε-π-νουτε) weeping (ζν ουριμε) the entire (thpc) night (n-te-ywh) from (xin) evening (pozε) till (ωα) dawn (ζτοογε)' (V. Pach. 2:2-3).

10.1.2.2 Dative shift

In the absolute state, there is a single instance of "scrambling", which causes the direct and the indirect object to switch position with respect to the verb. Scrambling takes place when the prepositional object (PP_{DO}) of the absolute state verb is a full noun phrase and the indirect object a dative clitic (DAT-CL). The "scrambled" order of dative shift constructions is V_{AS} > DAT-CL > PP_{DO} order, e.g. ac† nac noyri ζιτοyωq mπpnc nteκkλncia 'he (Apa Pambô) gave (a-q-†) her (Hilaria) (na-c) a cell (n-oy-pi) next to him (ζιτοyω-q), south (m-π-pnc) of the church (n-t-εκκλncia)' (Hil 6:15), εnζac δε ay† naq ζωωq nζντnζ (for nζεντnζ) 'finally (ε-π-ζac), they gave (a-y-†) him (na-q) wings (n-zen-tnζ), too (ζωω-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 180, 43:16), nγωαηα εxωc ωante πxoeic χαριζε nac mπταλδο

'and you shall pray (n-γ-ωαηα) on her behalf (εxω-c) until the Lord (π-xoeic) will grant (ωante ... χαριζε) her (na-c) healing (m-π-ταλδο)' (Hil. 9:4-5).

Adverbial modifiers, by contrast, can never be moved in front of the direct or indirect object, e.g. acκατεχε nnecnny ζατηq ωomnt neBOT εtβε τεqωερε 'he (the king) kept (a-q-κατεχε) the brothers (n-ne-cnny) with him (ζατη-q) (for) three (ωomnt) months (n-εBOT) because of (εtβε) his daughter (τεq-ωερε)' (Hil. 12:8-9), a κεoγa δε on εινε mπεqwhpe ωapoq 'somebody else (κε-oγa) brought (a ... εινε) his son (m-πεq-whpe) to him (ωapo-q)' (V. Pach. 141:21).

10.1.3 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation belongs to a broad family of information-packaging constructions. These pragmatically marked sentence patterns differ from their unmarked counterparts not in propositional content or illocutionary meaning (declarative, interrogative, imperative etc.), but rather in the way the information is presented. In Coptic, the difference between information-packing constructions and their more basic counterparts is in most cases simply a matter of linear order of the main sentence constituents, in particular, the subject. Thus, in left-dislocated sentences a noun phrase or its equivalent is placed in the left periphery of the clause with an anaphorically linked pronoun within that clause. They serve as a syntactic means of indicating that a particular nominal constituent denotes the topic of the sentence. The notion of "topichood" is a relational category: since the topic corresponds to information that is given or available from the preceding discourse, it must evidently be part of the presupposed portion of the clause.

10.1.3.1 Main syntactic characteristics

Syntactically, left-dislocation involves the preposing of some nominal constituent about which the following clause makes a comment. Its relational role as an argument of the verb is indicated by way of an intraclausal pronoun, e.g. anδpeac δε ac† πε[q]oyoi '[TOPIC Andrew (anδpeac δε), [COMMENT he went forth (lit. he gave (a-q-†) his way (πεq-oyoi))]' (Ac. A&P 206:152-153). See figure 10.2 below for further illustration. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric relation

between the extraclausal topic and the intraclausal resumptive pronoun).

TOPIC	COMMENT			
	TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	DIRECT OBJECT
ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΔΕ (As for) <i>Andrew</i>	Α- PERFECT	-q- <i>he</i>	† give	ΠΕq-ΟΥqι his way

FIGURE 10.2 Left-dislocation

A topic-registering particle can follow the left-dislocated noun or pronoun. The Greek discourse marker ΔΕ is widely used in left-dislocated sentences to signal the shift from one topic to another.

a) Embedded left-dislocation

Left-dislocation has a broad syntactic distribution and is applicable to various types of coordinated and subordinated clauses. When this happens, the subordinating or coordinating complementiser precedes the left-dislocated topic: COMP > TOPIC > CLAUSE, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝCΕΚΟΤΟΥ ΝCΕqΙ ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΟΥ ΠΑΙ 'and (ΑΥΩ) (concerning) *the churches* (Ν-ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ) they shall rebuild *them* (Ν-CΕ-ΚΟΤ-ΟΥ) and celebrate (Ν-CΕ-qΙ) in *them* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ) the Eucharist (ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) on (ΖΗ) this very (ΠΑΙ) day (ΠΕΙ-ΖΟΥ)' (Eud. 40:9-10), ΑΥΩ ΠΟΜΠΩΙΝΕ (for ΠΟΜΠΩΙΝΕ) ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΕΑqΦΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΝCΟΥΖC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΕCΝΗΥ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'and (ΑΥΩ) *that* (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) *affliction* (Π-ΘΜ-Π-ΩΙΝΕ) had occurred (ΝΕ-Α-q-ΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the convents (Ν-CΟΥΖC) of the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) through (ΖΗ) the order (Π-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)' (V. Pach. 91:10-12), ΑΛΛΑ ΠΚΕΑΡΙΟC ΗΠΑΤΕqΧΕΚ ΟΥΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑqΜΟΥ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *also Arios* (Π-ΚΕ-ΑΡΙΟC) died (Α-q-ΜΟΥ) before finishing (ΗΠΑΤΕ-q-ΧΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ) one year (ΟΥ-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (as a bishop)' (KHML II 50:6-7), ΧΕΚΑC ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕΖCΕ) ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΝΟC ΝΖΙΝΗC 'so *that* (ΧΕΚΑC), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned) you would awake (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕΖCΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν) from (ΖΗ) the deep (Π-ΝΟC) sleep (Ν-ΖΙΝΗC)' (Zen. 199:17-18).

b) Syntactic role of the topic

The intra-clausal pronoun that is anaphorically linked to left-dislocated (LD) topic constituents typically functions as the subject of the main predicate of the clause, but other functions are also possible.

Examples: (LD subject) ΜΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΠΠΛΗ ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) blocked (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΠΛΗ) solidly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ)' (Ac. A&P 206:151-152), ΜΗΝCΩC ΕΙC ΖΗΒΛΛΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΥΦΕΤ ΜΗΤΝΑ 'after that (ΜΗΝCΩ-C) *blind people* (ΖΗ-ΒΛΛΕ) came (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) asking for (Ε-Υ-ΦΕΤ) charity (ΜΗΤ-ΝΑ) (KHML I 6:11), ΤΩΕΕΡΕ ΔΕ ΦΗΜ ΝΕCΖΕΝ (for ΝΕCΖΕΝ) ΑΜΗΤΦΜΗΝΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'the *little* (ΦΗΜ) *girl* (Τ-ΦΕΕΡΕ) was (ΝΕ-C-ΖΕΝ) about eighteen (Α-ΜΗΤ-ΦΜΗΝΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25), ΠΑΓΤΕΛΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑqΟΥ[Ο]ΝΖq ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC 'the *angel* (Π-ΑΓΤΕΛΟC) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-q-ΟΥΟΝΖ-q) to the archbishop (Ε-Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:6-9), ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕqΤΩC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ ΕΤΗΕ ΗΜΟq ΖΗ ΠΕΑΥΓΤΕΛΙΟΝ 'the *Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) also (ΟΝ) encourages (Ε-q-ΤΩC) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΗΜ) who loves (ΕΤ-ΗΕ) him (ΗΜΟ-q) through (ΖΗ) the Gospel (Π-ΕΑΥΓΤΕΛΙΟΝ)' (V. Pach. 3:6-7), (LD direct object) ΠΕΝΤΑΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟq ΑΙΛΑq 'what I *had* *thought* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of (ΕΡΟ-q) I have done (*it*) (Α-Ι-ΑΑ-q)' (Onnophr. 207:10), (LD directional adverb) ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΝΖΑΚ ΦΑΥ† ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩq ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ 'the *prudent* (Ν-ΖΑΚ) *monk* (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) is given (lit. they give (ΦΑ-Υ-†)) a crown (ΚΛΟΜ) on *him* (ΕΧΩ-q) on (ΖΗ) earth (Π-ΚΑΖ)' (AP Chaîne no. 11, 3:6), (LD possessor) ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΦΩ[ΝΕ] ΖΗ ΤΕCΑΠΕ 'as for *this* (woman) (ΤΑΙ), (there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) a severe (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) illness (Ν-ΦΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) *her* head (ΤΕC-ΑΠΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 26a:13-16).

c) Unbounded dependencies

The left-dislocated constituent can come from the main sentence, but can also be drawn from an embedded clause, the result being an unbounded anaphoric dependency between the topic and the co-referential pronoun across two or more clause boundaries (indicated by brackets), e.g. ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΑqΕΙΡΕ ΗΠΕCΟΥΩΩ ΑqΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤC ΗΠΙΝΟΗCΙΑ ΑΥΟΥΩΗ ΗΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΗΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the *deacon* (Π-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC) [s₁ fulfilled (Α-q-ΕΙΡΕ) her (Hilaria's) wish (Μ-ΠΕC-ΟΥΩΩ)], '[s₂ took (Α-q-ΧΙ) the *solidus* (a golden coin) (Μ-Π-ΝΟΗCΙΑ) from her (ΝΤΟΟΤ-C)], '[s₃ (and) they ate (Α-Υ-ΟΥΩΩ)

together (MN NEY-EPHY) on that (ETMMAY) day (M-Π-200Y)' (Hil. 5:1-4), ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΑΓΜΟΟΦΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΦ2Μ2ΑΛ ΦΑΝΤΕΦΩΚ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ2ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(as for) *Eutropius*, [s₁ he was very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) happy (Α-Φ-ΡΑΦΕ)] [s₂ (and) travelled (Α-Φ-ΜΟΟΦΕ) with (MN) his servant (ΠΕΦ-2Μ2ΑΛ)] [s₃ until *he* reached (ΦΑΝΤΕ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟΣ) of the holy (M-Π-2ΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 21b:24-30)], ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΝΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤΝ ΑΝ ΕΟΥΩΗ (read ΕΟΥΩΗ) ΜΜΟΣ 'because (ΓΑΡ) (as far as) *this city* (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) (is concerned), [s₁ we will not (ΑΝ) allow you (N-ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΚΑ-ΤΗΥΤΝ) [s₂ to open (Ε-ΟΥΩΗ) *it* (ΜΜΟ-С)]]' (Ac. A&P 206:159-160).

d) Multiple topics

Although it is possible to have more than one topic in a single clause, multiple topic constructions are rare, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΥ '[Topic₁ (as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (rules) (ΝΑΙ)], [Topic₂ *he who will neglect* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded (lit. will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) punishment (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΡΝΟΠΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ '[Topic₁ (as for) *us* (ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ)] [Topic₂ *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *our sins* (ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΒΕ)] let *us* lock up ourselves (ΜΑΡ-Ν-ΟΠΤ-Ν ΕΖΟΥΝ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.3.2 Types of left-dislocated topics

The choice of a nominal constituent as the topic of a given clause is sensitive to the semantic properties of the noun phrase itself. We will see that a variety of nominal expressions may be topicalised by means of left-dislocation.

a) Indefinite topics

Indefinite noun phrases have referents that have not been mentioned in the previous discourse and are therefore hard to interpret as sentence topics. However, indefinite and quantified noun phrases do occur as left-dislocated sentence topics when they are associated with either a specific-indefinite or a generic interpretation, designating individuals or sets about which a particular assertion is made, e.g. ΟΥ2ΑΛΟ ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ ΕΦCΟΡΗ ΖΝ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ (...) 'a (certain) *old* (ΟΥ-2ΑΛΟ) *hermit* (N-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ) got lost (Ε-Φ-CΟΡΗ) in (ΖΝ) the desert (Τ-ΕΡΗΜΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:29-29), ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝCΟΦΟΣ ΜΕΦΝΕΧ [ΦΑΧΕ] ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΦΤ ΖΤΗΦ Ε[ΝΕΤCΩ]ΤΗ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a *wise* (N-CΟΦΟΣ) *man* (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) does not throw (ΜΕ-Φ-ΝΕΧ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) every (ΝΙΜ) word (ΦΑΧΕ) like that (ΖΙΝΑΙ) but (ΑΛΛΑ) focuses (ΦΑ-Φ-Τ) his attention (ΖΤΗ-Φ) towards those who listen (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (Teach. Ant. 6-7), CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ ΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ 'two (CΝΑΥ) *brothers* (CΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΞ) went (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) to a monastery (Ε-Υ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 100, 22:32), ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΦΤΟΠΟΣ ΦΑΥΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΤΑΛCΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *every* (ΝΙΜ) *man* (ΡΩΜΕ) who will go (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to his (Απα Μena's) shrine (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΤΟΠΟΣ) will obtain (ΦΑ-Υ-ΜΑΤΕ) recovery (M-Π-ΤΑΛCΟ)' (Mena, Mir. 26b:9-12).

Very often such specific indefinite topics require a special semantic link in the form of the exclamative ΕΙC 'behold, look, here is', which signals surprising or noteworthy information, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC [ΑΦΟ]ΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ 'behold (ΕΙC), *an angel* (ΟΥ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) revealed himself (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΝΖ) to him (ΝΑ-Φ)' (Mena, Mir. 9a:6-10), ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΝ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΥΟΥΩΦ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Φ-ΕΙ) together with (MN) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΩΦ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9).

b) "Hanging" discourse topics

Coptic has another topicalisation construction besides left-dislocation, in which the extracausal topic does not correspond to any placeholder expression in the following clause. Such "hanging" discourse topics are generally more abstract than sentence topics, and they commonly introduce a new subject matter into the discourse, e.g. ΤΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΝΗCΤΕΙΑ ΕΦΝΑΡ ΤΟΥΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΗΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΤΚΕΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΗ ΜΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ '(as for) *the instruction* (Τ-ΚΑΘΗΚΕΙ) of fast (N-Τ-ΝΗCΤΕΙΑ): he shall make (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-Ρ) the first one (Τ-ΟΥΙ) in (ΖΜ) his house (ΠΕΦ-ΗΕΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) the other (Τ-ΚΕΤΕ) in (ΖΜ) his colleagues' (M-ΠΕΦ-ΩΒΗΡ) house (Π-ΗΙ)' (praec. Pach. 115).

The preposition *εἰς* 'as for' may indicate that its nominal complement functions as a discourse topic, e.g. *εἰς τὴν [μα] νοῦ[ω]ν ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΦΑΧΕ ΕΥΟΥΩΝ ΖΙ ΡΟΥΖΕ* 'as for (*εἰς*) the kneading (*Ν-ΟΥΩΝ*) place (*Π-ΜΑ*), no one (*ΡΩΜΕ*) shall speak (*ΝΝΕ ... ΦΑΧΕ*) when they are kneading (*Ε-Υ-ΟΥΩΝ*) at (*ΖΙ*) night (*ΡΟΥΖΕ*)' (praec. Pach. 116), *εἰς ΝΕΧΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΥ ΝΝΕΕΚ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΡΩ ΛΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΣΟΥΖΣ (...)* 'as for (*εἰς*) the ships (*Ν-ΕΧΗΥ*), no (*ΛΑΥ*) sailor (*Ν-ΝΕΕΚ*) shall set loose (*ΝΝΕ ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ*) a ship (*ΧΟΙ*) at (*ΖΙ*) the landing stage (*ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ*) without the man (i.e. the prior) (*Π-ΡΩΜΕ*) of the congregation (*Ν-Τ-ΣΟΥΖΣ*)' (praec. Pach. 118).

c) The prefix-doubling construction

In a structural variant of left-dislocation, there are two instances of one and the same tense-aspect-mood marker, one in front of the left-dislocated topic and the other in front of the resumptive pronoun. The prefix-doubling construction is only attested with left-dislocated nominal subjects, e.g. *α ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ [ΕΠΕΣ]ΗΤ ΖΜ ΠΔΑΜΟΥΑ* 'the people (*ΝΕ-ΡΩΜΕ*) of that (*ΕΤΗΜΑΥ*) place (*Μ-Π-ΜΑ*) let (*α ... Α-Υ-ΟΥΕΖ*) the body (*Π-ΣΩΜΑ*) of the blessed (*Μ-Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ*) Apa Mena down (*ΕΠΕΣΗΤ*) from (*ΖΜ*) the camel (*Π-ΔΑΜΟΥΑ*)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:14-20), *αΥΩ ΦΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΦΑΦΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) each one (*Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ*) of them (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*) perceives (*ΦΑΡΕ ... ΦΑ-Φ-ΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ*) according to (*ΚΑΤΑ*) his nature (*ΤΕΦ-ΦΥΣΙΣ*)' (Pist. Soph. 282:16-17), *αΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΕΦΟ ΜΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) the light (*Π-ΟΥΟΕΙΝ*) was (*ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΕ-Φ-Ο*) of diverse sorts (*Μ-ΜΙΝΕ ΜΙΝΕ*)' (Pist. Soph. 5:15).

10.1.3.3 Pragmatic functions of left-dislocation

Left-dislocation serves two information-structuring purposes, one of which is to establish a pragmatic relation of aboutness between a referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse context and the other is to limit the applicability of that proposition to a certain restricted domain. Left-dislocation is operative at all levels of the topicality hierarchy: it can serve as a syntactic device of introducing a new topic, resuming a given topic, or evoking a contrast between two topic expressions.

a) Topic switch

Left-dislocation is widely used to change the current topic of discourse and introduce a new one. Such a topic switch signals a major thematic break in the development of the storyline, e.g. *αΥΩ ΕΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΤΟΥΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΦΗΗ ΑΥΕΙ ΜΠΟΥΕ* 'and (*αΥΩ*) while I was looking (*Ε-Ι-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ*) at them (the trees) (*ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ*) and (*ΜΝ*) their fruits (*ΝΕΥ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ*), look (*ΕΙΣ*), four (*ΚΤΟΥΥ*) young (*ΦΗΗ*) fellows (*Ν-ΦΗΡΕ*) came (*Α-Υ-ΕΙ*) from a distance (*Μ-Π-ΟΥΕ*)' (Onnophr. 219:28-30), *αΣΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ Α ΠΡΡΟ ΒΩΚ ΕΤΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΡΡΩ ΜΝ ΤΕΦΦΕΡΕ ΣΕΝΤΕ ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΣΦΙ ΝΝΕΣΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ (...)* 'it happened (*Α-Σ-ΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ*) on a Sunday (lit. on the day (*Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥΥ*) of Sunday (*Ν-Τ-ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ*)) (that) the king (*Π-ΡΡΟ*) went (*α ... ΒΩΚ*) to the Eucharist (*Ε-Τ-ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ*) together with (*ΜΝ*) the queen (*Τ-ΡΡΩ*) and (*ΜΝ*) his two (*ΣΕΝΤΕ*) daughters (*ΤΕΦ-ΦΕΡΕ*). The blessed (*Τ-ΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ*) Hilaria (*ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ*) looked (lit. carried (*Α-Σ-ΦΙ*) her eyes (*Ν-ΝΕΣ-ΒΑΛ*)) up (*ΕΖΡΑΙ*) to heaven (*Ε-Τ-ΠΕ*) and said (*Ε-Σ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ*) that (*ΧΕ*)(...)' (Hil. 2:16-19).

In a sequence of subject-different clauses, left-dislocated sentences signal switch-reference, i.e. the shift from one discourse participant to another. The switch-referenced subject has been introduced as a non-subject constituent in the previous clause, e.g. *α ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΖΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΣ ΦΑ ΟΥΖΛΛΟ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΤΑΛΔΟΦ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΚΩΡΦ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΜΠΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΧΕ (...)* 'some people (*ΖΟΙΝΕ*) came (*α ... ΕΙ*) once (*Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ*) from (*ΖΝ*) the Thebais (*ΘΗΒΑΙΣ*) to (*ΦΑ*) an old monk (*ΟΥ-ΖΛΛΟ*) and they had (*Ε-ΥΝΤΑ-Υ*) someone (*Ν-ΟΥΑ*) (with them) who was possessed (*Ε-Φ-Ο*) by a demon (*Ν-ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ*) in order that (*ΧΕΚΑ-Σ*) he would heal him (*Ε-Φ-Ε-ΤΑΛΔΟ-Φ*). The old monk (*Π-ΖΛΛΟ*), when they beseeched (*ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΚΩΡΦ*) him (*ΕΡΟ-Φ*) very much (*ΜΜΑΤΕ*) said (*ΠΕΧΑ-Φ*) to the demon (*Μ-Π-ΔΑΙΜΩΝ*) that (*ΧΕ*) (...)' (AP Chaîne, no. 140, 31:10-12).

b) Resumed topics

Left-dislocated anaphors (i.e. personal pronouns, demonstratives) typically function as resumed topics, which reintroduce an already familiar referent into the discourse after a short period of absence, e.g.

ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΗΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΛΟΓΩΣΦ
 ΝΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΗΝΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ 'but when this one (ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ) (Zēnδ)
 had occupied (lit. had sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΖΗΟΟΣ) on (ΖΙΧΗ)) the
 throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) of the (Byzantine) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ), he
 annulled (Α-Φ-ΟΥΩΣΦ) the sinful (Μ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΣΕΒΗΣ) ordinances
 (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ)' (Hil. 2:2-3), ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΝΕΥΝΗΦ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΝΟΙ
 ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΤΜΕ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΚΩΤΕ '(as for) him (Pachôm)
 (ΝΤΟΦ), occasionally people (ΖΕΝΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ) came (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΗΦ) to him
 (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) the villages (Ν-ΤΜΕ) in the neighbourhood
 (ΕΤ-Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΚΩΤΕ)' (V. Pach. 3:25-26).

c) Contrastive topics

Left-dislocation can also be used for emphatic and contrastive purposes.
 The main function of contrastive and emphatic topics is to code two
 active discourse referents, which are contrasted with one another, e.g.
 ΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΝΟΥΧΕ ΝΖΕΝΗΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΧΑΖΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ
 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΦΦ ΦΑΦΒΟΟΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΦΛΗΑ 'the enemy (Π-ΧΑΧΕ)
 (i.e. the devil) insinuated (Ε-Φ-ΝΟΥΧΕ) filthy (Ε-Υ-ΧΑΖΗ) thoughts
 (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΗΕΕΥΕ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Φ). Anthony, on his part (ΖΩΦ-Φ),
 (managed to) repel them (ΦΑ-Φ-ΒΟΟΡ-ΟΥ) through (ΖΙΤΗ) prayers
 (ΝΕ-ΦΛΗΑ)' (V. Ant. 8:13-15), ΖΗ [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΦ ΔΕ [ΕΙΦ] ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ
 ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΦ [ΕΧ]Ω[Φ] ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΗΑ 'when (ΖΗ) he dozed off
 (Π-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΩΦ) look (ΕΙΦ), the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟΣ) Apa Mēna stood
 (Α-Φ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Φ) before him (ΕΧΩ-Φ) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)'
 (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'the former
 (ΝΑΙ) (Valentian and Diocletian) took (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) the kingdom
 (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) from the latter (Numerian) (Μ-ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ)' (Mena,
 Martyrd. 1a:24-27).

d) Simplification of discourse processing

Left-dislocation may facilitate discourse processing, when it is used to
 avoid structurally complex noun phrases in a clause-internal argument
 position, e.g. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ † [ΝΑ]Φ ΝΝΕΦ[ΔΑ]ΜΟΥΑ
 [ΝΕΟ]ΥΝΤΑΦ [ΗΜΑΥ] ΝΟΥΔΑΜΑΥΕ [ΝΑΦ]ΡΗΝ 'the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) to
 whom (ΝΑ-Φ) Apa Mēna had given (ΝΤ-Α ... †) his camels
 (Ν-ΝΕΦ-ΔΑΜΟΥΑ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Φ) a barren (Ν-ΑΦΡΗΝ) she-camel
 (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΑΜΑΥΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), ΠΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ

ΕΝΦΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΦΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'he who will come (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) to believe
 (Ε-Φ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΦΑΧΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΗ)
 his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ), he will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΦΩΠΕ) heir
 (Ν-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ) to God's (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)'
 (Test. Is. 228:11-13).

e) Turn-taking device

In dialogue sequences, left-dislocation may be employed as a turn-
 taking device, indicating that a new speaker takes the floor, e.g.
 ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ ΑΣΦΑΧΕ ΜΗ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΒΩ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ
 ΕΣΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ †ΟΥΦΦ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΚΑΛΤ ΜΗΟΝΑΧΟΣ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ
 ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΦΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΩ
 ΖΑΘΗΝ (...) ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΟΥΦΦΦ (for ΑΣΟΥΦΦΦ)
 ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ (...) ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ
 ΔΕ ΑΦΡ ΦΠΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΟΥΙ ΝΦΕΕΡΕ 'the blessed
 (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) Hilaria (ΖΛΛΑΡΙΑ) spoke (Α-Σ-ΦΑΧΕ) with (ΜΗ) the
 priest (ΠΕ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) Apa Pambô, saying (Ε-Σ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-Σ) »My
 Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I want (†-ΟΥΦΦ) you to make me (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-ΑΑ-Τ) a
 monk (Μ-ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΔΕ) said
 (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to her (ΝΑ-Σ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΦΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is
 no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΦΒΟΜ) for you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)) to stay (Ε-Ω) with us
 (ΖΑΘΗΝ) (...)». The blessed (Τ-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ) virgin (Μ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ)
 answered (Α-Σ-ΟΥΦΦΦ) (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Σ) »My Father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ), I
 have come (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) with (ΖΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) my
 heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) (...)». The holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ ΔΕ) was impressed
 (Α-Φ-Ρ ΦΠΗΡΕ) by the speech (Ν-Τ-ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ) of the little (Ν-Τ-ΚΟΥΙ)
 girl (Ν-ΦΕΕΡΕ)' (Hil. 5:12-29).

f) Shift in narrative perspective

Left-dislocation may also signal a shift in narrative perspective, for
 instance, the transition from a dialogue (or inner monologue) to the
 main storyline, e.g. ΑΦΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΒΟΜ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ Ζ[ΡΑΙ]
 ΝΖΗΤΦ ΧΕ †[ΟΥΦΦ] ΖΩ ΕΒΩΚ [ΕΠ]ΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ [ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΝΤ[Α]ΦΛΗΑ
 (...) ΑΡΗΦ ΦΝΑΕΡ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦΦΙ ΜΜΑΛΕ ΝΦΕ
 ΝΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΦΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΜΟΟΥΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ (...) 'he (the rich
 Alexandrian) heard (Α-Φ-ΩΤΗ) of the wonders (Ε-ΝΕ-ΒΟΜ) of Apa
Mēna (and) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Φ) to himself (ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ-Φ) »I, too (ΖΩ), want

(τ-ογωψ) to go (ε-βωκ) to the shrine (ε-π-τοπος) of Apa Mēna and pray (ντα-ψαλα) (...). Maybe (αρηγ) he will remember me (lit. will make (q-na-ep) my remembrance (πα-μεεγε))«. *He* (ντοq) stood up (α-q-τωογν), took (α-q-qi) three thousand (ν-μααβ ν-ψε) *solidi* (ν-νομιχα) and went (α-q-ει) out (εβολ), travelling (α-q-μοοψε) (all) by himself (μαγαα-q)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:13-31), *anon* ΔΕ *zawn* [μαρενσκο]γδαζε ερ αναq μπινουτε *zith* *znprazic* (for *zēnprazic*) *enanoγoy* 'let *us* (anon ΔΕ), in our turn (zawn-ν), be zealous (μαρε-ν-σπογδαζε) to please (ε-ρ ανα-q) God (ν-π-π-νογτε) through (*zith*) good (ε-νανογ-oy) deeds (*zith*-π-ραζic)!' (Mena, Martyrd. 6a:27-31). In the last example, shift in narrative perspective is accompanied by a topic-switch from third to first person plural reference, which suggests that the selection of left-dislocation structures may be due to the resetting of more than one discourse parameter.

10.1.4 Adverb preposing

Coptic adverbs may occupy either a clause-initial or final position. Preposed adverbs generally appear before left-dislocated topic phrases, but the reverse order does also occur, e.g. παειωτ ετβε oy *anok* παζητ ναωτ 'My father (πα-ειωτ), *why* (ετβε oy) is, (as far as) I (anok) (am concerned), my heart (πα-ζητ) (so) bold (ναωτ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7) vs. *anon* ΔΕ ετβε *nennobe* μαρνοπτη εζογν *magalan* '(as for) *us* (anon ΔΕ)] *because of* (ετβε) *our sins* (nēn-nobe), let us lock up ourselves (μαρ-ν-οπτη-ν εζογν) alone (μαγαα-ν)' (AP Chaîne no. 41, 8:28-29).

10.1.4.1 Scope differences

Depending on the two positions that the adverbial occupies, the sentence differs in meaning (that is, with respect to the scope of the adverbial). While preposed adverbial phrases take scope over an entire clause, their in-situ counterparts tend to be narrower in scope and only modify the verbal predicate. Thus compare: *noγoeiw nim* *neqoyw* an *exi* εοoy εβολ *zith* *nrowe* 'at *no* (an) *time* (nim *n-oyoeiw*) did he (Pachôm) want (ne-q-oyw) to be praised (lit. to get (ε-χι) praise (εοoy)) by (*zith*) people (n-rowe)' (V. Pach. 22-23) vs. ετβε oy *terime* *nnaγ* nim 'why (ετβε oy) do you (woman) weep (te-pime) *all* (nim) *the time* (n-naγ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 225,

65:22), *zaz* ΔΕ *ncon* φαqkim εγορη '(on) *many* (zaz) *occasions* (n-con) he (the ill-tempered monk) was moved (φα-q-kim) towards anger (ε-γ-ορη)' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:15-16) vs. *zactē nte zaz nte* *netzm* *ptme* *tmjbmōm* *etwmnt* *epoq* *nzaz* *ncon* 'such that (zactē) *many* (zaz) who were in (n-ετ-zm) the village (π-τme) could not (nte ... *tm-jbm-ōm*) meet (ε-τwmnt) him (επο-q) *on many* (n-zaz) *occasions* (n-con)' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

10.1.4.2 The stage-setting function of preposed adverbs

Preposed adverbial phrases perform a scene-setting function, anchoring a given situation to a specific temporal or spatial frame.

a) Out-of-the-blue contexts

Sentence-initial adverbs do not have the strong discourse linking function that left-dislocated noun phrases have. They can therefore appear without reference to prior discourse in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. *oyzoy* ΔΕ εβολ *zn* *oyzoy* α *tdamale* *mice* *noγwepe* *nczime* '*one day* (oy-zoy ΔΕ εβολ *zn* oy-zoy), the she-camel (τ-δαμαλε) delivered (α ... *mice*) a daughter (n-oy-wepe *n-czime*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:31-34), *zn* *oycwe* ΔΕ εc (for εic) *nzagios* *merkoypios* *aqei* *ezogyn* '*all of a sudden* (zn oy-cwe), the holy (π-zaγios) *Mercurius* came (α-q-ει) in (εζογν)' (Mercur, Mir. 262:5-6).

b) Shift in temporal location

In setting up a new time frame for the subsequent discourse unit, they provide a minimally informative setting with respect to which the upcoming chain of events is interpreted, e.g. *npeqacte* *aqzmooc* *epbhma* *nōi* *zarmenios* *zm* *peθeapron* '*on the* (lit. *his*) *next day* (n-peq-acte) *Armenius* sat down (α-q-zmooc) on the tribune (ε-π-bhma) in (zm) the theatre (πε-θεapron)' (KHML I 76:8-9), *ztooye* ΔΕ *zahn* *npoγoein* α *teczime* *ncamarithc* [ne]z[ce] *nne2[io]me* *etnmmac* *pexac* *naγ* *xe* (...) '(at) *dawn* (ztooye) *before* (zahn) (*sun*)light (n-π-oyoein), the Samaritan (n-camarithc) woman (te-czime) woke up (α ... *ne2ce*) the women (n-ne-zio-me) in her company (ετ-nmha-c) (and) said (pexa-c) to them (na-γ) that (xe) (...) (Mena, Mir. 31a:2-7).

Although preposed adverbials are not natural discourse topics that can be paraphrased as “as for”, they may assume a topic function when they have been introduced in the preceding sentence. Just like left-dislocated nouns and pronouns, such discourse-linked adverbs may assume a contrastive or emphatic reading, e.g. *κοι μεν ψαγουωz εχμ πεβω ευφανοντq κοι δε ψαγουωz εχμ ποεικ* ‘*some time* (κοι μεν) they (flies) will sit (ψα-γ-ουωz) on (εχμ) honey (π-εβω), if they can find it (ε-γ-φαν-οντ-q), *some other time* (κοι δε) they will sit (ψα-γ-ουωz) on (εχμ) bread (π-οεικ)’ (Sh. III 48:6-8), *αγω εις σε ηρομπε τωοοι zη τιερημια* ‘and (αγω), look (εις), *for sixty* (σε) *years* (η-ρομπε) I have been living (τ-ωοοι) in (zη) this desert (τι-ερημια)’ (Onnophr. 210:18-19).

Anaphorically used time and reason adverbials like *μηνωc* ‘after that’ and *ετβε παι* ‘because of that’ have a recapitulative function. In referring to the prior stretch of discourse, they bridge the gap between two narrative units, e.g. *μηνωc αρωωνz ναq [εβωλ] νοι πzαγιoc απα μηνα [zη ουzορομα]* ‘*after this* (μηνω-c) the holy (π-zαγιoc) Apa Mēna revealed (himself) (α-q-ουωνz εβωλ) to him (να-q) in (zη) a vision (ου-zορομα)’ (Mēna, Mir. 32a:11-14), *ετβε παι εκεωπε zη νταρταροc ψα πεzοoy ηπzαπ* ‘*because of* (ετβε) *this* (παι) (i.e. your worship of the devil), you (Judas) shall stay (ε-κ-ε-ωπε) in (zη) the Tartaros (η-ταρταροc) until (ψα) the day (πε-zοoy) of the Judgement (η-π-zαπ)’ (Ac. A&P 202:127-128).

10.1.5 Subject inversion

Subject inversion is an information-packaging construction used when the nominal subject is in focus. The focalised subject linearly follows the verb and the direct object, yielding the non-canonical order V–O–S. The informational status of the inverted subject is registered by a dedicated focus particle *νοι*. To disambiguate the relational role of the postverbal constituent, subject inversion is always accompanied by inserting a pronominal placeholder in the preverbal subject slot. Subject-inverted sentences like *ντερεqxe ναι δε νοι παγγελοc (...)* ‘when *the angel* (π-αγγελοc) had said (ντερε-qe) these (ναι) (words) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12) have the structure shown in figure 10.3. (The arrow indicates the anaphoric dependency between the cataphoric subject pronoun and the postverbal noun phrase).

TAM	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT	INVERTED SUBJECT	
ντερε- TEMPORAL	-q- <i>he</i>	xe say	ναι these	νοι FOCUS MARKER	π-αγγελοc <i>the angel</i>

FIGURE 10.3 Subject inversion

10.1.5.1 Types of inverted subjects

A wide range of subject nouns may appear in postverbal position for emphatic or presentational purposes: definite and indefinite noun phrases, proper names, demonstratives, partitives and quantificational expressions. In the vast majority of cases inverted subjects are animate nominals, but inanimate ones also occur.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) *αqβωκ νοι ουcon ψα απα xixωι επιτοoy ναπα αντωνιοc* ‘*a brother* (ου-con) came (α-q-βωκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičōi in the monastery (ε-π-τοoy) of Apa Antony’ (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10), *αγει εωιητ νοι zημοναxoc* (for *zenmonaxoc*) *εβωλ zη κημε* ‘(there) came (α-γ-ει) to Shiēt (ε-ωιητ) *monks* (zη-monaxoc) from (εβωλ zη) Egypt (κημε)’ (AP Chaîne no. 69, 15:16), (definite NPs) *μηνca zenκεκοyι nzooy αqηηφε νοι πcon ετημαγ* ‘after (μηνca) a few days (η-zooy) more (zen-ke-ko-yι) *that* (ετημαγ) (disobedient) *brother* (π-con) cooled down (α-q-ηηφε)’ (V. Pach. 140:30), *εγψανειμε γαρ νοι νενταγναγ εροq τηροy cεναπιcτεγε εροq* (Eud. 52:21-22) ‘because (γαρ) if all (τηρ-oy) *those* (people) *who saw* (ηε-ητ-α-γ-ναγ) him (Jesus Christ) (ερο-q) come to know (ε-γ-ψαν-ειμε) (about it), they will believe (ce-να-πιcτεγε) in him (ερο-q)’ (Eud. 52:21-22), (proper names) *ηπεqραcτε αqzμοoc επιβημα νοι zαρμενιοc zη πεθεαδρον* ‘on the (lit. his) next day (η-πεq-ραcτε) *Armenius* (zαρμενιοc) sat down (α-q-zμοoc) on the tribune (ε-π-βημα) in (zη) the theatre (πε-θεαδρον)’ (KHML I 76:8-9), (demonstratives) *ντεγνοy αqzποκ νοι παι εβωλ zη πεqωντ* ‘suddenly (ντεγνοy) *this one* (the ill-tempered brother) (παι) calmed down (α-q-zποκ) from (εβωλ zη) his rage (πεq-ωντ)’ (V. Pach. 140:11-12), (quantified NPs) *αγω nceci εzpai εχωoy νοι νεcχοy τηροy ετchz* ‘and (αγω) *all* (τηρ-oy) *the blessings* (ηε-cχοy) written down (ετ-chz) (in the Scriptures) will come (η-ce-ει) upon them (εχω-oy)’ (Sh. III 158:30-31), (inanimate NPs) *ενεηπατοyωπιε γαρ zη κημε νοι μμοναcτηριον ετωψ* ‘as (γαρ) (there) were not yet (ε-ηε-ηπατ-oy-ωπιε)

many (ΕΤ-ΩΦ) *monasteries* (Η-ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ) in (2N) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) (V. Ant. 5:6-7), *αὐτὸς* *νεφμεζ* *νημαζ* *νοὶ* *πειοορ* *εττημαγ* 'and (αὐτὸς) *that* (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) *canal* (Π-ΕΙΟΟΡ) was full (ΝΕ-Q-ΜΕΖ) of crocodiles (Ν-ΗΜΑΖ)' (V. Ant. 21:8).

10.1.5.2 Omission of the focus particle *νοὶ*

In non-verbal constituent questions, the inverted subject appears without the focus marker *νοὶ* to the right of the locative question word *των* 'where' (see above, section 4.2.1.2 of Unit 4), e.g. *εφτων* *πταφος* *μπαχοεις* 'where (των) (is) *the tomb* (Π-ΤΑΦΟΣ) of my lord (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (Eud. 58:25), *εφτων* *πρωμε* *ετταληγ* *επιχοι* *νη[μ]ακ* 'where (is) (των) *the man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) who was on board (ΕΤ-ΤΑΛΗΥ) of the ship (Ε-Π-ΧΟΙ) with you (ΝΗΜΑΚ)?' (Ac. A&P 194:7-8). Independent pronouns may occur as appositions to bound subject pronouns for contrastive or emphatic purposes (see above, section 2.4.3.2 of Unit 2). Such clitic doubles are in complementary distribution with the focus particle *νοὶ*, e.g. *μη* *ετταληγ* *ανοκ* *εζουε* *παχοεις* 'am I (ΑΝΟΚ) then more (εζουε) honoured (Ε-Ι-ΤΑΕΙΗΥ) than my Lord (Ε-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙΣ)?' (V. Pach. 2:6-7), *τερζοτε* *ντο* *ζητq* *μπνουτε* 'you (woman) (ντο) fear (τε-Ρ-ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ-Q) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Eud. 64:23), *qχω* *γαρ* *μηος* *ντοq* *παχοεις* *χε* (...) 'for (ΓΑΡ) *he* (ντοq), *the Lord* (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ), says (q-χω) that (χε) (...) (Sh. III 60:4-5).

10.1.5.3 The interaction between subject inversion and topicalisation

It is possible to combine subject inversion and topicalisation (NP left-dislocation, adverb preposing) within a single sentence construction. The simultaneous application of both syntactic operations leads to the partitioning of the clause into an initial topic and a final focus part, e.g. *ναι* *τηρογ* *εφειρε* *ημοογ* *ετβηητν* *νοὶ* *πετεογνδον* *ημοq* *ζν* *ζωβ* *νιμ* '(as for) *all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *these* (things) (ναι), *he who has* (Π-ΕΤΕ-ΟΥΝ) *power* (δον) *over* (2N) *everything* (ζωβ νιμ) is doing (Ε-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) them (ημοογ) because of us (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Ν)' (Sh. III 94:13-14), *παι* *δε* *αφχω* *νογφαχε* *ναζραq* *νοὶ* *βασιμος* *πετσοοπ* *ζν* *νετογααβ* '(as for) *the latter* (παι δε), *Basimos* (ΒΑΣΙΜΟΣ), who is (Π-ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) amongst (2N) *the saints* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΑΑΒ) said (Α-Q-ΧΩ) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΦΑΧΕ) to him (ναζρα-q)' (AP Chaîne no. 26, 5:12-13), *ζτοογε* *δε* *μπμαζσαωq* (for *μπμεζσαωq*) *αουεζσαζνε* *νοὶ*

τρω *εδωπε* *ναc* *νηιογδαι* *ετσοοπ* *ζν* *ειληη* *μν* *σιων* '(on the) *morning* (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ) of *the seventh* (day) (Η-Π-ΗΑΖ-ΣΑΩQ), *the queen* (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (lit. placed (Α-C-ΟΥΕΖ) an order (ΣΑΖΝΕ)) to arrest (Ε-ΩΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-C) the Jews (Ν-Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (2N) Jerusalem (ειληη) and (μν) Zion (σιων)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

10.1.5.4 Free inversion

In Coptic, subject inversion is a reordering operation that applies freely to various classes of transitive and intransitive verbs (see section 6.2 of Unit 6 for a survey of lexical classes of verbs). Depending on the lexical semantics of the verbal predicate, subject-inverted clauses receive special interpretations.

a) Transitive verb constructions

Subject-inverted V-O-S sentences can only be used in contexts in which the referent of the direct object is more topical than that of the subject. They frequently involve a contrast between a nominal subject that corresponds to discourse-new information and a pronominal object that conveys discourse-given information, e.g. *ντερεqχε* *ναι* *δε* *νοὶ* *παγγελοc* (...) 'when *the angel* (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) had said (ντερε-χε) these (ναι) (words) (...) (Test. Is. 230:12), *σενατcαβο* *εροq* *νοὶ* *νεβολ* *ζν* *ταφυη* (...) '*the people* (Ν-ΕΒΟΛ) of (2N) *my tribe* (ΤΑ-ΦΥΗ) will inform you (woman) (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΤCΑΒΟ) about it (ερο-q) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:25-26), *εγψανκρινε* *δε* *ημοq* *νοὶ* *νετζημπη* (...) 'if *the residents* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ-Π-Η) judge (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ) him (ημο-q) (...) (praec. et instit. Pach. 17), *αὐτὸς* *αγκωτε* *εροq* *νοὶ* *νηζαρμα* *νηπεpcoc* *ετρεγμογoyt* *ημοq* 'and (αὐτὸς) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ερο-q) to kill (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΓΟΥΤ) him (ημο-q)' (Eud. 42:25). V-O-S order is not uncommon in light verb constructions, in which the nominal complement serves as the semantic predicate (see above, section 6.4.1 of Unit 6), e.g. *αὐτὸς* *αφχι* *εοoy* *νοὶ* *πραν* *μπενχοεις* *ic* *πεxc* 'and (αὐτὸς) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) of our Lord (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC) Jesus (ic) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC) received (Α-Q-ΧΙ) glory (εοoy)' (Eud. 40:27-28), *ντερεq[p]* *ζναq* *δε* *νοὶ* *πνουτε* (...) 'when it pleased (ντερε-q-Ρ ζνα-q) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 5a:9-11).

The novelty condition on inverted subjects does not, however, exclude definite noun phrases. Specific definite and generic noun phrases as well as proper names are admissible as presentational foci names if they correspond to discourse-new information, meaning that the relation their referents enter into is novel with respect to the preceding stretch of discourse, e.g. ΜΙΝΝΣΑ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΧ̄Σ ΛΦΕΙ ΦΑΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΗΠΗΟΥΕ ΕΛΓΤCΑΒΟQ (...) 'after (ΜΙΝΝCΑ) the glorification (Π-ΕΘΟΥ) of Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄C), Michael (ΜΙΧΑΝΑ), the Archangel (Π-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of heaven (Ν-Ν-ΠΗΟΥΕ), came (Λ-Q-ΕΙ) to him (Constantine) (ΦΑΡΟ-Q) and instructed him (Ε-Λ-Q-ΤCΑΒΟ-Q) (...) ' (Eud. 42:1-2), ΕΥΦΑΝΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΗΡΩ ΤΝΑQΙΤQ ΝΤΑΝΟΥΧQ ΕΘΑΛΑCΣΑ 'when the people (ΝΕ-ΡΩΜΕ) of the harbour (Ν-ΤΕ-ΗΡΩ) go to sleep (Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ), I will take it (the corpse) (Τ-ΝΑ-QΠ-Q) and throw it (ΝΤΑ-ΝΟΥΧ-Q) into the sea (Ε-ΘΑΛΑCΣΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7), ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΕΙCΑΛΚ ΕΤΡΕΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ CΩΜΑ 'it happened (Λ-C-ΦΩΠΕ) when the days (ΝΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the patriarch (Μ-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC) Isaac had come near

(ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΖΩΝ) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Φ-ΕΙ) out of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ) the body (CΩΜΑ))' (Test. Is. 229:1-2), ΛΦΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΘΒΒΙΕ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) wanted (Λ-Φ-ΟΥΨ) to make his mind (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) humble (Ε-ΘΒΒΙΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 126, 28:30-29:1), ΛΦΩ ΕΦΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ 'Our father (Pachôm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) kept (Λ-Φ-Ω) asking (Ε-Φ-ΑΙΤΕΙ) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) this matter (ΠΕΙ-ΖΩΒ)' (V. Pach. 144:9-10).

b) Contrastive focus

Inverted subjects may be both presentational and contrastive foci when two discourse referents appear on stage at the same time, e.g. ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΗ ΠΕΥΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙC ΑΥΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΦΜΗΝΨΕ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΜΑΤΟΙ 'the Persian (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCOC) kings (ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ) arose (Α-Υ-ΤΩΟΥΝ), gathered (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) together with (ΜΗ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) their multitude (ΠΕΥ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) (and) went (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) to (ΕΧΗ) the river (Π-ΠΕΡΟ) Tigris (ΤΙΓΡΙC). (King) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC) arose (Α-Φ-ΤΩΟΥΝ) (and) gathered (Α-Φ-CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-Φ) his troops (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΜΗΝΨΕ) of soldiers (Μ-ΜΑΤΟΙ) (...) (Eud. 42:18-20), ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑΦΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕΦΗΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC 'it happened (Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (Ν-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the lawful (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Φ-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9), ΦCΟΤΠ ΝΟΙ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΩΝΖ ΝΤΑΙ 'the death (Π-ΜΟΥ) of that (daughter) (Ν-ΤΕΤΗΜΑΥ) is better (Φ-CΟΤΠ) than (ΠΑΡΑ) the life (Π-ΟΝΖ) of this one (Ν-ΤΑΙ)' (Hil. 8:7-8).

c) Weight

One major factor motivating subject inversion is weight, where weight concerns both the length and the complexity of a constituent. "Heavy" noun phrases tend to occur at or towards the end of the clause. Note that there is a straightforward correlation between weight and accessibility:

since a lot of coding material is needed for referent identification, heavy constituents are more likely to refer to discourse- or hearer-new referents, e.g. ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΝCΑΛΠΙΞ ΨΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΙ ΝΚΟΜΕC ΜΗ ΝΕΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC ΜΗ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΥΛΗ ΜΠΡΡΟ 'on the blast of) the second (Τ-ΜΕΖ-CΝΤΕ) trumpet (Ν-CΑΛΠΙΞ), the courtiers (Ν-ΚΟΜΕC) and (ΜΗ) tribunes (ΝΕ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC) and (ΜΗ) chief officials (Ν-ΑΡΧΩΝ) of the royal (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) court (Ν-Τ-ΑΥΛΗ) would gather (ΨΑ-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ)' (Eud. 60:16-18), ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΤΝ ΝΟΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΧΠΙΟ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΝΟΩΝΕC ΝΙΜ ΖΙ ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ CΝΟΦ ΝΙΜ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC (...) 'so that (ΧΕΚΑC) all (ΝΙΜ) judgement (ΖΑΠ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) blame (ΧΠΙΟ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) reproach (ΝΟΩΝΕC) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) grief (ΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ) and (ΖΙ) all (ΝΙΜ) righteous (Ν-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) blood (CΝΟΦ) (...) will come (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΕΙ) down (ΕΖΡΑΙ) upon you (ΕΧΩ-ΤΝ)' (Sh. III 166:16-18), ΕΑΦΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΕΠΤΑΚΟ CΕΠΗ ΕΕΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΥΤΗΜΕΦ ΟΕΚ ΝΕΛΙΦΙC ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC (...) 'and an unlawful (Ν-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (ΟΥ-ΡΡΟ) whom perdition (Π-ΤΑΚΟ) would soon (Ε ... CΕΠΗ) overcome (Ε-ΕΙ ΕΧΩ-Φ) gave (Ε-Α-Φ-ΟΥΕΖ) order (CΑΖΝΕ) to make the prophet (Μ-ΠΕ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC) eat (lit. that they feed him (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΤΗΜΕ-Φ)) the bread (ΟΕΚ) of affliction (Ν-ΘΑΙΦΙC) (...) (Sh. III 106:16-19).

10.2 Residual V-S(-O) order

Coptic has a syntactically unproductive word order pattern in which the default position of the subject is immediately after the verb. The most common verbs that trigger residual V-S-O order are listed in table 10.2 below. In such remnant V-S-O constructions, the postpositioning of the subject is not due to some reordering operation, since postverbal subjects may be left dislocated and inverted for topicalisation and focalisation purposes. The relevant fact motivating residual V-S-O order is therefore not the information structure of the clause, but rather the special syntactic requirements of the verbal predicate involved. In most Coptic grammars, this closed class of verbs is subsumed under the label "suffix conjugation".

CLASS	WORD ORDER	EXAMPLES
ADJECTIVAL VERBS e.g. ΝΑΝΟΥ- 'to be beautiful, excellent'	V-S	ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ 'your eagerness (ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ)' (Sh. III 27:5)
EXISTENTIAL VERBS ΟΥΝ, ΜΝ '(there)is, (there) is no'	V-S	ΟΥΕΝ ΖΗΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΛΦΑΛΥ ΝΟΙ ΙC '(there) are (ΟΥΕΝ) numerous (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ) other works (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ) that Jesus (ΙC) did (Ε-Α-Υ-ΑΛ-Υ)' (Mena, Enc. 35b:18-22)
POSSESSIVE VERBS ΟΥΝΤΕ-/ΟΥΝΤΑ= ΜΝΤΕ-/ΜΝΤΑ= 'to have/not have'	V-S-O	ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΖΑΙ 'although you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-ΖΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9)

TABLE 10.2 Remnant V-S(-O) verbs

All verbs of the suffix conjugation must appear in the construct state. Since the subject noun comes directly after the clause-initial verb, enclitic function words and particles are placed in clause-third position, e.g. **ΝΑΦΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΓΑΡ ΜΝ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΤΑΥΝΤΟΥ ΝΑC** 'for (ΓΑΡ) the gold (Π-ΝΟΥΒ) and (ΜΝ) silver (ΠΖΑΤ) that was brought (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΤ-ΟΥ) to her (ΝΑ-C) was much (ΝΑΦΕ)' (Eud. 64:2-3), **ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΩΝΕ ΕΦΩΝΕ** 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΦΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΦΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33).

10.2.1 Adjectival verbs

Coptic has a closed class of derived adjectival verbs formed with the fossilised lexical prefix **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**. As the terminology suggests, these verbs ascribe permanent properties to the subject, such as size, amount or quality. However, unlike *change of state* verbs like **ΟΥΒΑΩ**, **ΟΥΟΒΩ**[†] 'to become/to be white', adjectival verbs do not participate in the inchoative-stative alternation (see above, section 6.3.3 of Unit 6).

NOMINAL STATE	PRONOMINAL STATE	GLOSS
ΝΑΑ-	ΝΑΑ=	to be great
	ΝΑ(Ε)ΙΑΤ=	to be blessed
ΝΑΝΟΥ- (var. ΝΑΝΕ-)	ΝΑΝΟΥ=	to be good
ΝΑΦΕ-	ΝΑΦΩ=	to be numerous
ΝΕCΕ-	ΝΕCΩ=	to be beautiful
	ΝΕCΒΩΩ=	to be intelligent
	ΝΕCΩ(Ω)=	to be ugly

TABLE 10.3 The inventory of **ΝΑ-/ΝΕ-**adjectival verbs

N.B. Adjectival verbs are negated by means of negative concord **Ν-** ... **ΑΝ** (with frequent omission of the negative scope marker **Ν-**), e.g. **ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥΙ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC** (for **ΜΠΕΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC**) 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I am not (ΑΝ) excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ-Ι) as (ΝΘΕ < **Ν-Τ-ΖΕ**) a Christian (Μ-ΠΕ-ΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC)' (KHML II 32:30).

Adjectival verbs are compatible with nominal and clausal subjects. Nominal subjects must be specific-definite, referring to already known or readily identifiable referents, e.g. **ΚΑΛΩC ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΧΟΟQ** 'how very (ΚΑΛΩC) fair is (ΝΑΝΟΥ) the word (Π-ΩΛΧΕ) that you have spoken (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Q)' (Hil. 4:35), **ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** 'the matter (Π-ΖΩΒ) (i.e. buying books) is excellent (ΝΑΝΟΥ), but (ΑΛΛΑ) poverty (Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ) than all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) of these (ΠΑΡΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:27-30), **ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C]** 'you (ΝΤΟ) (are) a woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ) with a pretty face (lit. whose face (ΖΡΑ-C) is beautiful (Ε-ΝΕCΕ))' (Mena, Mir. 27a:22-23).

The phrasal idiom **ΝΑΙΑΤ-** 'blessed is' consists of a phonologically reduced form of the adjectival verb **ΝΑΑ-** 'to be great' and the body-part expression **ΕΙΑΤ-Q** 'his eye', which represents the entire person in a *pars pro toto* fashion, e.g. **ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟQ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ** 'more (ΝΖΟΥΟ) blessed (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Q) is he who will always (Ν-ΟΥΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ) see (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΝΑΥ) his own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Q) sins (Ε-ΝΕQ-ΝΟΒΕ)' (AP Chaîne no.154, 34:4-5), **ΕΙΕ ΝΑΕΙΑΤΝ ΖΩΩΝ** 'then (ΕΙΕ) (how) blessed

are we (ΝΑ-ΕΙΑΤ-Ν) ourselves (ΖΩΩ-Ν)' (Hil. 13:9).

Subject inversion for focalisation purposes is possible but uncommon, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΓΟC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *the lazy ones* (Ν-ΑΡΓΟC) are numerous (ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ), too (ΟΝ)' (Sh. III 115:1-2), ΧΕ ΕΝΕCΩΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΓΚΑΡΠΟC 'since (ΧΕ) its fruit (ΝΕΓ-ΚΑΡΠΟC) are fine-looking (Ε-ΝΕCΩ-ΟΥ)' (Abbatōn 237:10-11).

10.2.2 Existential sentences

Existential sentences derive their name from the fact that the main function of this construction type is to express propositions concerning existence. Coptic existentials are introduced by the copular verb ΟΥΝ '(there) is' and its negative counterpart ΜΝ '(there) is no', e.g. ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ 'is (there) (ΟΥΝ) *anybody* (ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 261, 80:5), ΜΝ CΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΜΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) *brother* (CΟΝ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)' (Onnophr. 205:19).

10.2.3.1 The indefiniteness restriction

The existential predicates ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ carry as part of their meaning an indefiniteness restriction: the postverbal subject licenses the introduction of a new, as opposed to a familiar, referent into the discourse about which the hearer has no prior knowledge. Noun phrases that introduce hearer-new referents into the discourse are essentially those that carry neither the presupposition that the referent is known to the addressee nor that its existence is entailed by the discourse. A range of indefinite expressions is tolerated as subjects of existential sentences: indefinite noun phrases, zero-determined "bare" nouns, numerals and free choice pronouns.

Examples: (indefinite NPs) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥCΟΝ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) *a brother* (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) a monastery (ΟΥ-ΖΕΝΕΕΤΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 153, 33:22), ΝΕΥΝ ΖΕΝΚΕC[ΝΗΥ] ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΙ ΠΤΟΟΥ (...) '(there) were (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) *other brothers* (ΖΕΝ-ΚΕ-CΝΗΥ) in (ΖΗ) the same (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΤΟΟΥ)' (Zen. 201:31), ("bare" nouns) ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) *god* (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) you (ΝΤΟΚ), Apollōn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ)' (KHML II 33:16-17), (numerals) ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΑΛΒΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ Η ΖΗΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΩΙΚΖ {ΠΩΙΚΖ}_{sic} ΝΑΡ ΟΥΗΡ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) *thirty* (ΜΑΛΒΕ) or (Η) *forty* (ΖΗΕ) *generations* (Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) (heaped) on (ΖΙΧΝ) each other (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ), how large (ΟΥΗΡ) must the pit (Π-ΩΙΚΖ) be (ΕΡΕ ...

ΝΑ-Ρ)?' (BMisc. 539:28-29), (free choice pronouns) ΟΥΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΕCΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC '(there) was (ΟΥΝ) *someone* (ΟΥΟΝ) who did (Ε-C-ΕΙΡΕ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) good (things) (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-C)' (AP Chaîne no. 95, 21:3), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΚΗΜΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑC ΜΗΑΥ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕCΧΟ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) *someone* (ΟΥΑ) in (ΖΗ) Egypt (ΚΗΜΕ) who had (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΑ-C) a paralysed (Ε-C-ΧΟ) son (Ν-ΟΥ-ΩΗΡΕ)' (AP Chaîne no. 224, 65:5), ΕΝΕΗΝ ΑΛΑΥ ΝΖΗΤC ΝCΑ ΠΚΑC ΜΝ ΠΩΑΡ '(without (there) *being* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΗΝ) *anything* (ΑΛΑΥ) on her (ΝΖΗΤ-C) except (ΝCΑ) bone (Π-ΚΑC) and (ΜΝ) skin (Π-ΩΑΡ)' (Hil. 8:28-29), ΝΑΦ ΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΗΟΥΚΖ ΗΗΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΗΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΛΤΕΙΑ) ΑΥΩ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝCΕΧΙ ΖΗΟΤ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΡΧΕΟC (for ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC) 'now (ΤΕΝΟΥ), how (Ν-ΑΦ Ν-ΖΕ) are (there) (ΟΥΝ) *some* (people) (ΖΟΙΝΕ) who toil (Ε-Υ-ΗΟΥΚΖ ΗΗΟ-ΟΥ) in (ΖΗ) ascetic labours (Η-ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ), and (ΑΥΩ) at present (ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ) do not (ΑΝ) obtain (Ν-CΕ-ΧΙ) grace (ΖΗΟΤ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) the ancient ones (Ν-Η-ΑΡΧΕΟC)?' (AP Chaîne no. 165, 37:7-9).

10.2.3.2 Bare existentials

Coptic existentials fall into two classes: bare existentials and extended ones. Bare existentials contain only the copular verbs ΟΥΝ and ΜΝ and the postverbal subject. Bare existentials assert or deny that a particular (kind of) individual or object is instantiated in the relevant domain of discourse. They are only informative when the existence of that entity is a matter of current concern, e.g. ΟΥΝ ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΩ ΟΥΝ ΠΗΝΑ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) *a resurrection* (ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) are (ΟΥΝ) *angels* (ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) and (ΑΥΩ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) *a spirit* (ΠΗΝΑ)' (Acts 23:8), ΜΝ ΑΛΑΥ '(there) isn't (ΜΝ) *anyone* (ΑΛΑΥ)' (V. Pach. 1:7).

10.2.3.3 Extended existentials

Extended existentials contain, in addition to the copula and the subject, an extension, such as a prepositional phrase or a relative clause. These extensions are of relevance to the existential construction, being either complements to the existential verb or restrictive modifiers to the postverbal subject.

a) Comparative extension

Negative existentials can take the form of a comparative construction. When this happens, the subject itself expresses the standard-of-

comparison and the clause-final adverbial phrase the object-of-comparison, e.g. ΜΝ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΩΩΝΕ ΕΩΩΝΕ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) is no (ΜΝ) difference (ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ) of one sickness (Ν-ΩΩΝΕ) over the (other) sickness (Ε-ΩΩΝΕ)' (V. Pach. 143:32-33). Negative existentials with comparative extensions are commonly used as emphatic assertions of the uniqueness of some referent, e.g. ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC '(there) is no (ΜΝ) king (ΡΡΟ) as powerful (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) as (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-2Ε) (the king) of the Persian (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC) empire (Ν-Τ-ΗΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)' (Eud. 44:13-14), ΜΝ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΠΕΧC ΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) god (ΝΟΥΤΕ) besides (ΝCΑ) Jesus (ΙC) Christ (ΠΕ-ΧC), the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna' (Mena, Mir. 34a:18-21).

b) Locative extensions

One very common type of complex existential sentence has a locative complement. Affirmative existential-locative sentences communicate the existence of an individual or object new on the scene as it emerges in a given location e.g. ΟΥΝ CΟΝ ΗΜΟΝΟΧOC (ΗΜΟΝΑΧOC) ΜΠΖΟΥ '(to see whether) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a fellow (CΟΝ) monk (Η-ΜΟΝΟΧOC) further on (ΜΠΖΟΥ)' (Onnophr. 205:12), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΚΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΥΛΗ ΖΙΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΡΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a small (ΟΥ-ΚΟΥ) courtyard (Ν-ΑΥΛΗ) at (ΖΙΡΗ) the entrance (Π-ΡΟ) of the cell (Ν-Τ-ΡΙ)' (AP Chaîne no. 243, 75:31-32). Their negative counterparts assert the non-occurrence of an entity with respect to a particular discourse domain, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΖΕΡΗΝΕΥΤΗC (for ΖΕΡΗΝΕΥΤΗC) ΗΜΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '(there) was no (ΝΕ-ΜΝ ... ΑΝ) interpreter (ΖΕΡΗΝΕΥΤΗC) there (ΗΜΑΥ)' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:24), ΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ '(there) is (ΜΝ) nobody (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)' (Mena, Mir. 14b:29-31), ΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΜΗΝΤΑΤCΟΜ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ '(there) is no (ΜΝ) impossibility (ΛΑΛΥ Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΑΤ-CΟΜ) with (ΖΑΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) (i.e. nothing is impossible with God)' (KHML II 36:15-16).

c) Relative extensions

In existential sentences that contain a relative extension, the relative clause modifies the indefinite noun phrase and is therefore part of the postverbal subject. Such relative clause extensions function as

identifying descriptions: they provide information necessary to identify the referent of the indefinite subject or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Once the referent is so introduced, it becomes an anchored discourse entity available for predication in the subsequent discourse, e.g. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΖΑΓΙOC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΑΡΚOC '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΝ) a man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the shrine (Π-ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙOC) Apa Mēna whose name (was) (Ε-ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ) Marcus' (Mena, Enc. 74b:2-9), ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙOC ΕΦΟΥΗΖ ΖΗ ΘΙΑΪΗ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) one (ΟΥΑ) of (ΝΤΕ) the holy ones (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) who was called (lit. whom (ΕΡΟ-Q) they called (Ε-ΨΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ)) Philagrios, who lived (Ε-Q-ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΙΑΪΗ)' (AP Chaîne no. 31,6:8-9), ΝΕΥΕΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΗ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΧΙΝ ΤΕQ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥΙ '(there) was (ΝΕ-ΥΕΝ) also (ΟΝ) a (certain) man (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ) in (ΖΗ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) who was possessed by a demon (lit. a demon (ΟΥ-ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ) was with him (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΗΜΑ-Q)) from (ΝΧΙΝ) his childhood (ΤΕQ-ΗΝΤ-ΚΟΥΙ) onwards' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18).

10.2.3.4 Non-existential adverbial-locative clauses

Extended existentials have a non-existential counterpart in locative sentences with the stativised existential verb ϋοοπ 'to exist, to be' that locate some entity in space or time. There is a clear relation between existential and locative predication, since claiming that an entity is located somewhere or in a particular state automatically implies the existence of that entity.

The choice between the existential construction and its non-existential counterpart depends on the definiteness of the subject. Indefinite noun phrases show a general preference for the existential construction, but may also occur in the non-existential locative counterpart, e.g. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΜΕ ΜΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΗΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a big (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) heat (Ν-ΖΗΜΕ) down (ΜΠΕCΗΤ) in that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) place (Η-Π-ΜΑ)' (V. Pach. 2:18-19) vs. ΝΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟ[Q] ΓΑΡ ΝΕΙΡΗΗΗ ΜΝ ΖΗΝΟC (for ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥQ ϋΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΗΝΤΡΡΟ 'for (ΓΑΡ) (there) was (ΝΕΡΕ ... ϋΟΟΠ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) peace (Ν-ΕΙΡΗΗΗ) and (ΗΝ) a lot (ΖΗ-ΝΟC) of good (things) (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Q) in (ΖΗ) their kingdom

(ΤΕΥ-ΗΝΤ-ΡΡΟ)' (Mena, Enc. 68a:4-8).

Due to the indefiniteness restriction, referentially definite subject constituents are excluded from the existential construction and appear in the corresponding locative sentence instead, e.g. *ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΤΗΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ* '(as for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (am) in this place (Τ-Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) from (ΧΙΝ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) onwards' (Ac. A&P 204:129).

10.2.3 Possessive sentences

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences are formed with the possessive predicates *ΟΥΝΤΑ-* and *ΗΝΤΑ-*, respectively. These can be decomposed into an existential verb, viz. *ΟΥΝ* or *ΗΝ*, and a locative-committative preposition *ΝΤΑ-* 'with', the object of which indicates the nominal or pronominal possessor. It is clear, then, that possessive predication is computed on the basis of existential-locative predication: HAVE = BE WITH, e.g. *ΝΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ ΣΝΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΝΧΑ2Χ2* 'the King (Π-ΡΡΟ) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΕ) two (ΣΝΤΕ) trumpets (ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ) of refined (Ν-ΧΑ2Χ2) gold (Ν-ΝΟΥΒ)' (Eud. 60:13), *ΗΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΩΤ ΗΜΑΥ Η ΗΛΑΥ* 'I don't have (ΗΝΤΑ-Ι) father (ΕΙΩΤ) or (Η) mother (ΗΛΑΥ)' (Ac. A&P 194:21-22).

Further evidence from the locative source of possessive predication comes from the optional presence of the deictic adverbial *ΗΜΑΥ* 'there', e.g. *ΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ* 'I have (ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι) a word (Ν-ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to say (Ε-ΧΟΟ-Q) to them' (Eud. 60:11-12), *ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑQ ΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΗΗΘΕ ΝΧΡΗΜΑ* 'he (the rich man) had (ΝΕ-ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q) a lot (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΗΗΘΕ) of money (Ν-ΧΡΗΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 13a:8-10), *ΕΗΝΤΑQ ΕΧΟΥCΙΑ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΕΡ ΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΗΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ* 'without having (Ε-ΗΝΤΑ-Q) the strength (ΕΧΟΥCΙΑ) to come out (Ε-ΕΡ Π-ΒΟΛ) of that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) tree (Η-Π-ΩΗΝ)' (V. Pach. 87:2).

10.2.3.1 Forms

Affirmative 'HAVE' and negative 'HAVE NOT' sentences make use of a special possessive paradigm given in table 10.4 below. Both possessive predicates may be phonologically reduced: *ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q* /wəntaf/ → *ΟΥΝΤ-Q* /wəntəf/ 'he has', *ΗΝΤΑ-Q* /məntaf/ → *ΗΝΤ-Q* /məntəf/ 'he does not have'.

	ΟΥΝΤΑ- 'HAVE'	ΗΝΤΑ- 'NOT HAVE'
1 st sing.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Ι (ΟΥΝΤ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Ι (ΗΝΤ)
2 nd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Κ (ΟΥΝΤ-Κ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Κ (ΗΝΤ-Κ)
2 nd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΕ	ΗΝΤΕ
3 rd sing. masc.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Q (ΟΥΝΤ-Q)	ΗΝΤΑ-Q (ΗΝΤ-Q)
3 rd sing. fem.	ΟΥΝΤΑ-С (ΟΥΝΤ-С)	ΗΝΤΑ-С (ΗΝΤ-С)
1 st plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Η (ΟΥΝΤ-Η)	ΗΝΤΑ-Η (ΗΝΤ-Η)
2 nd plural	ΟΥΝΤΗ-ΤΗ	ΗΝΤΗ-ΤΗ
3 rd plural	ΟΥΝΤΑ-Υ (ΟΥΝΤ-ΟΥ)	ΗΝΤΑ-Υ (ΗΝΤ-ΟΥ)
Before noun	ΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ	ΗΝΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ

TABLE 10.4 The affirmative and negative possessive paradigm

10.2.3.2 Syntactic characteristics

Possessive sentences are transitive V-S-O constructions in which the subject designates the possessor and the following object the possessed noun. See figure 10.4 for further illustration.

TAM-MARKER	VERB	SUBJECT (POSSESSOR NP)	DIRECT OBJECT (POSSESSED NP)
NE- PRETERIT	ΟΥΝΤΕ 'HAVE'	Π-ΡΡΟ the king	ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ ΣΝΤΕ trumpets two

FIGURE 10.4 The V-S-O order of possessive sentences

Just like in common transitive-active clauses, the direct object of the possessive predicates *ΟΥΝΤΑ-* and *ΗΝΤΑ-* appears in either the construct state or the absolute state. In the construct state, the direct object is simply juxtaposed to the postverbal subject without any morphological indication of its grammatical role, e.g. *ΕΟΥΝΤΕ ΠΟΥ2ΑΙ* '(although) you (woman) have (Ε-ΟΥΝΤΕ) your husband (ΠΟΥ-2ΑΙ)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:8-9), *ΕΗΝΤQ ΚΕΡΟΟΥΩ ΗΜΑΥ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΝCΑ* *ΠΕΨΑΗΛ ΗΝ ΤΔΙΑΚΡΙCΙC ΝΝΕΤQΩΩ ΗΜΟΟΥ* 'while he (Apa Zenobius) had no (Ε-ΗΝΤ-Q) other concern (ΚΕ-ΡΟΟΥΩ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ) than (ΝCΑ) prayer (ΠΕ-ΨΑΗΛ) and the critical evaluation (Τ-ΔΙΑΚΡΙCΙC) of what he was reading (Ν-ΕΤ-Q-ΩΩ)' (Zen. 204:22-23). By contrast, the possessed noun is syntactically encoded as a prepositional object in the corresponding absolute state, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΗΝΤΑΝ ΝΑΛΑΥ ΝCΟΛCΑ ΗΜΑΥ*

ΝΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ 'and (ἀγῶ) we don't have (ἡντα-ν) any (ν-λααγ) physical (ν-ωματικον) comfort (ν-κολαα)' (Hil. 5:23), οὐνται ἡμαγ νωμντ νχωμε ενανουογ 'I have (οὐντα-ι) three (ν-ωμντ) beautiful (ε-νανου-ογ) books (ν-χωμε)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:18-20), εῶχε οὐντην ἡμαγ νογνουτε εῶν2 'if (εῶχε) you have (οὐντη-την) a living (ε-φ-ον2) God (ν-ογ-νουτε) (...)' (A&P 208:192-193).

10.2.3.3 Absence of indefiniteness restrictions

Despite the presence of the copulas οὐν and ἡν, neither the subject nor the direct object of possessive sentences appear to be subject to any kind of indefiniteness restriction, e.g. [νεγ]ντε πρρο [κω]σταντινος οὐσῶνε ἡμαγ ἡπαρενος επεσαν πε εῶδοξια 'King (π-πρρο) Constantine had (νε-γντε) a virgin (ν-παρενος) sister (οὐ-σῶνε) whose name (was) (ε-πεс-пан пе) Eudoxia' (Eud. 50:3-4), νενντq ῶνρε ν2οογт нса ῶερε сente нс2ime ἡmate 'he had no (νε-νντ-q) son (ῶνρε ν-2οογт) besides (нса) two (ν-2οογт) daughters (ῶερε ν-с2ime) only (ἡmate)' (Hil. 2:5), εῶνταqс 2н нетка на наq 'he has it (i.e. place) (ε-οὐντα-q-с) among (2н) those who make (ν-ετ-ка) a place (на) for him (на-q)' (Sh. III 85:14), οὐ πετεοῦντακq εῶοq 'what (claim) (οὐ) (is it) that you have (ετε-οὐντα-κ-q) against him (εῶο-q)?' (Ac. A&P 210:213).

10.2.3.4 Other means of expressing 'HAVE'

Coptic has alternative means for the expression of verbal possession, one of which is dative possession and the other is a possessive-modal construction.

a) Dative possession

Instead of normal οὐντα- and ἡντα- sentences, it is possible to use an existential construction with stative ῶοоп 'to be' and an indirect object, which indicates the possessor: HAVE = BE FOR. The subject of the dative possession construction must be indefinite, e.g. επιδη οὐν οὐноδ нмκα2н2нт ῶοоп наq εтве теqῶερε 'since (епидη) he had (lit. was (οὐν ... ῶοоп) to him (на-q)) a lot (οὐ-ноδ) of grief (ν-мка2-н-2нт) because of (εтве) his daughter (теq-ῶερε)' (Hil. 7:12-13), εμн ῶнρε δε ῶοоп нас 'while she had no (lit. (there)

was no (ε-ἡн ... ῶοоп) for her (на-с)) son' (Mena, Mir. 22a:2-21).

b) The possessive-modal construction

Coptic has a possessive-modal construction οὐν (ἡн) – (ῶ)ῶом – ἡмо-q – ε-сῶтн 'he can/cannot hear' (lit. (there) is/is no power in him to hear), in which the possessed subject noun (ῶ)ῶом 'power, ability' selects an infinitival complement clause, while the agent of the verbal action is encoded as a locative possessor, e.g. ἡн ῶом гаp ἡмоq εμοоῶε 'since (гаp) he is not able (lit. (there) is no (ἡн) power (ῶом) in him ((ἡмо-q)) to walk (ε-мооῶε)' (Eud. 66:9), ἀγῶ ἡн ῶῶом ἡмои εῶγон2с εῶла 'and (ἀγῶ) I am unable (lit. (there) is no (ἡн) power (ῶῶом ῶом) in me (ἡмо-и)) to reveal it (ε-ογон2-с εῶла)' (Hil. 3:21).

Key Terms:

Basic word order

is the fully productive constituent §10.1.1 order of a language that involves the least morphological marking and is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. In Coptic, S–V–O can be identified as the basic word order.

Scrambling

is a syntactic reordering process in §10.1.2 the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.

Topic

The topic of a sentence is what the §10.1.3 sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.

Information-
packaging
constructions

represent sentence patterns that differ from pragmatically neutral constructions types in the way in which the information is represented. In Coptic, information-packaging constructions involve a departure from the canonical S-V-O order for topic or focus prominence.

§10.1.3

Subject inversion

involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.

§10.1.5

Presentational (new
information) focus

corresponds to new or non-presupposed information. The main function of presentational foci is to introduce new referents into the discourse.

§10.1.5.5

Indefiniteness
restriction

Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.

§10.2.3.1

Exercises

10.1 Comprehension and transfer

- A. Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- B. Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 1. Coptic word order is sensitive to the information content of the subject.
 2. The direct object must precede the indirect object.
 3. Subject-inversion represents a focusing sentence construction.

4. The focus marker *noi* is in complementary distribution with personal pronouns.
5. Indefinite noun phrases cannot function as left-dislocated topics.
6. Definite noun phrases are excluded from existential sentences.

10.2 Subject order and information structure

- A. Determine the syntactic role (subject, direct object) of the left-dislocated noun or pronoun in the following Coptic examples.
 - (1) *τῷερε δε ὧν nec2en* (for *nec2n*) *amntwmine nrompe* 'as for the little (*ὧν*) girl (*τ-ῷερε*) she was (*ne-c-2en*) about eighteen (*λ-*) *mnt-wmine* years (*n-rompe*) (old)' (Hil. 3:24-25)
 - (2) *παειωτ ετβε ου ανοκ παζητ ναφτ* 'my father (*πα-ειωτ*), why (*ετβε ου*) is, (as far as) *I* (*ανοκ*) (am concerned), my heart (*πα-ζητ*) (so) bold (*ναφτ*)?' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7)
 - (3) *αὐω νῶαχε ἡπνοῦτε ετεψαφcottou ntootq* *neψaφxooγ ζωωq πε ενεφμοναχοc* 'and (*αὐω*) the words (*ν-ῶαχε*) of God (*η-π-νοῦτε*) which he (the abbot) heard (*ετε-ψα-φ-cott-ouγ*) from him (*n-toot-q*) (Pachôm), he in turn (*ζωω-q*) told them (*ne-ψα-φ-xoo-γ*) to his monks (*e-neφ-monaχοc*)' (V. Pach. 139:27-28)
 - (4) *πε[τ]ερε παχοι [να] χποq κατa ρομπε φαιααq νῶομτε ντο* 'what my boat (*πα-χοι*) will (*π-ετ-ερε ... να*) bring in (*χπο-q*) each (*κατa*) year (*ρομπε*), I will split (*ψα-ι-αα-q*) into three (*n-ῶομτε*) parts (*n-to*)' (KHML II 17:4-5)
 - (5) *ναι δε εφxω ἡμοογ νερε θεωδωροc ζηοοc μοογε νογκογι ερ* (for *ερε*) *πq2o mπεcнт* 'when he (Pachôm) was saying (*ε-φ-xω*) these (words) (*ναι*), Theodore was sitting (*νερε* ... *ζηοοc*) at a little (*n-ογ-κογι*) distance (*η-π-ογε*), his face (*πq-2o*) (turned down) to the ground (*ερε ... η-π-εcнт*)' (V. Pach. 90:15-16).

B. Determine the topic function of the left-dislocated constituent by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) 2N [ΠΤΡ]ΕΦΩΨ ΔΕ [ΕΙC] ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΦΑΖΕ ΡΑΤQ [ΕΧ]Ω[Q] 2N ΟΥΖΟ[ΡΟ]ΜΑ 'when (2N) he dozed off (Π-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΩΨ), look (ΕΙC), *the holy* (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) *Απα Μένα* stood (Α-Q-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-Q) before him (ΕΧΩ-Q) in (2N) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-7)
☐ indefinite topic ☐ contrastive topic

- (2) ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟQ ΠΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΝΕQΕΙΡΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΖΟΠ ΝΡΡΟ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *he* (ΝΤΟQ), king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine, made (ΝΕ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) for them (the Persians) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ) great (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) royal (Ν-ΡΡΟ) feasts (Ν-ΖΟΠ)' (Eud. 48:27)
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

- (3) ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΧΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΥ ΝΝΕΕQ ΚΑ ΧΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΕΜΡΩ ΛΧΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤCΟΟΥΖC (...) 'as for (ΕΤΒΕ) *the ships* (Ν-ΕΧΗΥ), no (ΛΑΥ) sailor (Ν-ΝΕΕQ) shall set loose (ΝΝΕ ... ΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ) a ship (ΧΟΙ) at (ΖΙ) the landing stage (ΤΕ-ΜΡΩ) without the man (i.e. the prior) (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) of the congregation (Ν-Τ-CΟΟΥΖC)' (praec. Pach. 118).
☐ resumed topic ☐ "hanging" discourse topic

- (4) ΕΙC ΟΥCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΝΤΕ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΜΗ ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΥΟΥΨ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'look (ΕΙC), *a knight* (ΟΥ-CΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC) from (ΝΤΕ) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) came (Α-Q-ΕΙ) together with (ΜΗ) a deacon (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC), wishing (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΨ) to meet (Ε-ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)' (Hil. 5:8-9)
☐ resumed topic ☐ new topic

C. Translate the following left-dislocated or subject inverted clauses.

- (1) ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕQΖΜΟΟC ΕΧΝ ΤΗΝΤΡΕΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΗΝΑQ (Eud. 40:1-2)

- (2) ΑΦΟΥΩΨ ΝΟΙ ΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΧΕ (...) (Ac.A&P 202:120-121)
- (3) ΟΥΝ ΚΕΖΜΕCΝΟΟΥCΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΨΑΝΤΕQΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΧC (Test. Is. 231:7-8)
- (4) [Ν]ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2N ΤΠΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC ΝΤCΟΜ ΝΗΠΗΥΕ (Eud. 34:27-36:1)
- (5) ΦΥCΙ ΝΑCΗΝΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΗΠΗΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΝΑΛΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΜΑΥΑΑQ (AP Chaine no.19, 4:7-8)
- (6) QCΜΑΜΑΛΤ ΝΟΙ ΠΧΟΕ[ΙC] [ΠΝΟ]ΥΤΕ ΗΠΡΡΟ [ΚΩC]ΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC [Π]ΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΠΕ ΜΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΘΑΛΛΑCΑ (Eud. 48:9-10)
- (7) 2N ΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΖΡΑΦΑΕΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC (KHML I 75:10-11)

D. Translate the following two text fragments.

FROM THE ACTS OF ANDREW AND PAUL

ΝΤΕΡΟΥΜΟΟΝ[Ε] [ΔΕ] ΜΠΧΟΙ Ε[Π]ΚΡΟ ΑQΤ[ΩΟ]ΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΑΝΔΡΕ[ΑC] ΜΗ ΠΑ[Υ][ΛΟC] ΜΗ [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[ΝΙΟC] ΠΝΕΕQ ΑΥ[†] [ΠΕ][Υ]ΟΥΟΙ ΕΤΠΥΛΗ^a ΝΤ[ΠΟ]ΛΙC^b ΑΥΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑ (read ΕΥΝΑΕΙ) ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) 2N ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΛC ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC^c ΕΨΕΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC. ΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΔΕ ΑQ† ΠΕ[Q]ΟΥΟΙ ΑQΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΝCΗ ΠΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑQΜΟΥ^d ΧΕ ΑΝΡ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΠΕQΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΤΝΗΥ ΝΤΝΤΟΥΝCQ ΝΑΚ. (Ac. A&P 204:148-206:155)

NOTES: a. ΠΥΛΗ 'gate' b. ΠΟΛΙC 'city' c. ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC 'apostle' d. ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΜΟΥ 'the deceased (lit. the one who died)', a free relative clause

WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE PERSIAN ARMY

ΑΥΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC
 ΝΚΑΝΟΠΟC^a ΠΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC^b ΝΤΣΟ[Μ] ΝΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡΣΟC
 ΕΤΡΕΥ[CΩΟΥ]Z ΝΝΕCΖΑΡΜΑ^c ΜΗ ΝΕCΖΙ[Π]ΠΕΥC^d ΜΗ ΠΜΗΗΦΕ
 ΝΡΜΗΡΑΤΟ[Υ]^e [ΕΤ]ΡΕΥΜΟ[Ο]ΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ [Ε]ΤΕΖΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ
 ΝCΕΧΙΟΥΡ ΝΠΙΕΡΟ ΤΙΓΡΙC ΝCΕΖΜΟΟC ΕΧΗ ΝΤΟΦ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC. ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙΟΥΡ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ
 ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC. ΝΤΕΡΕCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟC ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΙΝΟC
 ΑΦCΩΟΥZ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕCΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΦΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΜΗΟΟΥ.
 ΝΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΕ ΧΟΥΩΤ ΝΤΒΑ (1.200.000). ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΕΜΑΖΤΕ (read ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ) ΝCΗΦΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΗΟΟΦΕ ΠΕ (...)
 ΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC^f. ΑΥΩ ΗΠΖΟΤ^g ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΦΟΜΝΤ
 ΝΕΒΟΤ. (Eud. 44:20-46:3)

NOTES: a. ΚΑΝΟΠΟC (proper name) b. ΑΡΧΙCΤΡΑΤΗΓΟC 'commander-in-chief' c. ΖΑΡΜΑ 'chariot' d. ΖΗΠΠΕΥC 'cavalry man' e. Ν-ΡΜΗ-ΡΑΤ=ΟΥ 'the footmen, infantry' f. ΕΡΗΜΟC 'desert' g. ΖΟΤ 'opposite'

10.3 Residual V-S(-O) order

A. Classify the following extended existentials by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) ΕΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΠΧΛΗΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ '(there) was (ΕΝΕ-ΟΥΝ) a sycamore (ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΖΕ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ) desert (Π-ΧΛΗΝ)' (AP Chaîne no. 235, 69:23-24)

☐ comparative extension

☐ locative extension

- (2) ΟΥΝ CΖΗΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΦΑΡΕ ΠΕCΖΑΙ ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΕ '(there) is (ΟΥΝ) (a kind of) woman (CΖΗΜΕ) whom (ΕΡΟ-C) her husband (ΠΕC-ΖΑΙ) suspects (Ε-ΦΑΡΕ ... ΖΥΠΟΠΤΕΥΕ) of (ΧΕ) (being) adulterous (ΟΥ-ΝΟΕΙΚ)' (Sh. Or. 44, 159b:42-46)

☐ locative extension

☐ relative extension

B. Translate the following existential and possessive sentences.

- (1) ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΝΡΕCΦΠΖΙCΕ ΖΗ ΦΗΠΤ ΕΦΗΟΚΖ ΜΕΝ ΜΗΟQ
 ΖΗ ΠΕΦCΩΜΑ ΝΦΟ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΝΑΚΡΙΒΗC ΖΗ ΝΕΦΗCΕΥΕ (AP
 Chaîne no. 86, 18:1-2)

- (2) ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (KMHL II 33:16-17)

- (3) ΜΗ. ΒΟΗ ΓΑΡ ΜΗΟQ ΕΗΟΟΦΕ (Eud. 66:9)

- (4) ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΗΟQ (AP Chaîne no. 239, 71:3)

C. Translate the following text fragment

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

ΝΕΥΝ CΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΡΙ^a. ΝΕΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΖΑΛΟ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ^b ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΦΗΜ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.
 ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΡΕCΦΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΨΟΗ ΜΗΟΙ
 ΕΟΥΩΖ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΑΠΑ. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΗΟQ ΧΕ CΕ^c ΟΥΝ
 ΨΟΗ ΜΗΟΚ. ΠΖΛΛΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΟΥΚΑΘΑΡΟC^d ΠΕ ΝΦΟΥΩΦ ΑΝ
 ΕCΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΜΠΟΡΝΙΑ^e (for
 ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤQ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ΚΑΑΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC^f (for
 ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC) ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΝΨΑΧΕ. ΑΦΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΦΟΥΩΦ ΕΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ^g ΜΗΟQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΑΙΖΕ
 ΕΥΝΟC ΜΠΡΑCΜΟC^h (for ΜΠΕΙΡΑCΜΟC) ΖΗ ΤΕΙΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC
 ΠΑΕΙΩΤ. ΛΙΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑⁱ ΨΑ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΑΙΖΕ ΜΗ ΟΥCΖΗΜΕ.
 ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ^j ΨΟΟΠ; ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ
 ΧΕ CΕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΖΑ
 ΤΠΑΦΕ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΟΙ ΠCΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΑΦΘΜΟΗ ΕΟΥΩΖ
 ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΜΟΥ. (AP Chaîne
 no. 160, 36:1-13)

NOTES: a. ΝΡΙ 'Kellia' b. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ 'to summon, appeal' c. CΕ 'yes' d.
 ΚΑΘΑΡΟC 'pure, (spiritually) clean' e. ΠΟΡΝΙΑ 'fornication' f. ΖΕΒΔΩΜΑC
 'week' g. ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ 'to test' h. ΠΡΑCΜΟC 'temptation' i. ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ 'service'
 j. ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ 'repentance'

Relative constructions

Coptic has a rich system of specialised syntax and morphology for the expression of relative clause constructions of various types. The most central and most frequent relativisation pattern is that of attributive relative clauses (section 11.1). Attributive relatives occur as modifiers within a nominal constituent. They are usually associated with a distinguishing function, providing information that is necessary to establish or narrow down the reference of the noun phrase they modify, e.g. *NEΠAZPE ET† KBO NNΦYXH* 'the remedies (NE-ΠAZPE) [which (ET __) give (†) solace (KBO) to the souls (N-ΦYXH)]' (Hil. 1:21). Attributive relative clauses have corresponding free relative clauses, which are so called because they occur without a relative antecedent, e.g. *ΛΙΟΥΩΗ ΗΠΕΝΤΑΦΣΕΕΠΕ ΗΠΟΕΙΚ* 'I ate (Λ-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [what was left (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΣΕΕΠΕ) of the bread (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5) (section 11.2).

Nominal cleft sentences are widely used information packaging constructions. They are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, namely a clause-initial focus expression and a backgrounded proposition, which is subordinated by being placed in a relative construction, e.g. *ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΗ ΠΕΤΧΝΟΥ ΗΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΝΗΗ ΡΝΤΚ* '(it is) the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΗ) [who (ET __) is asking (ΧΝΟΥ) you (ΗΜΟ-Κ) [what (ΝΗΗ) your name (ΡΝΤ-Κ) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15) (section 11.3). Throughout this Unit relative constructions are given in brackets.

11.1 Attributive relative clauses

Attributive relative clauses are embedded clauses that are connected to the matrix clause by means of a relative antecedent or pivot. The pivot is the nominal constituent that is semantically shared by the main and the embedded clause. In Coptic, the normal position for an attributive relative clause is immediately after the pivot.

A range of relative complementisers marks the embedded clause as subordinate, none of which shows any type of feature matching or agreement with relative antecedent comparable to English relative pronouns like *who*, *whom*, *which*, *what*, e.g. $\text{OY-2WB } \epsilon\text{PE } \text{Π-NOYTE } \text{MOCTE } \text{MMOQ}$ 'a thing (OY-2WB) [that (εPE) God (Π-NOYTE) hates (MOCTE)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), $\text{ΠMA } \epsilon\text{TEPE } \text{ΠEQ-ΕΙΩΤ } \text{ΕΝΚΟΤΚ } \text{N2HTQ}$ 'the place (Π-MA) [that (εT-εPE) his father (ΠEQ-ΕΙΩΤ) was sleeping (ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) in (N2HT-Q)]' (Test. Is 230:18). Postnominal relative clauses have the structure shown in figure 11.1 (RC stands for 'relative clause' and COMPREL for 'relativising complementiser'; subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

ANTECEDENT	[RC COMPREL	EMBEDDED CLAUSE]
OY-2WB_i a thing _i	[εPE that	Π-NOYTE MOCTE MMO-Q _i] God hates (it _i)
Π-MA _i the place _i	[εT-εPE that	ΠEQ-ΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ N2HT-Q _i] his father was sleeping in-(it _i)

FIGURE 11.1 The internal structure of attributive relative clauses

In general, subordinating relative complementisers occupy the topmost position of the embedded clause, the main exception being relative clauses with left-dislocated topics. In this case, the left-dislocated topic precedes the relative complementiser in linear order, e.g. $\text{ΠA-XPC } \text{ANOK } \epsilon\text{TΠICTEYε } \text{EPQ}$ 'my Christ (ΠA-XPC) [in whom (εPO-Q) I (ANOK) believe (ε-T-ΠICTEYε)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16).

The adjacency between the pivot and the postnominal relative clause may be interrupted by enclitic function words and particles, e.g. $\text{POME } \text{ΓAP } \text{NIM } \text{EOYNTAQ } \text{2A2 } \text{NNOYTE}$ 'for (ΓAP) every (NIM) man (POME) [who has (ε-OYNTA-Q) many (2A2) gods (N-NOYTE)]' (Eud. 36:11),

$\text{MΠNAY } \text{ΔE } \text{NΦAQBOΦOY } \text{2I } \text{POY2E } \text{MMHNE}$ 'at the hour (M-Π-NAY) [that he (Apa Mena) loosened them (the camels) (N-ΦA-Q-BOΦ-OY) daily (MMHNE) at (2I) night (POY2E)]' (Mena, Mir. 8b:10-12).

11.1.1 Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Coptic makes productive use of two relativisation patterns, which are called virtual and non-virtual relative clauses in this grammar.

Virtual relative clauses (e.g. $\text{OYMA } \text{EQO } \text{NΦAPBA}$ 'a place (OY-MA) [that was (ε-Q-O) in (a state of) scorching heat (N-ΦAPBA)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)) derive their name from the fact that a morphologically identical form is found in non-relative environments, such as subordinate 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, e.g. $\text{AQXICE } \text{NTEQATE } \text{EZPAI } \text{EXOI } \text{EPε } \text{PΩQ } \text{OYON}$ 'he (the devil) raised (A-Q-XICE) his head (N-TEQ-ATE) above (EZPAI) me (EXOI-I), [while his mouth (PΩ-Q) was (wide) open (EPε ... OYON)]' (Ac. A&P 200:97), secondary predicates, e.g. $\text{EKNAOΦYT } \text{NCOI } \text{ΕΙΝABOK } \text{ΕΠΤAKO}$ 'will you watch (ε-K-NA-OΦYT) me (NCOI-I) [rushing (ε-I-NA-BOK) to perdition (ε-Π-TAKO)]?' (Ac. A&P 200:90-91), and a range of main clauses with Second Tense inflections, e.g. $\text{EKΦΩNE } \text{EOY } - \text{ΠX} \bar{\text{C}} \text{ ΕΙΦΩNE } \text{ΕΠΑ2ΗΠAP}$ 'from what (ε-OY) do you suffer (ε-K-ΦΩNE)? - Lord (Π-XC), I am suffering (ε-I-ΦΩNE) from my liver (ε-ΠA-2ΗΠAP)' (Onnophr. 208:28-30). See above, section 7.2.3 of Unit 7 for the syntactic similarities between Second Tense and relative clause constructions.

Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, are restricted to relative environments (e.g. $\text{ΠMA } \text{NTAKONTQ } \text{N2HTQ}$ 'the place (Π-MA) [where (N2HT-Q) you have found it (the boat) (NT-A-K-ONT-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 204:145-146)) and main clause Second Tenses (e.g. $\text{NTA } \text{OY } \text{ΦΩΠE } \text{MMOK } \text{ΠENXOEIC } \text{ΠPPO}$ 'what (OY) has happened (NT-A ... ΦΩΠE) to you (MMOK), our lord (ΠEN-XOEIC) (and) king (Π-PPO)?' (Eud. 36:24)).

Virtual and non-virtual relatives display systematic differences with regard to (i) the form of the subordinating complementiser, (ii) the encoding of the pivot's internal grammatical role, and (iii) their semantic distribution among various types of definite and indefinite noun phrases.

11.1.2 Complementiser alternations

This section presents an overview of complementiser alternations, i.e. the different shapes of the relativising complementisers in various types of virtual and non-virtual relative constructions.

11.1.2.1 Invariant forms in virtual relative clauses

The relative markers **ερε** and **ε-** introduce virtual relative clauses with embedded nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively. Thus, compare: **ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟСТΕ ΜΗΟQ** 'a thing (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* (ερε) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *hates* (ΜΟСТΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127) vs. **ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΧΟΟΥCΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'every (ΝΙΜ) place (ΜΑ) [*that they* (the brothers) *will be sent* (lit. that *they* will send them (ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟΥ-CΕ)) to (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (praec. Pach. 129).

11.1.2.2 Subject-complementiser agreement

Non-virtual relative clauses, unlike virtual ones, show context-dependent complementiser alternations. The form of the relative complementiser varies depending on the category of the following constituent, which is either the subject of the embedded relative clause or an embedded tense-aspect-mood expression. Agreement between the embedded subject and the subordinating relative complementiser is marked morphologically by the triplet **ετ**, **ετερε**, and **ετ(ε)-**. The allomorphs **ετερε** and **ετ(ε)-** are actually internally complex forms, consisting of the base morpheme **ετ-** and the relative markers **ερε** and **ε-** that also introduce virtual relative clauses: **ετ-ερε**, **ετ-ε**.

a) The "bare" relative complementiser **ετ**

The "bare" complementiser **ετ** is restricted to a single syntactic environment, namely when the subject of the embedded clauses has been relativised. When this happens, the subject role of the relative antecedent is recovered without any morphological indication. We adopt the view that this position actually contains a phonologically invisible placeholder or "gap" (indicated as '___' in the English translation of the Coptic examples), e.g. **ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΑΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ** 'the angel (Π-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) [*who* (ετ ___) *serves* (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) *your father* (ε-ΠΕΚ-ΕΙΩΤ) *Abraham*]' (Test. Is 229:18-19).

b) The internally complex relative complementisers **ετερε**, **ετε-**

The morphologically derived relative complementisers **ετερε** and **ετε-**, on the other hand, are selected in the context of overt nominal and pronominal subjects, respectively, e.g. **ΠΩΛΛΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΗΝΗΙ ΝΑΧΟΟQ** 'the word (Π-ΩΛΛΕ) [*that* (ετ-ερε) *the superintendent* (Π-ΡΗΝ-ΗΙ) *will say* (ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-C)]' (praec. Pach. 122) vs. **ΠΜΑ ΕΤΚΩΦΟΝΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [*where* (επο-q) *you are sick* (ετ-κ-ωφονε)]' (Onnophr. 208:31). In this case, the pivot has a non-subject (direct object, prepositional object or adverbial) role within the embedded relative clause. The complementiser alternations considered so far give rise to the relativisation paradigm in table 11.1.

SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρῶμε _i [RC ετ__ _i cῶτη]	
	The man _i ; [RC who __ _i is listening]	
NON-SUBJECT RELATIVES		
	π-ρῶμε _i [RC ετ(ε)-q-cῶτη ncῶ-q]	
	The man _i ; [RC that he is listening to (him) _i]	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ε-†-cῶτη	ετ-ν-cῶτη
2 nd masc.	ετ(ε)-κ-cῶτη	ετε-τν-cῶτη
2 nd fem.	ετε-cῶτη	
3 rd masc.	ετ(ε)-q-cῶτη	ετ-ογ-cῶτη
3 rd fem.	ετ(ε)-c-cῶτη	
Before noun	ετερε π-ρῶμε cῶτη	

TABLE 11.1 Complementiser-subject agreement

Further examples: (ετ plus subject gap) **ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ** 'the grace (τε-χαριC) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [*which* (ετ ___) *surrounded* (κωτε) *him* (επο-q)]' (KMHL II 35:12-13), **ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΝΕΧ ΕΙΤΝ ΜΠΕQΗ ΕΒΟΛ** 'everybody (ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ) [*who* (ετ ___) *will throw* (ΝΑ-ΝΕΧ) *garbage* (ΕΙΤΝ) *out* (ΕΒΟΛ) of his house (Μ-ΠΕQ-ΗΙ)]' (Eud. 52:26-27), (ετερε plus subject NP) **ΠΗ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΜΟΟΥΤ ΝΖΗΤQ** 'the house (Π-Η) [*where* (ΝΖΗΤ-q) *this little* (ΨΗΜ) *boy* (ΠΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ) *died* (ετερε ... ΜΟΟΥΤ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:163-164), (ετ(ε)- plus subject

(π-μα) [where he was (lit. that he was *in it* ((ε-νε-φ-ν2ΗΤ-φ))] (KHML II 20:9), but may also be a phonologically invisible relative "gap", as in ΤΕΥΜΙΣΤΙC ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 'their *faith*' (ΤΕΥ-ΜΙΣΤΙC) [that (ΕΤ _i) perfect (ΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ)] (Test. Is. 233:19).

11.1.3.1 Resumptive pronominalisation in virtual relatives clauses

Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalized resumptive pronoun strategy regardless of the internal grammatical role of the relative antecedent. (Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal resumptive pronoun).

Examples: (subject) ΟΥΜΑ ΕΦΟ ΝΦΑΡΒΑ 'a *place*_i (ΟΥ-ΜΑ) [that was (lit. while *it*_i was (ε-φ-ο)) in (a state of) scorching heat (Ν-ΦΑΡΒΑ)] (V. Pach. 86:24-25), ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΗ ΕΦ2ΙΧΗ ΠΚΑ2 'every (ΝΙΗ) *man*_i (ΡΩΜΕ) [who (lives) on (lit. while *he*_i lives on (ε-φ-2ΙΧΗ)) earth (Π-ΚΑ2)] (Test. Is. 233:12), (direct object) ΛΑΛΥ [Ν]ΦΗΝ ΝΙ[Μ] ΕΛΦΧΟΟΥ 'every (single) (ΝΙΗ) one (ΛΑΛΥ) of *the trees*_i (Ν-ΦΗΝ) [that he (Apa Matthew) planted (*them*_i) (ε-Α-φ-ΧΟ-ΟΥ)] (KHML II 18:23-24), (prepositional object) ΕΥ2ΑΛΗΤ ΕΦΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ ΤΗΕ 'to a *bird*_i (ε-Υ-2ΑΛΗΤ) [which is called (lit. while they say (ε-ΦΑ-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) about *it*_i (εΡΟ-φ) »truth« (Τ-ΗΕ)] (Ac. A&P 206:161) (adverb) ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΦΕ ΝΕΡΟΝΟC ΕΥ2ΜΟΟC Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΧΦΟΥ ΝCΙ ΖΕΝΝΟC ΜΗΗΦΕ ΜΗΩΝΑΧΟC (for ΜΗΟΝΑΧΟC) ΕΥ2Α ΕΟΟΥ ΗΜΑΤΕ 'great (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Η-ΜΗΗΦΕ) of *thrones*_i (Ν-ΘΡΟΝΟC) [on which *great* (ΖΕΝ-ΝΟC) multitudes (Η-ΜΗΗΦΕ) of highly (ΗΜΑΤΕ) venerable (lit. who were under (ε-Υ-2Α) glory (ΕΟΟΥ)) monks (Η-ΜΩΝΑΧΟC) were seated (lit. while they were seated (ε-Υ-2ΜΟΟC)) on (*them*_i) (ΕΧΦ-ΟΥ)] (KHML II 21:16-17), (possessor noun) ΟΥCΩΝΕ (...) ΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ 'a virgin (Η-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) *sister*_i (ΟΥ-CΩΝΕ) [whose name (lit. while *her*_i name (ε-ΠΕC-ΡΑΝ) (was) (ΠΕ)) Eudoxia (ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ)] (Eud. 50:3-4).

11.1.3.2 The distribution of gaps and pronouns in non-virtual relative clauses

In non-virtual relatives, three different distributional patterns can be distinguished, one where gaps and resumptive pronouns occur in free variation, one where pronouns must appear and gaps are excluded, and one where the presence of a gap is obligatory.

11.1.3.2.1 The subject/non-subject asymmetry

Resumptive pronouns appear in all argument and adjunct positions of the relative clause except one, where the presence of a gap is obligatory. This position is the topmost subject position to the right of the relative complementiser. The following data illustrate the asymmetry between the relativisation of the subject, which involves gapping, and the relativisation of a non-subject constituent (direct and indirect object, adverb), which involves resumptive pronominalisation. Subscripts indicate the co-referentiality between the relative antecedent and a clause-internal gap or resumptive pronoun).

a) Subject relative clauses/gapping

Examples: ΠΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΤΑΜΑ2ΤΕ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΦΑC ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΗΠΩΝΤ 'the *monks*_i (Π-ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) [who (ΕΤ _i) does not (ΑΝ) restrain (ΑΜΑ2ΤΕ) *his*_i tongue (Η-ΠΕΦ-ΛΑC), especially (ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ) in the hour (Η-Π-ΝΑΥ) of anger (Η-Π-ΩΝΤ)] (AP Chaîne no. 12, 3:8-9), ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΦΟΥCΙΤ ΗΠΕΚΟCΗΟC 'at the idle (lit. which is idle (ΕΤ _i) ΦΟΥCΙΤ) *praise*_i (ε-Π-ΕΟΟΥ) of this world (Η-ΠΕΚΟCΗΟC)' (KHML II 28:4-5), ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΧΗ2 'according to (ΚΑΤΑ) *the manner*_i (ΘΕ < Τ-2Ε) [that (ΕΤ _i) is written (CΗ2)] (V. Pach. 4:20), ΓΕΝΟC ΝΙΗ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΦΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΑΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΗ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) *race*_i (ΓΕΝΟC) [that (ΕΤ _i) lives (ΦΟΟΠ) in (ΖΝ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΗΜΗΤ-ΡΡΟ)] (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20).

b) Non-subject relative clauses/resumptive pronominalisation

Examples: (direct object) ΤΡΗΗΗ ΗΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΤΑΦΤΑC ΝΑΙ 'the *peace*_i (ΤΡΗΗΗ < Τ-ΕΙΡΗΗΗ) of *my lord*_i (Η-ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC) [which *he*_i has given (*it*_i) (ΝΤ-Α-φ-ΤΑΑ-C) to me (ΝΑ-Ι)] (Test. Is. 230:10-11), ΝΕΚΦΑΧΕ ΕΤΕΚΧΩ ΗΜΟΟΥ 'your *words*_i (ΝΕΚ-ΦΑΧΕ) [that you spoke (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΧΩ) (*them*_i) (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ)] (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:9), (prepositional object) ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΤΕΝΟΥ 'this *man*_i (ΠΕΙ-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you are looking (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) at (*him*_i) (εΡΟ-φ) right now (ΤΕΝΟΥ)] (Test. Is. 234:13), (adverbial adjunct) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΚΦΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ2ΩΗ 'the *man*_i (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) [that you were talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΦΑΧΕ) to me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι) about (*him*_i) (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-φ), (namely) Apa Pachôm]' (V. Pach. 136:3), ΠΗΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠCΑΜΟΥΛ ΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ Ν2ΗΤΦ 'the *place*_i (Π-ΜΑ) [where the camel (Π-CΑΜΟΥΛ) will rest (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) (in *it*_i) (Ν2ΗΤ-φ)] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:19-22), (possessor noun) ΟΥΜΗΗΦΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΦΑΡΕ ΠΕΥ2ΗΤ ΠΑΥC ΕΡΟΟΥ 'also (ΟΝ) a lot (ΟΥ-ΜΗΗΦΕ) of (ΖΝ) *those*_i [whose

minds; (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ) *had left* (Ν-ΕΤΕ-ΦΑΡΕ ... ΠΩΦ) *them* (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (KHML II 10:6) (a free relative clause).

11.1.3.2.2 Locality constraints

For gapping to occur in subject relatives, the relative complementiser must be adjacent to the embedded subject. When a clause-initial tense-aspect-mood marker, the negative scope marker *Ν-*, or a fronted adjectival or existential verb disrupts the local relation between the relative complementiser and the highest subject position, the gap must be replaced by the corresponding resumptive pronoun (see above, table 11.2 for the inventory of complementiser allomorphs that are selected in the context of such intervening elements).

Examples: (pre-subject tense-aspect-mood marker) ΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΕΝ (for ΜΗ) ΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΥΤΙ ΜΠΕΝΕΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ '*the mighty deeds*; (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *and* (ΜΕΝ) *miracles*; (ΝΕ-ΨΗΡΕ) [*that (they)* happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΗΠΕ) *through* (ΖΗ-ΤΟΥΤ-Ι) *our father* (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΕΩΤ) Απα Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16), ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΠΛΑΤΟΥΣΟΥΩΝΓ ΜΗ ΝΕΚΜΑΓΙΑ 'for (ΓΑΡ) *all*; (those) (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [*that (they)* have not yet known you (ΕΤΕ-ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΣΟΥΩΝ-Γ) *and* (ΜΗ) *your magical tricks* (ΝΕΚ-ΜΑΓΙΑ)]' (Sh. III 77:26), ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΩΝΑΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΘΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ '*who*; (ΝΙΜ) (is it) [*that (he)* will not (ΑΝ) believe (ΕΤ-Ν-Φ-ΝΑ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ) *in the mighty deeds* (Ε-ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (KMHL II 37:12-13), (fronted adjectival verb) ΜΑΡΕΝΤΑΥΕ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ 'let us bring forth (ΜΑΡΕ-Ν-ΤΑΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ) *fruit*; (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) [*that (it)* is good (ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)]' (KHML II 19:15).

11.1.3.2.3 Relativised nominal sentences

In relativised noun clauses, resumptive pronouns must appear, even when the relative complementiser precedes the embedded subject. Moreover, a different set of resumptive pronouns is selected, namely the enclitics ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ 'he, she, they' and the demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ 'this, these'. Such relativised nominal sentences have an explicative interpretation (*namely, to wit, which is*), e.g. ΠΗΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΩΤ ΠΕ 'the blessed (Π-ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ) Απα Zenobius, [*that is* (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ), *our father* (ΠΕΝ-ΕΩΤ)]' (Zen. 199:9), ΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΜΠΣΩΤΗ 'those who believe (Ν-ΕΤ-ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ), [*which (is)* (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) *the utmost degree* (Π-ΧΩΚ) *of obedience* (Μ-Π-ΣΩΤΗ)]' (Test. Is. 228:7-8).

11.1.3.2.4 Adverbial relative clauses

The third pattern, free variation between gaps and resumptive pronouns, is manifest in adverbial relative clauses where a manner or time adverbial has been relativised.

a) Temporal adverb relatives

In temporal adverb clauses, an entire prepositional phrase may be "gapped". When this happens, it is the pivotal time-indicating nominal itself that determines its internal adverbial role, e.g. ΖΗ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΑΠΩΖ ΦΑΡΩΤΗ '*at* (ΖΗ) *the moment* (ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [(when) this order (ΠΕΙ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) will reach (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΠΩΖ) you (ΦΑΡΩ-ΤΗ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:22-25), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΩΝΕ ΜΠΑΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΜΠΜΕΖΣΕΠΙΝΑΥ '*for* (ΓΑΡ) *in the hour* (Μ-Π-ΝΑΥ) [*that my throne* (Μ-ΠΑ-ΘΡΟΝΟΣ) was turned down (lit. they turned down (ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΩΝΕ)) under me (ΖΑΡΟ-Ι) for a second time (Μ-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-ΙΝΑΥ)]' (Eud. 36:27-28). Alternatively, a normal resumptive pronoun may be used, e.g. ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΙ '*the day*; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) [*when*; (ΝΖΗΤ-Ι) you were born (lit. they gave birth to you (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΧΠΟ-Κ))]' (KHML II 30:13).

b) Manner adverb relatives

When the manner noun ΘΕ (< Τ-ΖΕ) 'the manner' has a direct object role within the embedded clause, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is obligatory, e.g. ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΝΧΙΝ Π[Ω]ΝΖ '*in* (ΚΑΤΑ) *the manner*; (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [*that he* (Απα Μena) had told (*it*) (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) her (ΝΑ-Σ) while (he was) still (ΝΧΙΝ) alive (Π-ΩΝΖ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:5-6), ΘΕ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΗΟΣ ΝΗΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΩ ΝΙΜ '*the manner*; (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [*that he* (Pachôm) behaved (lit. made (Ε-ΝΕ-Φ-ΕΙΡΕ) (*it*) (ΜΗΟ-Σ)) towards them (the brothers) (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ) all (ΝΙΜ) the time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΩ)]' (V. Pach. 5:6-7).

By contrast, gapping seems to be the preferred option when it has a clause-internal adverbial role, e.g. ΘΕ ΕΤΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΑΖΩΒ ΝΟΙΧ '*the manner* (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [(in which) I was diligent (Ε-Τ-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ < ΕΤ-Τ-ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) at my manual (Ν-ΟΙΧ) labour (Ε-ΠΑ-ΖΩΒ)]' (Onnophr. 207:17-18), ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Ρ ΖΑΖ ΜΠΕΘΟΥ '*this* (ΤΑΙ) (was) *the manner* (ΘΕ < Τ-ΖΕ) [(in which) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) demon (Π-ΔΛΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ) carried out (ΝΤ-Α ... Ρ) many (ΖΑΖ) evil (things) (Μ-ΠΕΘΟΥ)]' (KHML II 53:8-9).

11.1.4 Multiple relative embedding

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another.

11.1.4.1 Nested relative constructions

In nested relative constructions, there are two or more antecedents with an attributive relative clause attached to them. As a result, each relative clause is embedded one level deeper than the previous one, e.g. $\text{2N-KE-}\Psi\text{HN}$ EYOPT NKAPPOC $\text{ENA}\Psi\text{OY}$ EMATE 'other trees (2N-KE- ΨHN) [RC1 while (*they*_i) were loaded (E-Y-OPT) with fruit (N-KAPPOC) [RC2 while (*they*_i) were plenty (E-NA ΨOY)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15).

ANTECEDENT ₁	[RC1	ANTECEDENT ₂	[RC2]]
$\text{2N-KE-}\Psi\text{HN}$; <i>other trees</i>	[RC1 E-Y-OPT while (<i>they</i> _i) were loaded	N-KAPPOC; with <i>fruit</i>	[RC2 E-NA ΨOY]] while (<i>they</i> _j) were plenty

FIGURE 11.2 Nested relative constructions

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses may be nested, e.g. NEYN $\text{OY}\Psi\text{HPE}$ ΨHN ΔE EPECPAN PE BHCAMON $\text{EP}\Psi\text{HPE}$ PE NOYCTPATYATHC (for NOYCTPATYATHC) EPECPAN PE BACIATHC '(there) was (NE-YN) a young (ΨHN) lad ($\text{OY}\Psi\text{HPE}$) [RC1 whose name (lit. while *his*_i name (was) (E-PECPAN ... PE)) Bêsamôn (BHCAMON), [RC2 who (was) (lit. while *he*_i (PE) (was)) the son (E- $\text{PE}\Psi\text{HPE}$) of a general (N-OY-CTPATYATHC), [RC3 whose name (was) (lit. while *his*_j name (was) (E-PECPAN ... PE)) Basilîtês (BACIATHC)]]' (KHML I 43:5-6), ZENNOB $\text{MHH}\Psi\text{E}$ $\text{N}\Theta\text{PONOC}$ $\text{EY}\text{2MOOC}$ $\text{E}\text{2PAI}$ $\text{EX}\Psi\text{OY}$ NOI ZENNOB $\text{MHH}\Psi\text{E}$ $\text{M}\Psi\text{NAXOC}$ (for $\text{M}\Psi\text{NAXOC}$) $\text{EY}\text{2A}$ EOOY MMATE 'great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes ($\text{M-MHH}\Psi\text{E}$) of thrones ($\text{N-}\Theta\text{PONOC}$), [RC1 on which ($\text{EX}\Psi\text{OY}$) were seated (E-Y- 2MOOC) great (ZEN-NOB) multitudes ($\text{M-MHH}\Psi\text{E}$) of monks ($\text{M-M}\Psi\text{NAXOC}$) [RC2 that were highly (MMATE) venerable (lit. while *they*_j were under (E-Y- 2A) glory (EOOY)]]' (KHML II 21:16-17).

11.1.4.2 Stacked relative constructions

In relative stacking, two or more relative clauses may be connected to one and the same antecedent, e.g. NECNHY ETOYAAAB $\text{ET}\Psi\text{OON}$ 2M PXAI6 'the holy brothers (NE-CNHY) (lit. [RC1 who (ET _i) are holy (OYAAAB)] [RC2 who (ET _j) live (ΨOON) in (2M) the desert (PXAI6)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

ANTECEDENT	[RC1	[RC2]]
NE-CNHY ; <i>the brothers</i>	[RC1 ET _ OYAAAB <i>who</i> are holy	[RC2 ET _j ΨOON 2M PXAI6]] <i>who</i> live in the desert

FIGURE 11.3 Stacked relative clauses

Semantically, the second relative clause modifies the antecedent plus the first relative clause, e.g. PEIPOME ΔE ETOYAAAB ETEYNTAQ MMAY $\text{MPEIMHH}\Psi\text{E}$ NAPETH 'this man (PEI-POME) [RC1 who (ET _i) is holy (OYAAAB) [RC2 that (*he*_j) possessed (ETE-YNTAQ) such a multitude ($\text{M-PEI-MHH}\Psi\text{E}$) of virtues (N-APETH)]]' (BHom. 2:1-2), PEIKEOYA ET2N TETNMHTE ETMPEIMPHA $\text{NQ}\Psi\text{AXE}$ NMMAI 'this other person (PEI-KE-OYA) [RC1 who (ET _i) (is) in (2N) your midst (TETN-MHTE) [RC2 that I am not worthy (ET-MPE-I-MPHA) (that) *he*_j talks (N-Q-PAXE) to me (NMMA-I)]]' (KHML II 30:18-19). The pivot may have different grammatical roles in stacked relative clauses, e.g. NEK-CBOOYE $\text{ETNANOY}\Psi\text{OY}$ NTAKTCABOI $\text{EP}\Psi\text{OY}$ 'your teachings (NEK-CBOOYE) [RC1 that (*they*_i) are beneficent (ET-NANOY-OY) [RC2 that you have taught me (NT-A-K-TCABO-I) (*them*_i) (EP-OY)]]' (V. Pach. 86:14-15).

11.1.4.3 Internal coordination

Relative clauses may consist of two or more coordinated clauses. The subordinating relative complementiser appears only on the first clause of the chain, while the rest of the clausal chain contains a standard coordinating device, such as the Conjunctive or sequentially used relative-absolute tenses. Such internally-co-ordinated relative constructions have an elaborating or continuative meaning and function: they serve to continue and to develop the narrative, e.g. POME NIM ETNAEP $\text{P}\Psi\text{NH}\Psi\text{E}$ ETMMAY NQPTCTEYE $\text{EP}\Psi\text{OY}$ 'everybody

(*ρῶμε* *νῆν*) [who (*ἐστ* ...) will perform (*να-εἶ*) that (*ἐτιμᾶν*) worship (*π-ψῶμε*) and believe (*ν-φ-πιστεύε*) in him (Jesus Christ) (*εἶρο-φ*)]' (Test. Is. 231:20-21), *πνοῦτε* *νταφῶπιε* *μν* *νγενεα* *νταφῶπιε* *εαγοῦεινε* *εἵβε* *τεῦμντακαίρεος* (for *τεῦμντακαίρεος*) *μν* *τεῦμντπιστος* *εζοῦν* *εἵπνοῦτε* 'God (*π-νοῦτε*) [who has been (*ντ-α-φ-ψῶπιε*) with (*μν*) the generations (*ν-γενεα*) [that existed (*ντ-α-γ-ψῶπιε*) and passed by (*ε-α-γ-οῦεινε*) because of (*εἵβε*) their guilelessness (*τεῦ-μντ-ακαίρεος*) and (*μν*) their faith (*τεῦ-μντ-πιστος*) in God (*ε-π-νοῦτε*)]]' (Test. Is. 228:13-15), *τμνταγαθος* *μπαχοεις* *πεχc* *παι* *ντατετνc-ροῦ* *μμοφ* *εατετνκααφ* *ζν* *οὔταφος* 'the goodness (*τ-μντ-αγαθος*) of my Lord (*μ-πα-χοεις*) Christ (*πε-χc*), [he (*παι*) [whom you crucified (*ντ-α-τετν-ρ-ροῦ*) and put (*ε-α-τετν-καα-φ*) into (*ζν*) a tomb (*οὔ-ταφος*)]' (Eud. 64:12-13).

11.1.5 Semantic distribution

Virtual and non-virtual relative clauses cannot be used interchangeably, but differ systematically in the range of antecedents that they can have. Several factors come into play, motivating the selection of one or the other relativisation pattern, such as the informational status or "referentiality" of the pivot and the identificational or specificational function of the following relative clause.

11.1.5.1 The definiteness opposition

The co-occurrence of two relativisation patterns has traditionally been dealt with in terms of a definiteness opposition: virtual relative constructions are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents and non-virtual ones in the context of definite ones. Thus, compare: *νεγεν οὔρῳμε δε ον ζν τπολιc* *ρακοτε* *ερε* *οὔδαμονιον* *νμμαφ* *νxin* *τεφμντκοῦ* '(there) was (*νε-γεν*) also (*ον*) a (certain) man_i (*οὔ-ρῳμε*) in (*ζν*) the city (*τ-πολιc*) Alexandria (*ρακοτε*) [who was possessed by a demon (*οὔ-δαμονιον*) (lit. while (there) (was) with him_i (*ερε ... νμμα-φ*)) since (*νxin*) his childhood (*τεφ-μντ-κοῦ*)]' (Mena, Mir. 23b:12-18) vs. *πρῳμε δε ντα απα μμνα †* [*να*]*φ* *ννεφ[δα]μοῦλ* 'the man_i (*π-ρῳμε*) [whom_i (*να-φ*) Apa Mena had given (*ντ-α ... †*) his camels (*ν-νεφ-δαμοῦλ*)' (Mena, Mir. 10b:10-14), *οὔμα εφο νφαρβα* 'a place_i (*οὔ-μα*) [*that was* (lit. while it_i was (*ε-φ-ο*))] in (a state of) scorching heat (*ν-φαρβα*)]' (V. Pach. 86:24-25)

vs. *πμα ντα παλῶc* *νοχc* *επμοῦ* 'the place_i (*π-μα*) [(where) Paul (*παλῶc*) threw himself (*ντ-α ... νοχ-φ*) into the water (*ε-π-μοῦ*)]' (Ac. A&P 196:51).

When the relative antecedent is an indefinite noun phrase, it refers to a newly introduced discourse entity about which the addressee has no prior knowledge. The prototypical virtual relative clause expresses a distinguishing property of that entity. Non-virtual relative clauses, on the other hand, provide additional or supplementary information about the referent of a definite noun phrase, whose identity is assumed to be known or can be inferred from the context.

11.1.5.2 Specific and non-specific antecedents

Not only the definite or indefinite determination of the relative antecedent, but also its specific or non-specific interpretation plays a crucial role in the selection of virtual and non-virtual relative clauses.

a) Specific indefinite antecedents

Non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with specific indefinite relative antecedents with unique referents, e.g. *α οὔον ζν νετοῦλαβ* *ρ ζμε* *νζοοῦ* *νατοῦωμ* *νατcω* *ετε* *πρῳμε* *πε* *μπνοῦτε* *μωγcnc* *παρχηπροφητc* 'one_i (*οὔον*) amongst (*ζν*) the holy ones (*ν-ετοῦλαβ*) spent (*α ... ρ*) forty (*ζμε*) days (*ν-ζοοῦ*) without eating (*ν-ατ-οὔωμ*) (and) drinking (*ν-ατ-ω*)', [*to wit* (*ετε ... πε*) the (*π-ρῳμε*) of God (*μ-π-νοῦτε*) Moses (*μωγcnc*), the archprophet (*π-αρχηπροφητc*)]' (KHML II 35:18-21), *ερε* *πρῳμε* *ννρῳμε* *ετῳμε* *ναδω* *επαζοῦ* *μμοῦ* *εἵβε* *οὔcon* *ετναῳμε* 'the man_i (*π-ρῳμε*) (responsible for) the sick (lit. who (*εστ* ...) are sick (*ῳμε*)) people (*ν-π-ρῳμε*) shall stay (*ερε ... να-δω*) behind them (the fellow monks) (*επαζοῦ* *μμο-οὔ*) for (*εἵβε*) a brother_i (*οὔ-con*) [who (*εστ* ...) will fall sick (*να-ῳμε*)]' (praec. Pach.).

b) Generic antecedents

Virtual relative clauses modify definite relative antecedents with generic reference, referring to kinds or types rather than individuals, e.g. *νεε* *νειεcοῦ* *εῳαγβ* (for *εῳαγβ*) *ντοοτοῦ* *μπεγῳc* 'like_i (*νεε*) sheep_i (*νει-εcοῦ*) [from which_i (*ντοοτ-οὔ*) their_i shepherd (*μ-πεγ-ῳc*) is taken away (lit. they take away (*ε-ῳα-γ-β*)]' (V. Pach. 92:30-93:1). Kind-referring "bare" nouns are compatible with virtual

and non-virtual relative clauses, e.g. $\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\phi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\pi\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ 'other trees ($\zeta\eta\kappa\epsilon\phi\eta\eta$) [while (they_i) were loaded ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\pi\tau$) with fruit_i ($\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$) [while (they_i) were plenty ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\psi\omega\upsilon\gamma$)]' (KHML II 21:14-15) vs. $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 'let us bring forth ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) good fruit (lit. fruit_i ($\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma$) [which_i is good ($\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$)]' (KHML II 19:15).

c) Quantified antecedents

Both virtual and non-virtual relative clauses can be combined with quantified relative antecedents and provide information that makes it possible to narrow down the set of potential referents of quantified antecedents. When the pivot is an indefinite pronoun, such as $\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ 'one' or $\kappa\epsilon$ 'other', the selection of either relativisation pattern depends on its definite or indefinite determination, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\epsilon\delta\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\psi\iota\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ 'with the exception ($\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$) of some_i (people) ($\zeta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) [who_i come ($\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$) to visit ($\epsilon\delta\mu$) us ($\pi\epsilon\lambda\psi\iota\kappa\epsilon$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the love ($\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$) of God ($\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$)]' (Hil. 5:21-22) vs. $\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ (...) 'this other person_i ($\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$...) (is) in ($\zeta\eta$) your midst ($\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$) [that I am not worthy ($\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\pi\omega\lambda$) (that) he_i talks ($\eta\kappa\alpha\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to me ($\eta\mu\mu\alpha\iota$)]' (KMHL II 30:18-19), $\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau$ 'others_i (i.e. monsters) ($\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [which_i had ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron$) one single ($\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\tau$) eye ($\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda$)]' (Test. Is. 234:4) vs. $\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\tau\rho\delta\rho\omega\omega\zeta$ 'the others_i ($\eta\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$...) are in (lit. make (p)) need ($\delta\rho\omega\omega\zeta$)]' (Onnophr. 207:17).

The definiteness opposition is not applicable to the distributive universal quantifier $\eta\mu$ 'all, each', which must be construed with "bare" nouns (see above, section 4.3.1 of Unit 4). It looks as if the selection of a non-virtual relative clause imposes a more specific or topical interpretation on the universally quantified antecedent than its non-virtual counterpart. Thus, consider: $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma$) $\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ [η] $\phi\eta\eta\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\zeta\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omicron\varsigma$), every ($\eta\mu$) single ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\upsilon$) tree_i ($\eta\phi\eta\eta$) [that he had planted (them_i) ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)]' (KHML II 18:23-24) vs. $\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\zeta\omicron\tau\tau$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\alpha\eta\eta\iota\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ 'briefly ($\zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\omega\varsigma$) everyone_i ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$...) was imprisoned ($\zeta\omicron\tau\tau$ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta$) for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) the name ($\pi\rho\alpha\eta\eta$) of Jesus ($\eta\iota\kappa$) Christ ($\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$)]' (Eud. 40:24-25); (new discourse topic) $\mu\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$ $\zeta\eta$ $\pi\rho\alpha\eta\eta$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$

'blessed are ($\eta\alpha\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon$) everybody_i ($\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\mu$) [who_i will perform ($\epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\alpha$) in ($\zeta\eta$) the name ($\pi\rho\alpha\eta\eta$) of these patriarchs ($\eta\eta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$)]' (Test. Is. 237:21-22) vs. (second mentioning) $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\eta\eta\tau\eta\alpha$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\rho$ $\mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ 'everyone_i ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu$) [who_i ($\epsilon\tau$...) will perform ($\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$) an act of mercy ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\mu\eta\eta\tau\eta\alpha$) on the day ($\mu\pi\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) of their (the patriarchs') remembrance ($\mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\rho$ $\mu\eta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)]' (Test. Is. 237:24).

d) The set interpretation of definite antecedents

The combination of virtual relative clauses with specific definites is licensed under certain contextual conditions, namely when the resulting construction receives a set interpretation. In this case, it is presupposed that the definite antecedent specifies a class of entities from which one is chosen that meets the description provided by the virtual relative clause, e.g. $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\varsigma\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau\iota\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$ 'my Christ_i ($\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\rho\varsigma$) [in whom_i ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\gamma$) I ($\lambda\alpha\kappa$) believe ($\epsilon\tau\iota\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 145, 32:16), $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ $\lambda\pi\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\zeta\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\mu\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon$ 'the death_i ($\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$) [that ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon$) my Father ($\mu\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Apa Nahrow is going to die ($\mu\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$) (in it_i) ($\eta\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon$)]' (KHML I 7:27), $\eta\mu\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\chi\eta\zeta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ 'the (pavement) stones_i ($\eta\mu\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\zeta$) [on which_i ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) his blood ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) has been smeared out ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon$... $\chi\eta\zeta$)]' (KHML I 6:28).

11.1.5.3 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses fall into two major categories, depending on their restrictive or non-restrictive function. Restrictive relatives provide information necessary to establish the identity of the relative antecedent or to narrow down the set of potential referents. Non-restrictive relatives, on the other hand, are used as parenthetical assertions that convey thematically backgrounded information that is considered less central for the main thrust of the discourse.

a) Restrictive relatives

Virtual relative clauses generally occur in the restrictive mood, e.g. $\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\beta$ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ $\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$ 'a thing_i ($\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\beta$) [that God ($\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) hates ($\epsilon\rho\epsilon$... $\mu\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon$) (it_i) ($\mu\mu\omicron\gamma$)]' (Ac. A&P 202: 126-127), $\eta\theta\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\rho\eta$ 'like ($\eta\theta\epsilon$) a sheep_i ($\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma$)

[*which_i has gone astray (ε-γ-ορμ)*]' (Test. Is. 232:34), οὐ γὰρ πε
 πρῶβ νζενδαιμων εϋ† νμμαν νναζρν ζεναργελοσ ευμωε
 εχων 'for (γὰρ) what (οὐ) (is) (really) the power (lit. the thing
 (π-ζωβ)) of *the demons_i*; (ν-ζεν-δαιμων) [*who_i fight* (lit. give (ε-γ-τ))
 with us (νμμα-ν)] compared to (νναζρν) *the angels_i*; *who_i fight*
 (ε-γ-μωε) for us (εχω-ν)]?' (KHML II 11:14-16). In extended
 existential clauses, virtual relatives are consistently used as identifying
 descriptions (see above, section 10.2.3.3 of Unit 10), e.g. νεϋν
 οὐρῳμε δε ζμ πμартуριον нпζαγιοс апа мηνα επεερпан пе
 μαρκос '(there) was (νε-ϋν) a (certain) *man_i*; (οὐ-ρῳμε) in (ζμ) the
 memorial chapel (π-μαρτυριον) of the holy (μ-π-ζαγιοс) Αρα Μена
 [*whose name* (was) (lit. while *his_i* name (was) (ε-πεε-ρ-пан ... πε))
 Mark (μαρκос)]' (Mena, Mir. 74b:2-9).

The restrictive meaning and function of virtual relative clauses is particularly clear when they modify the predicate noun phrase of an identificational sentence, e.g. $\lambda\upsilon\omega$ $\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omicron$ $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\kappa$ 'and ($\lambda\upsilon\omega$) he (Constantine) ($\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$) (is) the king; ($\pi\rho\omicron$) [who is under you ($\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\alpha\text{-}\rho\alpha\tau\text{-}\kappa$)]' (Eud. 54:12-13), $\mu\iota\mu$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$ $\nu\varsigma\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\zeta\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\beta\eta\kappa$ $\nu\epsilon\mu\tau\omega$ $\nu\zeta\tau\iota\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ 'who ($\mu\iota\mu$) (is) the man; ($\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) [who will watch ($\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega\tau$) his son ($\nu\varsigma\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\zeta\psi\eta\rho\epsilon$) drowning (lit. going ($\epsilon\text{-}\zeta\beta\eta\kappa$) to the depths (of the sea) ($\nu\text{-}\epsilon\mu\tau\omega$)] and (he) would not help ($\nu\text{-}\zeta\tau\iota\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$) him ($\epsilon\rho\omicron$)]' (Ac. A&P 200:89-90). Non-virtual relative clauses may have a restrictive use and specify the reference of a non-specific definite antecedent, e.g. $\lambda\upsilon\omega$ $\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$ $\nu\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\pi\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ $\lambda\pi\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\mu\beta\omega$ $\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\nu\alpha\varsigma$ 'and ($\lambda\upsilon\omega$) the words; ($\nu\epsilon\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) [*that* the holy ($\pi\text{-}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$) Apa Pambô used to say (them); ($\nu\text{-}\psi\alpha\rho\epsilon$... $\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) to her (Hilaria) ($\nu\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$)]' (Hil. 6:17-18), $\nu\tau\omega\psi$ $\nu\tau\alpha$ $\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\lambda\lambda\gamma$ 'the rules; ($\nu\text{-}\tau\omega\psi$) [*that* God ($\pi\text{-}\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) has made (them); ($\nu\tau\text{-}\alpha$... $\lambda\lambda\text{-}\gamma$)]' (Test. Is. 230:28-29).

b) Non-restrictive relatives

Virtual and non-virtual relative constructions can both be used in the non-restrictive mood, providing supplementary information about a contextually or situationally given referent. Thus, consider: $\zeta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\eta$ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\tau$ $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta$ ‘the evening (N- $\mu\omicron\gamma\zeta\epsilon$) and (MN) morning (N- $\gamma\tau\omicron\omicron\gamma\epsilon$) stars: ($\zeta\epsilon\eta$ - $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma$) [*which*_i indicate (lit. give (ϵ - γ - τ) sign ($\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta$)) the hours

(ἐ-ΝΕ-ΥΝΟΟΥΕ) of the night (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΦΗ)]' (Hil. 1:10-12), ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΝ
ΛΗΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟC ΕΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'the streets; (ΖΕΝ-ΖΙΡ) in
(ΖΝ) Hell (ΛΗΝΤΕ) [which; are (Ε-Υ-Ο) (in a) deserted (Ν-ΕΡΗΜΟC)
(state) [without (Ε-ΜΝ) anyone (ΛΑΛΥ) on them; (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]]' (Ac. A&P
204:132) vs. ΕΑΜ[Ν]ΤΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΙΜΕ ΜΝ ΠΟΑΖΟΖ
ΝΝΟΒΖΕ 'to Hell; (Ε-ΛΗΝΤΕ), which; is (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the place (Π-ΜΑ)
of weeping (Μ-Π-ΡΙΜΕ) and (ΜΝ) gnashing (Π-ΟΑΖΟΖ) of teeth
(Ν-Ν-ΟΒΖΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 204:142), ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC
ΝΑ† ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΚ 'the day; (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) of the judgement (Μ-Π-ΖΑΠ)
[(when) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) will judge (lit. will give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-†)
law (ΖΑΠ)) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (Ac. A&P 202:128).

In the context of recursive embedding, restrictive relatives precede non-restrictive ones, e.g. ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΙΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΠΙΟΥΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΗΝΑΥ ΕΡΩΜΕ [*everyone*; (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) [_{RC1} *who*_i (is) in (Ε-Ι-ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) [_{RC2} *who*_i (ΕΤ __) leads an ascetic life (ΠΟΥΤΕΥΕ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΑΥΩ) in order not to see (Ε-ΤΗ-ΝΑΥ) anybody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 214:24-25).

11.1.6 Infinitival relative clauses

The majority of relative clauses are finite verb constructions, but with attributive relatives we also find infinitival clauses introduced by the prepositional complementisers *ν-* 'for' and *ε-* 'to', e.g. ΟΥΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΓΕΝΟC ΤΗΡQ ΝΑΔΑΜ 'a baptism (ΟΥΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ) [*to save* (Ν-ΟΥΧΑΙ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-q) race (Μ-Π-ΓΕΝΟC) of Adam (Ν-ΑΔΑΜ)]' (Eud. 34:13), ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΧΟΟQ ΕΡΟΟΥ 'a word (ΟΥΨΑΧΕ) [*to be spoken* (Ε-ΧΟΟ-q) to them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)]' (Eud. 60:10-11), ΕΥCΚΕΥΟC ΕΟΥΟΜQ 'for a vessel (Ε-Υ-CΚΕΥΟC) [*to eat from* (Ε-ΟΥΟΜ-q)]' (Onnophr. 211:8).

11.2 Free relative clauses

All major types of attributive relative constructions have free relative counterparts, which have no overt relative antecedent. Free relatives are internally clausal in structure; externally they have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases, e.g. $\pi\rho\rho\omicron \Delta\epsilon \ \text{NTEPEQNA}\gamma$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{NTA} \ \pi\text{NOYTE} \ \alpha\alpha\text{q} \ \text{NMMA}\text{q}$ (...) 'when the King ($\pi\rho\rho\omicron$) saw ($\text{NTEPE-q-NA}\gamma$) [*what* God ($\pi\text{-NOYTE}$) had done ($\epsilon\text{-PE-NT-A} \dots \alpha\alpha\text{-q}$)

for him (NMHA-q)]' (Eud. 44:1). Free relatives are therefore not equivalent to the attributive relative clause alone, but rather correspond to the entire noun phrase containing it. In other words, free relative clauses have a phonologically empty relative antecedent (indicated as Ø_{NOUN}). The internal structure of Coptic free relatives is presented in figure 11.4.

DETERMINER	ANTECEDENT	RELATIVE CLAUSE
πε- that	Ø _{NOUNi}	[RC NT-Α Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ ΛΑ-qi (...)] what God had done (iti)

FIGURE 11.4 The covert pronominal head of free relatives

Section 11.2.1 discusses the nominal and clausal properties of free relative constructions. Section 11.2.1 presents an overview of the main semantic types of Coptic free relatives.

11.2.1 Main syntactic characteristics of free relatives

This section considers four types of evidence for the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses, namely (i) their morphological marking as definite noun phrases, (ii) the anaphoric dependencies between free relatives and co-referential pronouns, (iii) their external distribution, and (iv) the distribution of gaps and resumptive pronouns.

a) Determination

Free relative clauses are syntactically encoded as definite noun phrases. The person, number and gender specification of the covert pronominal head are recovered by either the definite article Π-, Τ-, Ν- or the corresponding demonstrative pronouns ΠΑΙ, ΤΑΙ, ΝΑΙ. The presence of both determiners makes it possible for free relatives to express the same range of meanings as definite noun phrases.

Examples: (sing. masc.) ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΥ 'he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) them (the instructions) (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΕΧΡΕΙCΤΙΑΝΟC (for ΝΕΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC) † ΕΟΥ ΝΑQ 'this one (ΠΑΙ), however (ΖΩΩ-q), [whom the Christians give (ΕΤΕΡΕ ... †) praise (ΕΟΥ) to (ΝΑ-q)]' (Eud. 36:14-15), ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ 'this one (ΠΑΙ) [in whom (ΝΖΗΤ-q) the spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ

of the devil (Μ-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) has branched out (lit. has taken (NT-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), (sing. fem.) ΤΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΠΑCΙΑΤ 'the land of the Mariôtês, the one they call (Τ-ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) »Pajat« (Τ-ΠΑCΙΑΤ)' (Mena, Martyrd. 2a:13-14), ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟCΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΤΕΛΟC ΜΠΑCΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'she (ΤΑΙ) [who is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟCΙC) her (ΕΡΟ-C)) by (ΖΙΤΟΥΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΤΕΛΟC) of my Father (Μ-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) [who is (ΕΤ _) in (ΖΝ) heaven (Μ-ΠΗΥΕ)]]' (Eud. 50:21-22), (plural) ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΝΕΤΤΗΩ ΜΗΑΤΕ 'except (ΕΙΜΗΤΙ) only (ΜΗΑΤΕ) those who have been ordered (Ε-Ν-ΕΤ-ΤΗΩ)' (praec. Pach. 117), ΝΕΤCΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) those who gathered (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΥΖ) with him (ΕΡΟ-q)' (Test. Is. 228:5), ΝΑΙ ΝΨΑΥCΙΝΕ ΜΗΟΥ ΦΑΡΟQ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΙ (for qi) ΛΩΓΟC (for ΛΟΓΟC) 'those (ΝΑΙ) [who are brought (lit. they have brought (Ν-ΦΑ-Υ-ΕΙΝΕ) them (ΜΗΟ-ΟΥ)) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-q) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) of justification (lit. taking (Ν-ΒΙ) account (ΛΩΓΟC))]' (KHML II 21:24-26).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

The covert head of free relatives functions as the antecedent for a following pronoun in much the same way as common nouns and pronouns, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙC ΤΑΖΟΥ Η ΕΥΦΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΦΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕCΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will [those who live (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)] find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), when they get into trouble (lit. if an obstacle (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙC) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)), or (Η) when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΖΚΟ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); if they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΦΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ), where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

c) Syntactic distribution

Coptic free relative clauses (FRCs) appear in all nominal positions of the clause, including the extracausal positions of vocative and appositional phrases.

Examples: (subject FRC) α $\text{NETMOO}\Phi\text{E N}\eta\text{MAQ COPOY NCAOYCA}$ '[*those who went* (N-ET-MOOΦE) *with him* (NMA-Q)] withdrew themselves (α ... COK-OY) on each side (NCA-OY-CA)' (Test. Is. 234:6-7), $\chi\text{IN PEZOY}\Phi$ $\epsilon\text{T}\eta\text{MA}\gamma$ α $\text{NET}\eta\text{PACA NZOYN THPOY OYXAI}$ 'since (χIN) that ($\epsilon\text{T}\eta\text{MA}\gamma$) day (PE-ZOYΦ) [all (THP-OY) *which is inside me* (lit. which is in my inner (N-ZOYN) side (N-ET-N-PA-CA))] has become healthy (α ... OYXAI)' (Onnophr. 209:8-9), (direct object FRC) $\text{NTE POYA POYA TAYE PETQCOOYN HMOQ EBOA ZH NEΓPAΦH}$ 'and each one (Π-OYA Π-OYA) told (NTE ... TAYE) [*what he knew* (Π-ET-Q-COOYN HMOQ) *from* (ZH) *the Scriptures* (NE-ΓPAΦH)]' (V. Pach. 137:5-6), $\lambda\text{IOYOM HNTAQCCEΠE HΠOEIC}$ 'I ate (λ -I-OYOM) [*what was left* (H-ΠE-NT-A-Q-CCEΠE) *of the bread* (H-Π-OEIC)]' (Onnophr. 218:5), (indirect object FRC) $\Phi\text{APE ΠNOYTE † OYZMOT NNETNAICTEY}\epsilon$ 'God (ΠNOYTE) shows (lit. give (ΦAPE ... †)) favour (OY-ZMOT) [*to those who will believe* (N-ET-NA-ICTEYε)]' (Test. Is. 228:11), $\text{HNNCWC AIMEEY}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\text{BOA ZH PAZHTE EPENTAIAC}$ 'after that (HNNCWC) I reflected (λ -I-MEEYε) by myself (lit. in (ZH) my heart (PAZHTE)) [*about what I had done* (E-ΠE-NT-A-I-AA-Q)]' (Onnophr. 207:30), (possessor FRC) $\text{PAPIOMOC NNETOYMOYTE EPPOY XE LOYAOYPIAKΩ}$ 'the regiment (PAPIOMOC) [*of those whom* (EP-OY) *they call* (N-N-ET-OY-MOYTE) »Luduriakon« (LOYAOYPIAKΩ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1b:20-22), $\chi\text{EKAC EYNAOΦ NZHTEY EYZH}\eta$ MH OYTAPOΦOPIA (for OYTAPOΦOPIA) $\text{NNETNAOΦ NZHTEY MH PETNACOTH EPPOQ ZH OY† ZHTQ}$ 'in order that (χEKAC) they shall read (E-Y-NA-OΦ) from it (the book) (NZHTE-Q) for the benefit (E-Y-ZH) and (MH) satisfaction (OY-PAPOΦOPIA) [*of those who will read* (N-N-ET-NA-OΦ) *from it* (NZHTE-Q)] and (MH) [*of him who will listen* (Π-ET-NA-COTH) *to it* (EP-O-Q) *with* (ZH) *attention* (lit. giving (OY-†) one's attention (ZHT-Q))] (Onnophr. 224:3-5), (adverbial FRC) $\epsilon\text{IBHK ΦA ΠENTAQTINOY}\tau$ 'I am on my way (E-I-BHK) [*to* (ΦA) *the one who has sent me* (ΠE-NT-A-Q-TINOY-T)]' (Test. Is. 230:11), (vocative) $\text{CMOY EPNOYTE NETP ZOTE ZHTQ HΠEQPAH}$ 'praise (CMOY) God (E-Π-NOYTE), [*you who fear* (N-ET-P ZOTE ZHTQ) *his name* (H-ΠEQ-PAN)]' (KHML II 34:22-23), (apposition) $\text{ΠAXOEIC IC ΠEXC ΠENTAIAPOTACCE MHNI HΠAEIOT ETBHHTQ}$ 'My Lord (ΠA-XOEIC) Jesus (IC) Christ (ΠE-XC), [*he because of whom* (ETBHHT-Q) *I renounced* (ΠE-NT-A-I-APOTACCE) *my father's* (H-ΠA-EIOT) *house* (H-Π-H)]' (KHML II 34:25-27), (left-dislocated topic) PETNAANΔIAIΓE (for PETNAANΔIAIΓE) $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\text{IMOP}\epsilon\text{I}$ (for EYETIMOPεI) HMOQ '[*he who will protest* (Π-ET-NA-ANΔIAIΓE)] shall be punished (lit. they will punish (E-Y-E-ΔIMOPεI) him (HMO-Q)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32),

$\text{ΠETNAOYEOPI OYHKA MEAXE (...)} \epsilon\gamma\eta\lambda\chi\text{I EPITIMIA ZH PETCOOY NCOH}$ '[*he who will break* (Π-ET-NA-OYEOPI) *a piece* (OY-HKA) *of pottery* (H-BAXE) (...)] shall be (E-Q-NA-XI) reprimanded (EPITIMIA) at (ZH) the (lit. his) sixth (PET-COOY) occurrence (N-COH)' (praec. Pach. 125).

d) The internal role of the covert antecedent

The clause-internal role of the covert pronominal head of free relative clauses is recovered by gaps and resumptive pronouns, the syntactic distribution of which is regulated by the same family of syntactic constraints that also apply to attributive relative clauses.

Examples: (subject FRC, gapping) $\text{ΠET† CBW ΓAP ZH TTAIPO}$ 'for (ΓAP) *he/who* (Π-ET ...) teaches (lit. give (†) teaching (CBW)) with (ZH) the mouth (T-TAIPPO)' (AP, Chaîne no. 66, 15:5), (direct object FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) $\epsilon\text{KEOYOM ΔE HNTA ΠNOYTE TMNOOYCOY NAK}$ 'you should eat (E-K-E-OYOM) [*what* God (Π-NOYTE) *has sent* (IT) (N-N-ENT-A ... TMNOOY-COY) to you (NA-K)]' (AP Chaîne no. 20, 4:16), $\text{ΠETKNAITEI HMOQ NTH ΠNOYTE 'what; you will ask$ (Π-ET-K-NA-AITEI) (IT) (HMO-Q) from (NTH) God (Π-NOYTE)' (Onnophr. 216:25), $\text{NENTAKNA}\gamma$ $\epsilon\text{POOY 'what; you have seen$ (NE-NT-A-K-NAY) (IT) (EP-OY)' (Onnophr. 219:2), (adverbial FRC, resumptive pronominalisation) $\text{ΠETEMH AAY ZHT EPQ 'he; (π-ETE) before whom; (EP-O-Q) nothing (AAY) is hidden$ (MH ... ZHT)' (V. Pach. 6:29-7:1), $\epsilon\text{T}\eta\text{NTTE}\lambda\text{IOC ZH NENTAPAPXEI NZHTEY}$ 'towards perfection (E-T-HNT-TEΛIOC) in (ZH) [*what; he had started* (NE-NT-A-Q-APXEI) (in IT) (NZHTE-OY)]' (Zen. 201:28), (subject FRC with intervening TAM marker, resumptive pronominalisation) $\text{NOYMEPIANOC ΠAI NTAP PPO ZATEYZH}$ 'Numerian (NOYMEPIANOC) *he; (πAI) [who; had been* (NT-A-Q-P) *king* (PPO) before them (ZA-TEY-ZH)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24), $\text{NETEMEYCEI NTWPPI AYΩ NQI NNETENOYOY AN NE 'those; who; do not get enough$ (N-ETE-ME-Y-CEI) of robbing (N-TWPPI) and stealing (N-QI) [*what does not belong to them* (lit. what is not (AN) theirs (N-N-ETE-NOY-OY))] (Sh. IV 99:23-24).

11.2.2 Semantic types of free relatives

Free relative clauses may receive different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to the referential properties of noun phrases (non-specific and generic free relatives), while others are more clause-like in character, describing particular or hypothetical state of affairs (appositive and hypothetical free relatives).

a) Non-specific free relatives

Free relative clauses have a default reading as non-specific indefinites, referring to any arbitrary member of some discourse domain that meets the description provided by the embedded relative clause, e.g. *ΝΑΙΑΤQ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΟΥΩQ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ* 'blessed is [*he who will do* (Μ-Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) *the will* (Μ-Π-ΟΥΩQ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *on* (ΖΙΧΜ) *earth* (Π-ΚΑΖ)]' (Onnophr. 212:8-9), *ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΜΟΥ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΝΑΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΜΝΝCΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΙΦΑΧΕ* 'may the blessings (ΝΕ-CΜΟΥ) of the patriarch (Μ-Π-ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC) be (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) [*those who come* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΕΙ) *after us* (ΜΝΝCΩ-Ν)] and (ΜΝ) [*those who listen* (Ν-ΕΤ-CΩΤΗ) *to these words* (Ε-ΝΕΙ-ΦΑΧΕ)]' (Test. Is. 228:6-7), *ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΚΖΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ* 'I looked (Α-Ι-ΝΑΥ) at your face (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΖΟ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-ΖΕ) [*someone who had seen* (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΝΑΥ) *the face* (Ε-Π-ΖΟ) *of God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Test. Is. 229:8-9), *ΠΕ[Τ]ΕΡΕ ΠΑΧΟΙ [ΝΑ] ΧΠΟQ ΚΑΤΑ ΡΟΜΠΕ ΦΑΙΛΑQ ΝΦΟΜΤΕ ΝΤΟ* '[*what my boat* (ΠΑ-ΧΟΙ) *will bring in* (Π-ΕΤ-ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΧΠΟ-Q) *each* (ΚΑΤΑ) *year* (ΡΟΜΠΕ)], I will split (lit. make) (ΦΑ-Ι-ΑΛ-Q) into three (Ν-ΦΟΜΤΕ) parts (Ν-ΤΟ)' (KHML II 17:4-5).

b) Generic free relatives

Free relative clauses may be interpreted as generic definites, describing a characteristic property or behaviour that defines class membership, e.g. *ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΩΙ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ* '[*the ones who served* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) *well* (ΚΑΛΩC)] (are) [*those who stand* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) *within* (ΖΜ) *the confines* (Π-ΩΙ) *of the Scriptures* (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)]' (praec. et institut. Pach. 33:30-31), *ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΠΩΝΕ ΕΠΚΕΛΙΩΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΡΑΦΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΥCΟΛCΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΙ* 'in (ΖΜ) their joy (ΠΕΥ-ΡΑΦΕ) and (ΜΝ) compassion (ΠΕΥ-CΟΛCΑ) towards me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), they (the four lads) were (Ε-Υ-Ο) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who had passed* (Ν-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΠΩΝΕ) *to the other world* (Ε-Π-ΚΕ-ΛΙΩΝ)]' (Onnophr. 220:2-3), *ΝΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΙΝΗΦΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΖΑ ΠΗΠ* 'suddenly (ΝΤΕΝΟΥ), I woke up (Α-Ι-ΝΗΦΕ) like (ΝΘΕ) [*those who are under* (the influence of) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΑ) *wine* (Π-ΗΠ)]' (Onnophr. 221:31-32).

c) Specific free relatives

When used as epithets, free relative clauses indicate a fixed property of the referent without mentioning its name, e.g. *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΗΥΤΗ. ΜΠΕΙΟΥΩQ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΦΕΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΖΩ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΜΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΝΟΥΩQ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΩ ΝΟΥΦΑΧΕ (...)* '(as for) [*him who has effected* (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) *in you* (ΝΖΗΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ) *this good* (Ν-ΑΓΑΘΟΝ) *desire* (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΟΥΩQ)], he may also (ΖΩ) produce (Ε-Q-Ε-ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ) in us (ΝΖΗΤ-Ν) the fulfillment (Μ-Π-ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) of your wish (Μ-ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΩQ) to let us say (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΧΩ) a few words (Ν-ΟΥ-ΦΑΧΕ) (...)' (Zen. 199:25-27), *ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΑΙΒΟΛΟC ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ* 'look (ΑΝΑΥ) at [*him* (Ε-ΠΑΙ) *in whom* (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) *the spirit* (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) *of the devil* (Μ-Π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC) *has branched out* (lit. has taken (ΝΤ-Α ... ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ) roots (ΝΟΥΝΕ))]' (KHML II 33:25-26), *ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΕΤΡΑ ΝΧΩΡΗC (...)* *ΕΚΕΝΕΖCΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΧΑΙΕ* 'oh (you) [*who brought* (Π-ΕΝΤ-Α-Q-ΕΙΝΕ) *water* (Μ-Π-ΜΟΥ) *out* (ΕΒΟΛ) *of* (ΖΝ) *the rock* (Τ-ΠΕΤΡΑ) *of Khôreb* (Ν-ΧΩΡΕC)], will you (please) raise (Ε-Κ-Ε-ΝΕΖCΕ) water (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ) in (ΖΝ) this desert (ΠΕΙ-ΧΑΙΕ)' (Mena, Mir. 33b:30-34a:1).

Free relative clauses may refer to backgrounded discourse participants that are contextually or situationally given, but not properly individuated, e.g. *ΑΥΩ ΕQΤΑΥΟ ΝΝΕQΦΑΧΕ ΝCΩ ΕΙΑΚΩC ΠΕQΦΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤCΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) he (Isaac) told (Ε-Q-ΤΑΥΟ) his words (Ν-ΝΕ-Q-ΦΑΧΕ) of instruction (Ν-CΩ) to Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩC), his son (ΠΕQ-ΦΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those who gathered* (Ν-ΕΤ-CΟΥΖ) *with him* (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (Test. Is. 228:4-5), *ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC* 'all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [*those* (ΝΑΙ) *you are looking* (ΕΤΕ-Κ-ΝΑΥ) *at* (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)], they (ΝΑΙ) (are) the fathers (ΝΕ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) of the world (Μ-Π-ΚΟCΜΟC)' (KHML II 21:21-22).

d) Appositive free relatives

In Coptic, relative antecedents with unique referents cannot be modified by a non-restrictive attributive relative clause. To provide information about such unique referents, a free relative clause must be selected, which may be determined by either the definite article or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *ΙΟΥΔΑC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΠΕΤΜΟΩΦΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC* 'the Apostle (Π-ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC) *Judas*, [*who*; (Π-ΕΤ __) *went*

(Π-ΕΤ-ΜΟΟΦΕ) with (ΜΝ) our Lord (ΠΕΝ-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 200:74), ΠΑΣΩΤ (read ΠΑΣΩΤΗ) ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΡ ΠΟΥΩΦ ΗΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΗΠΗ[Υ]Ε 'my chosen one (ΠΑ-CΩΤΗ) Ptolemy; (ΠΤΕΛΕΜΗ), [who; has done (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ-Ρ) the will (Π-ΟΥΩΦ) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ _ 2Ν) heaven (Ν-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (KHML II 30:28-29), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΗΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΗΝ ΝΩΖΕ 'God; (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who; has been (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Φ ΩΠΕ) with (ΜΝ) our father (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Adam, with (ΜΝ) Abel (ΜΝ) Noah (ΝΩΖΕ)]' (Test. Is. 233:1), ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝ2 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΩΕΠ ΖΙCΕ 2Ν ΝΕΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ 'the living (ΕΤ _ ΟΝ2) God; (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) has taught me (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΤΑΜΟ-Ι) to bear (Ε-ΩΕΠ) grievances (ΖΙCΕ) through (2Ν) the grievances (ΝΕ-ΖΙCΕ) [that he bore (ΝΤ-Α-Φ-ΩΠ-ΟΥ) for us (ΖΑΡΟ-Ν) all (ΤΗΡ-Ν)]]' (KHML II 30:1-2), ΕΥΕΩΠΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΗΟC ΧΕ (...) 'they will become (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΩΠΕ) the children (Ν-ΩΗΡΕ) of David; (Ν-ΔΑΥΕΙΔ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) says (ΕΤ _ ΧΩ) that (ΧΕ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 35:11-13), ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΗΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤΖΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ 'oh holy (ΕΤ _ ΟΥΛΑΒ) virgin; (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC), [who; (ΤΑΙ) is watched (lit. they watch (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΡΟΕΙC) her; (ΕΡΟ-C)) by (ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-ΟΥ) the angels (Ν-Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) of my Father (Η-ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) in (ΕΤ _ 2Ν) heaven (Ν-Η-ΠΗΥΕ)]' (Eud. 50:20-22).

A free relative instead of a virtual relative clause may modify the indefinite nominal predicate of classificational sentences, e.g. ΑΝΓ ΟΥΖΟΟΡ (read ΟΥΟΥΖΟΟΡ) ΠΑΙ ΕΥΩΑΝΝΟΧΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΦΒΩΚ ΕΥΩΑΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΨΑΦΕΙ 'I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a dog; (ΟΥ-ΟΥΖΟΟΡ), [who; (ΠΑΙ) goes away (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they throw him; (Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΝΟΧ-Φ) out (ΕΒΟΛ)] (and) (he; comes (ΨΑ-Φ-ΒΩΚ) [if they call ((Ε-Υ-ΩΑΝ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) him; (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 139, 31:8-9).

e) Hypothetical free relatives

Hypothetical free relatives are semantically interpreted as the protasis (IF-)clause of a conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause functioning as the apodosis. Syntactically, such hypothetical free relatives are encoded as left-dislocated topics. They are particularly common in prescriptive and didactic contexts, often with a promissive connotation, e.g. ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΛΗΕΛΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ 'as for all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (rules), [he who will neglect (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΛΗΕΛΕΙ) them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ)] will be reprimanded

(lit. he; will receive (Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) reprimand (ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ)) on account of them (ΖΑΡΟ-ΟΥ)' (praec. Pach.103), ΠΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΝ ΝΕΦΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΗΝΤΡΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'as for [him; who (Π-ΕΤ _) will come (ΝΑ-ΩΠΕ) [to believe (Ε-Φ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) the words (Ε-Ν-ΨΑΧΕ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) and (ΜΝ) his saints (ΝΕΦ-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ)]]], he; will become (Φ-ΝΑ-ΩΠΕ) heir (Η-ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC) to the kingdom (Ν-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΡΡΟ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Test. Is. 228:11-13), ΝΕΤΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΗΟC 2Μ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ 2Ν ΟΥΠΙCΤΙC ΕΦΠΙCΤΕΥΕ (read ΕΥΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑΒΟΜ ΗΝ ΤΒΟΜ ΗΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΗΝ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΗΜΑΥ 'as for [them; who (Ν-ΕΤ _) will study (ΝΑ-ΜΕΛΕΤΑ) it (the testament) (ΜΗΟ-C) with (2Μ) their whole (ΤΗΡ-Φ) heart (ΠΕΥ-ΖΗΤ), in (2Ν) faith (ΟΥ-ΠΙCΤΙC), [believing (Ε-Υ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) [what I have said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΧΟΟ-Υ)]]], my power (ΤΑ-ΒΟΜ), the power (Τ-ΒΟΜ) of my beloved (Η-ΠΑ-ΜΕΡΙΤ) Son (Ν-ΩΗΡΕ), and (ΜΝ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) will remain (ΝΑ-ΩΠΕ) with them; (ΝΗΜΑ-Υ)' (Test. Is. 236:13-15).

f) Double-determined free relatives

A few idiomatic free relatives behave syntactically like "bare" nominal stems, regardless of the presence of the definite article, e.g. ΝΕΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ '(there) was nothing (ΝΕ-ΜΝ) [good (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ)] in them' (Sh. III 214:17). When such free relatives are determined, the definite or indefinite article precedes the invariant inner determiner Π-, e.g. ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΕΝΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ 'their care (ΠΕΥ-ΡΟΟΥΨ) (is) not (ΑΝ) [idle things (ΖΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΕΙΤ)]' (Sh. III 213:10-11), ΠΕΝΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ Κ[Α]ΤΑ CΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΠΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟC '[our holy (ΠΕΝ-Π-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ)] father (Ν-ΕΙΩΤ) [who (ΕΤ _) is honoured ΤΑΕΙΝΥ) in (ΚΑΤΑ) every (ΝΙΜ) manner (CΜΟΤ)], Apa Zenobius' (Zen. 199:1-2).

11.3 Nominal cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are very common in the syntactic patterns of Sahidic Coptic and occur in the declarative as well as the interrogative mood, e.g. $\pi\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\omega\eta\ \pi\epsilon\tau\chi\eta\sigma\gamma\ \mu\mu\sigma\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\ \eta\eta\mu\ \rho\eta\tau\kappa$ '(it is) *the governor* ($\pi\eta\eta\epsilon\mu\omega\eta$) [*who* ($\epsilon\tau$ $___$) is asking ($\chi\eta\sigma\gamma$) you ($\mu\mu\sigma\kappa$) [*what* ($\eta\eta\mu$) your name ($\rho\eta\tau\kappa$) (is)]]' (KMHL II 31:14-15), $\eta\eta\mu\ [\tau]\epsilon\eta\sigma\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega\mu\ \mu\mu\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$ '*who* ($\eta\eta\mu$) (is it) now ($\tau\epsilon\eta\sigma\gamma$) [*that* ($\epsilon\tau$ $___$) is misleading ($\sigma\omega\mu$) the crowd ($\mu\mu\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$)]]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231). Cleft sentences are complex sentences structures that express a single proposition by means of a biclausal syntax. In Coptic, cleft constructions represent a special type of tripartite nominal sentences in which a noun phrase (or its equivalent) is equated with a restrictive relative clause (section 11.3.1). Such nominal clefts encode different semantic types of focus, ranging from presentational (new information) focus to explicit contrast (section 11.3.2).

11.3.1 The equative format of cleft sentences

Coptic cleft constructions have a form that is identical to that of tripartite nominal sentences. Both cleft constructions and tripartite nominal sentences include an extra pronominal element besides the subject and the predicate, which forces a sentential interpretation of the structure (see above, section 5.2.1 of Unit 5 for the syntax of the agreement clitic). Thus compare: (declarative) $\eta\tau\sigma\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau\ \mu\mu\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon\ \pi\mu\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ '*he* ($\eta\tau\sigma\gamma$) (Pachôm) (was) their father ($\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau$) after ($\mu\mu\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$) God ($\pi\mu\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$)' (V. Pach. 4:11) vs. $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\sigma\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\eta\ \mu\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'and (it) was ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) *him* ($\eta\tau\sigma\gamma$) alone ($\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$) [*who* was living as a hermit ($\epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\omega\pi\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) that ($\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$) place ($\mu\mu\alpha$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), (interrogative) $\eta\eta\mu\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon\ \lambda\gamma\omega\ \eta\eta\mu\ \eta\epsilon\ \eta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\gamma$ '*who* ($\eta\eta\mu$) (are) the goats ($\eta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) *who* ($\eta\eta\mu$) (are) the sheep ($\eta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\sigma\gamma$)?' (AP Chaîne no. 140, 31:14) vs. $\eta\eta\mu\ \pi\epsilon\ \eta\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon\ \mu\mu\sigma\gamma\ \mu\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha$ '*who* ($\eta\eta\mu$) (is it) [*that* planted ($\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon$) them (the trees) ($\mu\mu\sigma\gamma$) in this place ($\mu\mu\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha$)]]?' (Onnophr. 219:20-21). A schematic representation of the equative format of nominal clefts and tripartite nominal sentences is given in figure 11.5 (AGR-CL stands for agreement clitic')

	SUBJECT	AGR-CL	PREDICATE NOUN
TRIPARTITE NOMINAL SENTENCE	$\eta\tau\sigma\gamma$ he	$\pi\epsilon$ SING. MASC.	$\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\tau$ their father
	CLEFTED NP	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE
CLEFT SENTENCE	$\eta\tau\sigma\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ he alone	$\pi\epsilon$ SING. MASC.	[RC $\epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\omega\pi\epsilon$] who lived as a hermit

FIGURE 11.5 The equative format of cleft sentences

Nominal clefts involve minimally two clauses: the matrix clause is a tripartite nominal sentence that includes a restrictive relative clause. Taken together, the matrix clauses and the embedded relative clause express a single proposition. The following sections review the main syntactic characteristics of nominal clefts, namely (i) the distribution of tense and negation, (ii) the morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic, (iii) the anaphoric relation between the clefted noun phrase and the embedded relative clause, and (iv) the interaction between clefting and topicalisation.

11.3.1.1 The distribution of tense and negation

The distribution of tense and negation provides further evidence for the equative format of Coptic cleft constructions. The clefted noun phrase can only appear with the preterit auxiliary $\eta\epsilon$ -, suggesting that cleft sentences are subject to the same tense restrictions as the corresponding tripartite nominal sentences, e.g. $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\ \eta\tau\sigma\gamma\ \mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\ \epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \gamma\eta\ \mu\mu\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$ 'and (it) was ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) *him* ($\eta\tau\sigma\gamma$) alone ($\mu\alpha\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$) [*who* was living as a hermit ($\epsilon\phi\alpha\eta\alpha\chi\omega\pi\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) that ($\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\gamma$) place ($\mu\mu\alpha$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), $\gamma\alpha\eta\eta\ \eta\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\gamma\sigma\eta\tau\ \tau\pi\epsilon\ \mu\mu\ \mu\mu\kappa\alpha\gamma\ \eta\epsilon\ \sigma\gamma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\eta\tau$ 'before ($\gamma\alpha\eta\eta$) heaven ($\tau\pi\epsilon$) and ($\mu\mu$) earth ($\mu\mu\kappa\alpha\gamma$) were created (lit. *they* had not yet created ($\mu\mu\alpha\tau\sigma\gamma\sigma\eta\tau$)), *what* ($\sigma\gamma$) was ($\eta\epsilon$) (there) [*that* ($\epsilon\tau$ $___$) existed ($\omega\sigma\sigma\eta$)]]?' (Contra Orig. 60:40-41).

In nominal clefts, negation may take wide or narrow scope (see above, section 9.2 of Unit 9). When negation occurs within the embedded relative clause, it takes wide scope over the backgrounded proposition, e.g. $\eta\eta\mu\ \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\mu\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\ \epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta\sigma\mu\ \mu\mu\mu\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$ '*who* ($\eta\eta\mu$) (is it) [*that* will not ($\alpha\eta$) believe ($\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\eta\mu\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) in the mighty deeds ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\delta\sigma\mu$) of God ($\mu\mu\mu\sigma\gamma\tau\epsilon$)]]?' (KMHL II

11.3.1.2 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

a) Proclisis and phonological reduction

The proclitic behaviour of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts is particularly clear in the context of vowel elision. This happens when it is attached to relative complementisers with a word-initial *e*:

пе-	→ п-	/	COMP _{REL}	ет-, ете-, етере-, е-
е	→ Ø	/	е	

FIGURE 11.6 The phonological reduction of the agreement clitic in nominal clefts

b) Agreement behaviour

The agreement clitic can be omitted in cleft constructions with independent pronouns, which are inherent focus expressions, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2Α ΤΑΦΥΧΗ '(it is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ΕΤΝΑ†) will account (lit. give (ΝΑ-†) account (ΛΟΓΟΣ)) to God (ΜΠ-ΠΝΟΥΤΕ) for (2Α) my soul (ΤΑ-ΦΥΧΗ)]' (Hil. 5:28).

The morpho-syntactic behaviour of the agreement clitic is summarised in table 11.2 below, where [\pm AGR] indicates presence or

absence of feature sharing between the clitic and the cleft constituent.

CLEFT CONSTITUENT	AGR-CL	RELATIVE CLAUSE	CONTEXT
NP	ΠΕ, ΤΕ, ΝΕ [+AGR]	[RC NT- ...]	Proclisis of AGR-CL
NP, PRONOUN	Π-, Τ-, Ν- [+AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Π- [-AGR]	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Proclisis and vowel elision of AGR-CL
PRONOUN	Ø	[RC ΕΤ- ...]	Deletion of AGR-CL

TABLE 11.3 The morpho-syntax of the agreement clitic

11.3.1.3 The cleft constituent as a pivot

The relation between the cleft constituent and the embedded relative clause is one of identification: the relative clause contains an open position or "variable" (either realized as a gap or as a resumptive pronoun) for which the clefted noun or pronoun provides an appropriate value. The clefted noun phrase therefore fulfils two grammatical functions simultaneously. It is the subject of a tripartite nominal sentence, but at the same time it is the antecedent noun of the embedded relative clause. As a relative antecedent, it may have an internal subject, object, or adverbial role.

Examples: (subject clefts) Η ΝΙΗ ΗΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΩΚ ΦΑΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΦΦΥΧΗ (...) 'or (H) *which* (NIM) *monk* (H-MONAXOC) (was it) [*who*_i came (NT-Α-Φ-ΕΩΚ) to him (ΦΑΡΟ-Φ) for (ΕΤΒΕ) the salvation (Π-ΟΥΧΑΙ) of *his*_i soul (N-ΤΕΦ-ΦΥΧΗ) (...)]?' (KHML II 11: 9-11), ΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΗΜΟ ΤΑΦΕΕΡΕ '*what*_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* (*it*_i) *happened* (NT-Α-Φ-ΩΠΕ) to you (ΗΜΟ)], my daughter (ΤΑ-ΦΕΕΡΕ)'? (Hil.10:6-7), (direct object clefts) ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΗΜΟΦ ΝΤΕΚΖΗΖΑΛ ΕΤΡΕΣΑΛΣ '*what*_i (ΟΥ) (is it) [*that* you order (ΕΤ-Κ-ΟΥΕΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ) your maid servant (N-ΤΕΚ-ΖΗΖΑΛ) [to do (*it*_i) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Σ-ΑΛ-Σ)]]'? (Eud. 52:4), (indirect object clefts) ΝΙΗ ΠΕΤΚΩΛΣΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΝΤΟΚ '*who*_i (NIM) (is it)[*that* you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΩΛΣΕ) to (*him*_i)(NIM-Α-Φ)]?' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), (adverb clefts) ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ '(it is), again (ΟΝ), *the earth*_i (Π-ΚΑΖ) [*that* they (i.e. the birds and fish) return (NT-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to (*it*_i) (ΕΡΟ-Φ)]' (Zen. 202:15-16).

Coptic cleft constructions are subject to strict categorial constraints in that focus clefting is only applicable to the nominal arguments of the clause. Clauses, verb phrases and other predicates cannot be clefted, because they denote relations rather than individuals, which serve as the primary domain of identification. When a predicate or an entire clause is in focus, Second Tenses are employed as an in-situ focus strategy (see above, section 7.2.2.2 of Unit 7).

11.3.1.4 Basic properties of the restrictive relative clause

The backgrounded proposition of nominal cleft sentences is generally placed in a non-virtual relative clause construction, although virtual relative clauses are available as a marked alternative, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟ[Σ] ΠΕΤΣΖΑΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΖΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤ[Ε]ΡΟ ΤΗΡΣ (...) '(it is) *it*_i (ΑΝΟΚ), Constantine (ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ), King (Π-ΡΡΟ) of the Romans (N-ΝΕ-ΖΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ) [*who*_i (ΕΤ —) *divulges* (ΣΖΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ) (a decree) in (ΖΝ) *his*_i entire (ΤΗΡ-Σ) kingdom (ΤΕΦ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ) (...)'

(Eud. 40:3-4) vs. ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ ΝΡΕΦΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΩΝ ΕΦΣΖΑΙ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ (read ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ) ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΦΗΗΤ '(it is) the victorious (N-ΡΕΦ-ΧΡΟ) Augustus (Π-ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) *Zênôn*_i (ΖΗΝΩΝ) [*who*_i is writing (Ε-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ) to (ΕΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) our holy (ΕΤ — ΟΥΛΛΕ) and pious (N-ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ) fathers (N-ΝΕΝ-ΕΙΟΤΕ) [that (ΕΤ —) reside (ΟΥΗΖ) in (ΖΝ) Shiêt (ΦΗΗΤ)]]' (Hil. 10:20-22).

The definiteness opposition between virtual and non-virtual relative constructions does not apply to nominal cleft constructions. Thus, virtual relative clauses can predicate over clefted personal pronouns, as seen in: ΕΝΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΜΑΥΑΛΦ ΠΕ ΕΦΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'and (it) was (Ε-ΝΕ) *him*_i (ΝΤΟΦ) alone (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Φ) [*who*_i was living as a hermit (Ε-Φ-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) in (ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 181, 43:21-22), and virtual relatives over clefted indefinite noun phrases, as in ΟΥΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΛΦ 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it is) *a* beautiful (Ε-ΝΑΝΟΥ-Φ) *thing*_i (ΟΥ-ΖΩΒ) [*that* he did (*it*_i) (NT-Α-Φ-ΑΛ-Φ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 17, 3:26)

11.3.1.5 The interaction between clefting and topicalisation

Focus clefting interacts in various ways with topicalisation and left-dislocation. In cleft constructions, topics and focus may co-occur, but topics generally precede the focus constituent. Particularly common are cleft sentences with topicalised adverbial phrases, e.g. ΕΧΝ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ

οὐ πετεφνααααζ νοῖ παῖβολος '*besides* (ἐκτὶ) *these* (things) (ναῖ), *what*_i (οὐ) (is it) [that the devil (π-ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ) will (manage) to do (*it*_i) (ἐτε-φ-να-αα-αζ)]?' (Zen. 203:27-28), μῖννα πζαπ δε τφωτε μῖνουν τετναφωπε νακ ἡμα ἡμοον[ε] '*after* (μῖννα) *the* (day of) *judgement* (π-ζαπ), (it is) *the* *pit*_i (τ-φωτε) of the Abyss (μ-π-νοῦν) [*which*_i (ετ __) will become (να-φωπε) your (να-κ) dwelling (μ-μοονε) place (μ-μα)]' (Eud. 38:24-25).

Cleft sentences can be embedded into a left-dislocation structure. When this happens, the left-dislocated topic is co-referenced by a clefted independent pronoun, e.g. πενταφ† ραν ελλαγ νιμ αγω ετσοογν νζωβ νιμ ντοφ ετσοογν νενραν '[*he who has given* (πε-ντ-α-φ-†) a name (ραν) to everybody (ελλαγ νιμ) and (αγω) knows (ετ-σοογν) everything (ν-ζωβ νιμ)]_i, (it is) *him*_i (ντοφ) [*who*_i (ετ __) knows (σοογν) our name (νεν-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 219:7-9), νενταγμογ μν πεχ̄ ντοογ νενταωνζ ον μν πεχ̄ '(as for) [*those who died* (νε-ντ-α-γ-μογ) with (μν) Christ (πε-χ̄)]_i, (it is) *them*_i (ντοογ) [*who*_i (ετ __) will also (ον) live (να-ωνζ) with (μν) Christ (πε-χ̄)]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).

The clefted focus expression may precede left-dislocated pronouns and temporal adverbs, e.g. οὐ ντωτν πετετνογεφ τρενααζ [ν]ναζρν ναι '(as for) *you*_i (ντωτν), *what*_i (οὐ) (is it) [*that you*_i want (ετε-τν-ογεφ) us [to do (*it*_i) (τρε-ν-αα-αζ) about (νναζρν) these (things) (ναι)]]'? (Camb. 11:9-10), νιμ [τ]ενογ πετσωρμ ἡμῖνῃε '*who*_i (νιμ) (is it) *now* (τενογ) [*that who*_i (ετ __) is misleading (σωρμ) the crowd (μ-π-μῖνῃε)]?' (Ac. A&P 212:231).

11.3.2 Semantic types of focus

Cleft sentences are focusing constructions used to mark an argument as focal that may otherwise be construed as non-focal, or to mark a predicate as non-focal that might otherwise be in focus. The interpretation of focus is based on the interaction of several discourse-related factors, such as the identifiability of the referent of the clefted constituent and the informational predictability of the embedded relative clause. The different focus readings of nominal clefts fall, however, within the spectrum of exhaustive listing focus. Exhaustive listing specifies an exhaustive set of discourse entities for which a given proposition holds true and excludes other possibilities.

11.3.2.1 Presentational focus

In Coptic, exhaustive focus may be presentational when it introduces new referents into the discourse as in οὐπῖνᾱ εφογααβ ντε πνοῦτε πετφωχε νζητq '(it is) *a* pure (ε-φ-ογααβ) *spirit* (οὐ-πῖνᾱ) of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε) [which (ετ __) speaks (φωχε) through him (νζητ-φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:4-5), οὐζωβ ντε πνοῦτε πετφωχε νμῖνῃτν ετβῖνῃτq '(it is) *a* divine (lit. of (ντε) God (π-νοῦτε)) *matter* (οὐ-ζωβ) [that I am speaking (ε-†-φωχε) to you (νμῖνῃ-τν) about (ετβῖνῃτ-φ)]' (Eud. 60:24-25).

The notion of exhaustivity may be specified overtly either by restrictive focus particles like εματε 'only', ενεζ 'ever' or οὐωτ 'single', e.g. πλῆν εφχε ζενκογι εματε νεντνααχοογ ζν νεφκατωρωμα (for νεφκατορωμα) 'yet (πλῆν) even though (εφχε) (it is) *only* (εματε) *a few* (things) (ζεν-κογι) [that we are going to say (ε(τ)-τν-να-χοο-γ) of (ζν) his achievements (νεφ-κατωρωμα)]' (Zen. 201:13), νιμ νρωμε ενεζ πε νταφει ερατq ἡπενειωτ εφμοκζ νζητ εμεφβωκ εφραφε '*which* (νιμ) *man* (ν-ρωμε) *ever* (ενεζ) (is it) [that had gone (ντ-α-φ-ει) to (ερατ-φ) our father (Matthew) (μ-πεν-ειωτ) [disheartened (ε-φ-μοκζ ν-ζητ)] and did not go away (ε-με-φ-βωκ) [rejoicing (ε-φ-ραφε)]]' (KHML II 11:8-9), οὐωμρε νογωτ πετφωοπ ναι '(it is) (just) a *single* (ν-οὐωτ) *son* (οὐ-ωμρε) [that (ετ __) I have (lit. exists (φωοπ) with me (να-ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22).

Another example for the concurrent expression of exhaustive and presentational focus is the salutation formula at the beginning of letters, where the identity of the writer represents the most salient part of information, while the following relative clause comprises situationally given information, e.g. πειελαχιστος νρρο ζηνων πε ντα πνοῦτε † ναζ ἡπταιο ἡμῖνῃτρρο παρα πεφενμφα εφςζαι ερατογ ννεσνῃγ ννεγσεβῃς (for νεγσεβῃς) νφουμεριτογ (...) '(it is) *this most humble* (πει-ελαχιστος) *king* (ν-ρρο) *Zênôn* (ζηνων), [whom (να-φ) God (π-νοῦτε) has given (ντ-α ... †) the honour (μ-π-ταιο) of kingship (ν-τ-μῖνῃτ-ρρο) beyond (παρα) his worthiness (πεφ-εμφα)], [*who is writing* (ε-φ-ςζαι) to (ε-ρατ-ογ) the pious (νν-εγσεβῃς) and beloved (ν-φου-μεριτ-ογ) brothers (ν-νε-σνῃγ)]' (Hil. 7:21-23).

11.3.2.2 Thematic prominence

Nominal clefts are commonly used to highlight the thematic importance of a referent for the subsequent discourse. The clefted noun phrase refers to an already known or easily identifiable discourse entity, while the embedded relative clause describes a situation that is the matter of current concern, e.g. *πχoεic γap πeτω* (for *πετο*) *μημερη νταcηνηαιc* (for *νταcυνειδηcic*) 'for (γap) (it is) the Lord (π-χoεic) [who (ετ _) is (ω) witness (μ-μημερη) to my conscience (ν-τα-cηνηαιc)]' (V. Pach. 89:1-2), [*αρη*]γ *πζαγ[ioc α]π[α μhνα]* *πε νταqδωντ ε[ροι] ετβε περητ ντα[ερη]τ μhοq ναq* 'perhaps (αρηγ) (it is) the holy (π-ζαγιoc) Apa Mēna (απα μhνα) [who has become wrathful (ντ-α-q-δωντ) with me (επο-ι) because of (ετβε) the promise (π-ερητ) [that I made (ντ-α-ι-ερητ) to him (να-q)]]' (Mena, Mir. 11b:25-29).

11.3.2.3 Contrastive focus

Cleft sentences are typically used for contrastive emphasis with various degrees of strength. Contrastive focus operates on a domain of discourse entities that are either known to the speech participants or readily identifiable from the context. The contrastively specified focus expression exhaustively specifies a subset of the given set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds true. But unlike presentational and highlighting focus, contrastive focus implies a set of alternatives, namely a complementary set of discourse entities besides those specified by the focus for which that proposition *could* equally hold true. The set of alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus may be overtly given, e.g. *αγoυcтoc κωcтaнтιnoc πppo ναικaιoc* *πε ντα πχoεic πeνnoυтe тoυнocq* *нан npo eπma μπaнoмoc* *натшпe* *диок[λ]ηтиaнoc* *πppo* *μπxиhбoнc* '(it is) Augustus (αγoυcтoc) Constantine, the righteous (н-δικaιoc) king (π-ppo) [that the Lord (π-χoεic) our God (πeн-нoυтe) has raised (ντ-α ... тoυнoc-q) for us (на-н) as a king (н-ppo) instead (ε-π-μα) of the shameless (н-αт-шпe) criminal (μ-π-αнoмoc) Diocletian (диокaηтиaнoc), the king (π-ppo) of injustice (μ-π-χι н-бoнc)]' (Eud. 38:1-3).

The strongest form of contrast is corrective or counter-assertive focus, used in contexts where the speaker contradicts a previous utterance. Counter-assertive focus is exemplified by pairs of negative

and affirmative clefts, where the contrasted focus expressions specify different values for the same proposition, e.g. *μπpωμe αν πeтκтo μhοc eπma eтqoυωω eκωnc* *н2ηтq* *нтoc* *нтoq* *πeтκтo* *μπpωμe eπma eтcоyωω eκωnc* *μhαγ* '(it is) not (μ- ... αν) man (πpωμe) [who (εт _) turns (κтo) it (the sword) (μhο-c) to the place (ε-π-μα) [where (н2ηт-q) he wants (εт-q-oυωω) [to wound (ε-κωnc)]]]; rather (нтoq) (it is) it (the sword) (нтoc) [which (εт _) turns (κтo) the man (μ-π-pωμe) to the place (ε-π-μα) [where it wants (εт-c-oυωω) [to wound (ε-κωnc)]]]' (Sh. IV 12:9-11).

The restrictive focus particle *μaγaa-* 'alone, only' imposes an exclusive interpretation on the cleft constituent. It is asserted that none of the alternatives brought into play by contrastive focus clefting itself could provide a possible value for the open predication contained in the restrictive relative clause, e.g. *нτωтн μaγaaттhутн* *πeтπaαнн* *μhωтн* '(it is) you (нτωтн) yourselves (μaγaaт-тhутн) [who (εт _) mislead (πaαнн) yourselves (μhω-тн)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38).

11.3.2.4 Informative-presupposition clefts

The appositional relative clause of focus clefts need not be entirely uninformative, but may contain information that cannot be construed from the preceding discourse or is situationally given. Such informative-presupposition clefts are stylistically marked, since they present novel information as an established fact that is known to some people, but not yet known to the addressee. They are typically used in epistemic contexts, indicating the high degree of confidence that the speaker has about the verifiability and immediate relevance of his contribution.

a) Proverbial use

Informative-presupposition clefts may have a proverbial character. The information contained in these sentences is presented as truism, which is unlikely to be challenged by the addressee or some other party, e.g. *πκω2т* *πeтнaρωк2* *нoγaн* '(it is) the fire (π-κω2т) [which (εт _) will burn (на-ρωк2) the matter (н-oγaн < н-т-2γaн)]' (Test. Is. 232:26).

b) Inferential use

Informative-presupposition clefts are commonly used in persuasive

discourse, where the speaker intends to convince the addressee to engage in or refrain from a particular action. Such informative-presupposition clefts have a strong inferential character and assert that one state of affairs is closely tied to another with the implication of a cause-effect relationship, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΤ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΑΦΥΧΗ 'if you throw me (ε-κ-ψαν-νοχ-τ) out (εβολ), (then) (it is) you (ΝΤΟΚ) [who (ετ _) will account (lit. give (να-τ) account (ΛΟΓΟΣ)) to God (μ-π-νουτε) for (ζα) my soul (τα-φυχη)]' (Hil. 5:27-28), ΜΠΡΤΡΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΤΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'do not start (μπρ-τρε ... ψωπε) a war (ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ)! (It is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ετ _) is going to bring them (the apostles) (να-ντ-ου) in (εζουν)]' (Ac. A&P 208:180), ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΕΘΜΘΟΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΗΜΩΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΘΑΙΦΙΣ ΝΙΜ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) be strong (ΤΑΧΡΟ) and brave (ΝΤΕ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΜ), for (ΓΑΡ) (it is) me (ΑΝΟΚ) [who (ετ _) saves (ΝΟΥΖΗ) you (ΗΜΩ-ΤΗ) from (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ) every (ΝΙΜ) trial (ΘΑΙΦΙΣ)]' (Eud. 50:22-23).

Key Terms:

Virtual and non-virtual relatives

Virtual relative clauses may appear in §11.1.1 non-relative environment, such as circumstantial clauses, secondary predicates, Second Tenses sentences, while non-virtual relatives are restricted to relative environments and Second Tense sentences.

Complementiser alternations

Various subordinating complementisers §11.1.2 introduce virtual and non-virtual relative clauses: virtual relatives are introduced by the variant relative markers *nom.st.* ερε- and *pron.st.* ε-, while non-virtual relatives display a high degree of allomorphic variation. Alternating complementisers express agreement (i.e. feature matching) with the embedded subject or tense-aspect-mood marker.

Relative gaps vs. resumptive pronouns

instantiate two different types of §11.1.3 placeholders that occur in the syntactic position from which the pivot has been relativised: covert ones (gaps) and overt ones (resumptive pronouns). Thus compare: ΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ [ε]ΤΨΩΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΑΜΗΤΡΡΟ 'every (ΝΙΜ) human (Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) race: (ΓΕΝΟΣ) [that (ετ _) lives (ΨΩΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) my kingdom (ΤΑ-ΗΜΤ-ΡΡΟ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:19-20) vs. ΝΕΦΗΡΕ ΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤΓ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΘΕΟΣ 'the mighty deeds: (ΝΕ-ΘΟΜ) and (ΜΕΝ) miracles: (ΝΕ-ΦΗΡΕ) [that (they_i) happened (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΨΩΠΕ) through (ΖΗ-ΤΟΟΤ-Γ) our father (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) Apa Matthew]' (KHML II 18:14-16).

Nested and stacked relative clauses

Coptic relative constructions may involve several layers of relative embedding, where one relative clause is embedded into another. Nested relative clauses contain two or more pivots with an relative clause attached to them, e.g. $\text{ΖΗΚΕΦΗΝ ΕΥΟΠΤΗ ΝΚΑΡΠΟC ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ ΕΜΑΤΕ}$ 'other trees (ΖΗ-ΚΕ-ΦΗΝ) [_{RC1} while (*they*_i) were loaded (Ε-Υ-ΟΠΤΗ) with fruit (Ν-ΚΑΡΠΟC) [_{RC2} while (*they*_j) were plenty (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ)]]' (KHML II 21:14-15). Stacked relative clauses, on the other hand, have a single pivot with a series of two or more relative clauses attached to it, e.g. $\text{ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ}$ 'the holy brothers; (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) (lit. [_{RC1} *who* (ΕΤ _i) are holy (ΟΥΛΑΒ)] [_{RC2} *who* (ΕΤ _j) live (ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 216:34-217:1).

Definiteness opposition

The determination of the antecedent noun phrase plays a crucial role in the selection of relative constructions. Roughly, virtual relative clauses are selected in the context of indefinite antecedents, e.g. ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΕΝΑΦΩΟΥ 'much (lit. which is abundant (Ε-ΝΑΦΩ-ΟΥ)) water (ΟΥ-ΜΟΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:17), and non-virtual relatives in the context of definite ones, e.g. $\text{Ν[ΕΩ]ΟΙΧ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ]}$ 'his holy (lit. which are holy (ΕΤ ΟΥΛΑΒ)) hands (ΝΕΩ-ΟΙΧ)' (KHML II 18:18).

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification (e.g. ΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΩCΑΦΕ 'a bitter (lit. such that it is bitter (Ε-Ω-CΑΦΕ)) death (ΟΥ-ΜΟΥ)' (KHML II 33:8), or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse, e.g. $\text{ΖΕΝΖΙΡ ΖΝ ΑΗΝΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΡΗΜΟC ΕΗΝ ΑΛΛΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ}$ 'the deserted (lit. which are (Ε-Υ-Ο) (in a) deserted (Ν-ΕΡΗΜΟC) (state)) streets in (ΖΝ) Hell (ΑΗΝΤΕ) without (Ε-ΜΝ) anyone (ΑΛΛΥ) on them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)' (Ac. A&P 204:132).

Free relatives

are relative clauses that occur without an overt antecedent. Internally they have the structure of clauses; externally they have the same distribution as common noun phrases, e.g. $\text{ΑΙΟΥΩΗ ΗΠΕΝΤΑΩCΕΕΠΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ}$ 'I ate (Α-Ι-ΟΥΩΗ) [what was left (Η-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ω-CΕΕΠΕ) of the bread (Η-Π-ΟΕΙΚ)]' (Onnophr. 218:5).

Hypothetical relative clauses

have a clause-like interpretation corresponding to the protasis (IF-clause) of a conditional construction, while the surrounding main clause is semantically interpreted as the apodosis (THEN-clause), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ (for ΠΕΤΝΑΑΝΤΙΑΓΕ) ΕΥΕΔΗΜΩΡΕΙ (for ΕΥΕΤΙΜΩΡΕΙ) ΗΜΟQ '(as for) [him who will protest (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ)], he shall be punished (lit. they will punish (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΔΗΜΩΡΕΙ) him (ΗΜΟ-Q))' (Mena, Martyrd. 2b:30-32).

Nominal clefts Cleft constructions have generally been characterised as sentence patterns that overtly embody their discourse function. In Coptic, cleft sentences represent a nominal sentence pattern in which an initial focus constituent is equated with an appositional relative clause. §11.3.1

Exhaustive listing The different focus interpretation of clefts can be subsumed under exhaustive listing focus, which implies the exhaustive specification of a set of discourse entities for which the backgrounded proposition holds, e.g. *ΟΥΘΗΡΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΘΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ* '(it is) (just) a single (N-ΟΥΩΤ) son (ΟΥΘΗΡΕ) [that I have (lit. that (ΕΤ __) is (ΘΟΟΠ) with me (ΝΑ-Ι)]]' (Ac. A&P 194:22). §11.3.2

Exercises

11.1 Comprehension and transfer

- Go through the list of key terms and make sure that you understand all of them.
- Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
 - The complementiser *ε-* occurs in virtual as well as non-virtual relative clauses.
 - Virtual relative clauses are characterised by a generalised resumptive pronoun strategy.
 - The complementiser *ετ-* is restricted to subject relatives.
 - Definite antecedents are semantically incompatible with virtual relative clauses.
 - Non-virtual relative clauses can never occur in the restrictive mood.

- Free relative clauses have a distribution that is identical to that of noun phrases.
- The appositional clause of nominal clefts always contains presupposed or contextually given information.
- The focus of cleft sentences may be either contrastive or exhaustive.

11.2 Attributive relative clauses

- Fill in the correct form of the relative complementiser by selecting one of the two options.

- ΠΜΑ ΟΝ (ΕΤΕΡΕ/ΕΤΕ) ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟQ* 'the place (Π-ΜΑ) [where you are going (__ Κ-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 47, 10:10)
- ΟΥΩΩΤ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ (ΕΤ/ΕΡΕ) ΤΑΕΙΗΥ ΠΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΑΡΔΥΜΙC* 'worship (ΟΥΩΩΤ) our revered (__ ΤΑΕΙΗΥ) gods (N-ΝΕΝ-ΝΟΥΤΕ), Apollôn (Π-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and (ΜΗ) Artemis (Τ-ΑΡΔΥΜΙC)!' (KHML I 5:11-12)
- ΟΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC (ΕΤΕ/Ε) QΟΥΗ2 2N ΟΥΤΜΕ* 'a servant (ΟΥ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗC) [who lived (__ Q-ΟΥΗ2) in (2N) a village (ΟΥ-ΤΜΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no.99, 22:9-10)
- ΠΟΛΙC ΝΙΗ (ΕΝΤ/ΕΤΕ) ΦΑΥΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ* 'every (ΝΙΗ) city (ΠΟΛΙC) [that they enter (__ ΦΑ-Υ-ΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 208:188)
- ΑΦΧΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΘΕ (Ε/ΝΤ) ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Η ΠΕQΗΙ* 'he asked her (Α-Q-ΧΝΟΥ-C) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the way (ΘΕ) [in which she had gone (__ Α-C-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (2Η) his house (ΠΕQ-ΗΙ)]' (Hil. 12:10)

B. Translate the following text fragment.

SAINT PACHÔMIUS' JOURNEY TO THE OTHER WORLD

αὐτὸς ἀσφύπε μπειοῦσθ νοῦστ ντεροῦνκοτκ^a αὐτὸς ντεροῦχι
 μπενειστ παζωμ επκαiewν (read επκαiewν)^b κατὰ θε
 ντανωρπχοοc^c. αqναγ επzρψειρε^d (for επzρψειρε)^d νβαλζητ^e
 νταqρ πεqτοοῦ νεβοτ εqαcκει^f εqzν οὔνοc νραψε μνν
 (for μν) οὔτελλ. ντερεqναγ δε νοί παι επνεiωτ (for
 εππενειωτ) παζωμ εqηοοψε μν παττελoс εqтcαβο μμοq
 επca μпκαiewн (read μпκαiewн) νтоq δε αqπωт εβολ zнтq^g
 αqсωк μμοq εqхω μμοc xe αμοῦ νgнаγ εταoγcиa^h νта
 пχοeic таас παι εтве некcвооуε εтпапоуоу νтактcαβοi
 epoi εтрапооуε νζηтоу ω παειωт ετοῦαав αὐτὸς νεqтcαβο
 μμοq εнеqбom εzμппāткωн (read εzεμппāткωн) не αὐτὸς
 неγгарпoc (for неγгарпoc)ⁱ εγψооп zн οὔμντατтакo αὐτὸς
 αqтcαвоb (for αqтcαвоq) εнеqμaнψωπε тнpoу αὐτὸς πкωт
 ετοῦкнт εzнтq μн πεγca (...) μнncωc ντεροῦр пвоλ
 μпπαraftωc^k (μпπαradeicoc) νте тpγфн^l νοῦκοῦι αqнаγ
 επzλλo наскитнc^m εqzн οὔна εqо нψарва αὐτὸς εqтaхpнy
 εzoун εφнн εqотп нгарпoc (for нгарпoc) нөө νοῦoуzop
 εβонz (for εqонz) εβολ zн пqгарпoc (for пeqгарпoc)
 емнтаq εzoγcиaⁿ μмаγ eep пвоλ μпψнн εтμмаγ. νтоq δε
 νтерqнаγ epooῦ αqка xωq επecнт εqψeпe (for εqψeпe)
 ψaнтоуπαpагe^o μμοq αὐτὸς ντεροῦнаγ epoq αqбωт εzoун
 εzpaq zнн (for zн) οὔноc нмкаz νζηт αὐτὸς пexε пcoн
 νβαλζηт μπενειωт παζωμ xe αkнаγ επzλλo наскитнc
 νтактice ект cβω наq μпeqcωтн ncωк εтpεqηooуε zнн
 (for zн) οὔөвeиo. тeнoу бe апаγ epаи νтеиmнe μн
 тeпптmа^p νтаqтaас наq νοί пχοeic epма нтеqмнтaтcωтн
 εθooῦ. (V. Pach. 86:6-87:10)

NOTES: a. read ντερεqνκοτк b. αiωн 'world' c. νт-α-н-ψpп-χoo-с d.
 zρψeпe 'young man' e. βαλζηт 'innocent' f. αcκει 'to practise' g. πωт εβολ
 zнт= 'to run towards s.o.' h. ογcиa 'state, condition' i. гарпoc 'fruit' j. p
 п-воλ 'to walk out, leave' k. παraftωc 'Paradise' l. тpγфн 'delight, joy'
 m. аскитнc 'hermit, monk' n. εzoγcиa 'power, strength' o. παpагe 'to pass
 by' p. eпптmа 'penalty, punishment'.

C. Specify for each relative clause in the text fragment whether it has a restrictive or non-restrictive meaning and function.

11.3 Free relative clauses

- A. Consider the following examples of free relative clauses. Identify the placeholder gap or resumptive pronoun that indicates the internal grammatical role of the covert relative antecedent.
- (1) αβδεμεροῦχος πετziχн нколасic 'Abdemeruchos (αβδεμεροῦχος) [who supervises (п-εт-ziχн) the punishments (н-коласic) (of Hell)]' (Test. Is. 235:1-2).
 - (2) νοῦμεριανoc παι νтаqρ ppo za тeγzн 'Numerianus, [who (παι) had been (νт-α-q-p) king (ppo) before them]' (Mena, Martyrd. 1a:21-24)
 - (3) αip θε ннетziннb εтве θote νтаиnаγ epoc 'I had become (α-ι-p) like (θε < т-ze) [those who sleep (н-н-εт-ziннb)] because of (εтве) the overwhelming (vision) (θote < т-zote)) [that I had seen (νт-α-и-наγ)]' (Onnophr. 221:26-27)
 - (4) пeиoc нтмакаpиa zλλapиa тψepe μпμaиoῦte нppo zннωн пeнтaqzиcтopize μμοq νοί ппeтoῦaав апа пaнbω 'the life (п-виoc) of the blessed (н-т-макаpиa) Hilaria, the daughter (т-ψepe) of the god-loving (н-п-маи-ноῦte) king (н-ppo) Zēnōn, [which the holy (п-п-εт-oῦaав) Apa Pambō has written down (пe-νт-α-q-zиcтopize)]' (Hil. 1:1-2)
 - (5) апа iωzαнннc пeнтaγeзopize μμοq zитн μαpкиaнoc 'Apa John [who had been exiled (lit. they had exiled (νт-α-γ-εзopize) him (μмо-q) by (zитн) Markianos]' (AP Chaîne no. 188, 46:21-22)
 - (6) τοικoнoμиa тaи нта пxс тоψс epoc 'this destiny (т-οικoнoμиa), [which (таи) the Lord (п-xс) has destined (νт-α ... тоψ-с) for you (epo-κ)]' (Onnophr. 212:27-28)

(7) *ε[ε]β[ε] η[ε]τε[ε]τη[ε]νη[ε] ν[ε]ω[ε] [ε]β[ε]λ[ε] 2[ε]το[ε]τη[ε] [ε]τε[ε] [ν]αι[ε] η[ε] ν[ε]κατο[ε]ρ[ε]ω[ε] [μα] ν[ε]τ[ε]πο[ε]υ[ε]τ[ε] η[ε]π[ε]μακα[ε]ρι[ε]ος α[ε]πα ζ[ε]νη[ε]β[ε]ρι[ε]ος* 'concerning (ε[ε]τε[ε]) [what you are seeking (ν-ε[ε]τε-τη-νη[ε]) for (ν[ε]ω-ο[ε]) from us (2[ε]-το[ε]τη-ν[ε])], [to wit (ε[ε]τε ν[ε]αι η[ε]) the achievements (ν-κατο[ε]ρ[ε]ω[ε]μα) of the monastic practise (ν-τ[ε]-πο[ε]υ[ε]τ[ε]ια) of the blessed (η-π[ε]-μακα[ε]ρι[ε]ος) Apa Zēn[ε]n[ε]bios]' (Zen. 199:7-9)

B. Translate the following Coptic examples, which contain a free relative clause.

- (1) *ε[ε]κε[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε]ω[ε]μ Δε [ν]η[ε]ν[ε]ν[ε]τα π[ε]νο[ε]υ[ε]τε τ[ε]νη[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε]σο[ε]υ ν[ε]ακ[ε]* (AP Chaine no. 20, 4:16)
- (2) *[ν]ε[ε]τ[ε]πισ[ε]τε[ε]υ[ε]ε [ε]τε π[ε]αι π[ε]ε π[ε]λωκ η[ε]π[ε]ω[ε]τη[ε]]* (Test. Is. 228:7-8) (πισ[ε]τε[ε]υ[ε]ε 'to believe')
- (3) *τε[ε]νο[ε]υ[ε] δε π[ε]λωκ ν[ε]ταπ[ε]στι[ε]ς τε τ[ε]αι 2[ε]η ο[ε]υ[ε]με χ[ε] η[ε]π[ε]νο[ε]υ[ε]τε ν[ε]α[ε]στ[ε]τη[ε]υ[ε]τη ν[ε]β[ε]ο[ε]λ αν 2[ε]η [π[ε]τε[ε]τ[ε]ν[ε]αλ[ε]ι[ε]ται (for π[ε]τε[ε]τ[ε]ν[ε]αλ[ε]ι[ε]ται) η[ε]μο[ε]υ[ε]* (Hil. 8:10-12)

11.4 Nominal cleft sentences

A. Classify the following cleft-sentences by selecting one of the two options.

- (1) *ε[ε]β[ε]ο[ε]λ χ[ε] π[ε]ρ[ε]ο π[ε]ε ν[ε]τα[ε]ρ[ε]ταμ[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε] ν[ε]α[ε]ς* 'because (ε[ε]β[ε]ο[ε]λ χ[ε]) (it was) the king (π[ε]-ρ[ε]ο) [who had made it (the bed-chamber) (ν[ε]τ[ε]-α-ρ[ε]-ταμ[ε]ο-υ[ε]) for her (Eudoxia) (να-ς)]' (Eud. 50:8-9)
☐ thematic prominence ☐ contrastive focus
- (2) *ν[ε]ν[ε]τα[ε]υ[ε]μο[ε]υ[ε] η[ε]ν π[ε]ε[ε]χ[ε] ν[ε]το[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε] ν[ε]τ[ε]νη[ε]ων[ε] 2[ε] ο[ε]ν η[ε]ν π[ε]ε[ε]χ[ε]* '(as for) those who died (ν[ε]-ν[ε]τ[ε]-α-υ[ε]-μο[ε]υ[ε]) with (η[ε]ν) Christ (π[ε]-ε[ε]χ[ε]), (it is) *they* (ν[ε]το[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε]) [who (ε[ε]τ[ε] __) will also (ο[ε]ν) live (να-ων[ε] 2[ε]) with (η[ε]ν) Christ (π[ε]-ε[ε]χ[ε])]' (Sh. IV 4:18-19).
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

- (3) *ε[ε]π[ε]ι[ε]η ν[ε]τοκ π[ε]τ[ε]σο[ε]υ[ε]ν η[ε]π[ε]τω[ε] τη[ε]ρ[ε] μ[ε]πα[ε]β[ε]ρι[ε]ος η[ε]ν π[ε]νο[ε]υ[ε]τε* 'since (ε[ε]π[ε]ι[ε]η) (it is) you (alone) (ν[ε]τοκ) and (η[ε]ν) God (π[ε]-νο[ε]υ[ε]τε) [who (ε[ε]τ[ε] __) knows (σο[ε]υ[ε]ν) the entire (τη[ε]ρ-ε) course (η-π[ε]-τω[ε]) of my life (η-πα-β[ε]ρι[ε]ος)' (Hil. 12:22)
☐ presentational focus ☐ restrictive focus

- (4) *π[ε]κω[ε]2[ε]τ π[ε]τ[ε]νη[ε]ρ[ε]ω[ε]κ2 ν[ε]ο[ε]υ[ε]η* '(it is) the fire (π[ε]-κω[ε]2[ε]τ) [which will burn (ε[ε]τ[ε] __ να-ρ[ε]ω[ε]κ2) the matter (ν-ο[ε]υ[ε]η < ν-τ[ε]-2[ε]υ[ε]η)]' (Test. Is. 232:26)
☐ informative-presupposition cleft ☐ restrictive focus

B. Translate the following text fragment.

FROM THE *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM* ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")
 ΑΠΑ ΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΖΕΡΜΗΣ^a ΑΓΚΩ ΝΑ^b ΝΦΟΜΝΤ ΝΧΩΜΕ
 ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΦΑ ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΓΧΟΟΣ ΝΑ^c ΧΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΙ
 ΜΜΑΥ ΝΦΟΜΝΤ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΑΥΩ †† ΖΗΥ^c ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΟΝ ΦΑΡΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝCΕ† ΖΗΥ ΑΧΙC ΔΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΟΥ
 ΠΕΤΕΦΦΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΛΛΑ^d. ΑΦΟΥΦΦΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΧΕ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ
 ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΝΟΥ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΠΑΡΑΡΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦCΩΤΗ
 ΔΕ ΕΠΑΙ ΑΓΒΩΚ ΑΓΤΑΛΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΓΧΙ ΤΕΥ†ΗΗ^d ΑΓΤΑΛC
 ΝΝΕΤΦΑΛΤ. (AP Elanskaya 13a:12-34)

NOTES: a. πζερμης 'Phermēs (toponym) b. κω να- 'to keep for oneself'
 c. † ΖΗΥ 'to give profit' d. †ΗΗ 'price'

Subordinate clauses

The concluding chapter of this grammar is concerned with finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause typically functions as a dependent constituent within some larger construction. In view of the fact that every clause is to some degree dependent on the previous context, one might think of the traditional distinction between main and subordinate clauses in terms of relative degrees of clausal integration rather than as a binary opposition.

Looking at various types of complement and adjunct clauses, we will consider issues such as the following:

- (i) *Morphological marking.* Coptic requires subordination to be explicitly marked in the structure of the dependent clause either by means of a special subordinating complementiser or by means of a subordinate verbal tense.
- (ii) *The argument-adjunct contrast.* Subordinate clauses may assume different grammatical functions within the matrix clause they form a construction with. A major division of subordinate clauses concerns the opposition between argument clauses, which belong to the core of the matrix verb phrase and which are therefore obligatory

sentence constituents, and adjunct clauses, which belong to the periphery of the matrix clause and which are therefore optional sentence elements.

- (iii) *Clausal coherence and switch reference*, which concern the anaphoric link between main and subordinate clauses. Depending on whether the embedded subject is identical to or distinct from that of the matrix clause, subordinate clauses may take different forms or assume different semantic interpretations. For instance, same subject clauses usually imply a higher degree of influence on or control of the subject referent over the situation expressed in the subordinate clause.
- (iv) *Sequences of tenses*. The combination of tenses in complex sentence constructions generally reflects the range of temporal or logical relations that obtain between the main and the subordinate clause situation.
- (v) *Finiteness*. Non-finite subordinate clauses are distinguished from finites largely but not wholly by the absence of inflectional tense. The tenseless character of infinitival clauses goes hand in hand with the acquisition of nominal properties.

Further semantic and syntactic distinctions will be drawn within particular kinds of subordinate clauses. Section 12.1 deals with clausal arguments and section 12.2 with clausal adjuncts. Non-finite subordinate clauses are the topic of section 12.3. Throughout this Unit subordinate clauses are given in brackets.

12.1 Argument clauses

This section reviews complex sentences in subordinate clauses that function as the subject or the internal complement of the matrix verb phrase. Although such argument clauses belong to the nucleus of the main clause, they differ from nominal arguments in various respects. Firstly,

while all verbs can have a noun phrase as a subject and all transitive verbs nominal objects, there are only a few lexical classes of verbs that also permit clausal subjects and objects. Secondly, nominal arguments bear a wide range of semantic roles, such as AGENT, CAUSER, PATIENT, THEME, and the like. Clausal arguments, by contrast, denote propositions that cannot be associated with such participant roles. The relation between the matrix verb phrase and clausal subjects and complements is more indirect, involving reports or attitudes and beliefs of the subject referents about the situation implied or expressed in the subordinate clause. Thirdly, one distinctive property of pro/nominal objects is that they generally come immediately after the verb. Complement clauses, on the other hand, are not constrained to follow the verb in this way. Although subject clauses can appear in the canonical subject position, they are more commonly extraposed to the clause-final position of heavy constituents, with a semantically vacuous expletive pronoun appearing in the position of the extraposed argument clause. Therefore, despite their subject and object function, argument clauses are not "noun clauses" and must be analysed independently of noun phrases.

12.1.1 Subject clauses

A sample of transitive and intransitive verbs that may take clauses as subjects is given below. These verbs typically appear in impersonal sentences in which the canonical subject position is occupied by a non-referential expletive pronoun, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the end of the matrix clause.

VERB	GLOSS	VERB	GLOSS
ΝΑΝΟΥ(-C)	it is good	ΨΩΕ ΕΡΟ-	it is appropriate for
ΖΩ	it is sufficient	ΖΑΠC ΕΡΟ-	it necessary for, must
Γ-ΡΩΨΕ	it is sufficient	C-P ΑΝΑ-	it pleases
C-P ΧΡΙΑ	it is necessary	Α-C-ΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ	it happened

TABLE 12.1 Impersonal verbs

12.1.1.1 Survey of constructions

Impersonal verbs show some degree of variation concerning the pre- or postverbal placement of the clausal subject as well as the presence of indirect object noun or pronoun.

a) The clausal subject construction

Although the preverbal subject position can be occupied by clausal rather than nominal arguments, examples of the clausal subject construction are not particularly common, e.g. *ΝΑΝΟΥ † ΖΑΖ ΗΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ* 'is (it) good (ΝΑΝΟΥ) [to repent (one's sins) many times (lit. give (†) much (ΖΑΖ) repentance (ΗΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ)]]?' (AP Chaîne no. 131, 30:1), *ΖΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΣΟΦΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΗΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΜΝ ΠΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΤΑΜΙΟ ΤΗΡQ (...)* 'since (ΓΑΡ) (it) suffices (ΖΩ) [for the wise (Ν-ΣΟΦΟΣ) and (ΑΥΩ) truly (ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ) pious (people) (Η-ΠΙΣΤΟΣ) to know (ΕΙΜΕ) [that (ΧΕ) the Son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) existed (ΨΟΟΠ) with (ΜΝ) the Father (Π-ΩΤ) and (ΑΥΩ) the Holy (ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΑΒ) Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΕΥΜΑ) before (ΖΑΘΗ) the entire (ΤΗΡ-Q) creation (Η-Π-ΤΑΜΙΟ) (...)]]' (Contra Orig. 811).

b) The impersonal subject construction

It is more common for clausal subjects to appear in an extraposed subject position at the end of the matrix clause, which is the preferred position for heavy constituents. Extraposing the clausal subject always involves the insertion of a semantically empty expletive pronoun 3rd person singular masculine or feminine -q or -c 'it' in the preverbal subject slot, which cannot be left vacated. As an extraposed constituent, the subject clause is an element that is related to, but not co-referential with the "dummy" subject pronoun, e.g. *ΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΤΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΑΗ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΛΑΛΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ* 'it is better (ΝΑΝΟΥ-C) [that I go (ΝΤΑ-ΒΩΚ) home (Ε-ΠΑ-Η) while I have something (lit. while (there) is something (ΟΥ-ΛΑΛΥ) in my hand (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΤΟΟΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78a:8-11), *QΡΩΨΕ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΟC ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΠΛΑΝΗ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ* 'it is sufficient (Q-ΡΩΨΕ) [to simply (ΕΜΑΤΕ) assert (Ε-ΧΟΟ-C) [that (ΧΕ) these (the Origenist doctrines) (ΝΑΙ) (are) errors (ΖΕΝ-ΠΛΑΝΗ)]]' (Contra Orig. 407).

Extraposed subject clauses can also be found in impersonal light-verb constructions, e.g. *CΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΕΜΨΕ ΕΡ[ΟQ] [Μ]ΜΑ ΝΙΜ* 'it is necessary (C-Ρ ΧΡΙΑ) [to fight (Ε-ΜΨΕ) with him (the devil) (ΕΡΟ-Q) everywhere (lit. in every (ΝΙΜ) place (Η-ΜΑ))]' (AP Chaîne no. 48, 10:23), *ΑΥΩ ΗΠΕCΕΡ ΑΝΑQ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕQCΩΜΑ CΩ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) it did not please (ΗΠΕ-C-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Q) God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) [(that) his (ΑΡΑ ΜΕΝΑ'S) body (ΠΕQ-CΩΜΑ) should remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... CΩ) in (ΖΝ) the city (Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) Alexandria (ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)]' (Mena, Martyrd. 4a:32-4b:3).

c) ΨΨΕ 'it is appropriate'

Although ΨΨΕ looks like a "bare" verbal stem, it actually represents an impersonal sentence by itself, whose sentential character is disguised by the assimilation of the expletive subject 3rd person singular feminine C- 'it' to the following verb: C-ΨΕ → Ψ-ΨΕ 'it is appropriate' (lit. 'it goes').

The impersonal verb ΨΨΕ usually takes an indirect object whose referent is the agent of the event or activity described in the extraposed subject clause, e.g. *ΨΨΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΖΟΚΝ ΜΑΥΑΛΝ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΙΡΑCΜΟC* (for *ΗΠΕΙΡΑCΜΟC*) 'it is appropriate (ΨΨΕ) for us (ΕΡΟ-Ν) [to arm (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΖΟΚ-Ν) ourselves (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Ν) against (ΖΑΘΗ < ΖΑ-Τ-ΖΗ) temptations (Η-ΠΙΡΑCΜΟC)]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:16), *ΨΨΕ ΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΩΠ ΕΡΟQ. ΜΑΥΑΛQ ΗΠΝΟΒΕ ΗΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥQ* 'it is appropriate (ΨΨΕ) for each one (Ε-Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [to attribute (Ε-ΩΠ) to himself (ΕΡΟ-Q (ΜΑΥΑΛ-Q) the sin (Η-Π-ΝΟΒΕ) of his neighbour (Η-Π-ΕΤ-ΖΙΤΟΥ-Q)]' (AP Chaîne no. 209, 54:12-13).

The standard form of negation for ΨΨΕ in literary Sahidic is (Ν-) ... ΑΝ, e.g. *ΝΨΨΕ ΑΝ ΕΛΑC ΝΤΕΙΖΕ* 'it is not (ΑΝ) appropriate (Ν-ΨΨΕ) [to act (Ε-ΛΑ-C) in such a way (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 21b:4-5), *ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΨΨΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟQ ΕΜΨΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΡΕQΨΩΠΤΕ ΕQΘΒΙΗΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΕQ† CΩ ΕQΑΝΕΧΕ ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ* 'it is not (ΑΝ) fitting (ΨΨΕ) for a servant (ΟΥ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) of (ΝΤΕ) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) [to quarrel (Ε-ΗΨΕ)], [but (rather) (ΑΛΛΑ) to remain (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-ΨΩΠΤΕ) humble (Ε-Q-ΘΒΙΗΥ) towards (ΝΝΑΖΡΝ) everyone (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ) as a teacher (Ν-ΡΕQ-† CΩ) who (patiently) bears (Ε-Q-ΑΝΕΧΕ) evil deeds (ΝΝΕΘΟΟΥ < Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΟΟΥ)]' (V. Pach. 5:23-25).

d) The paragraph marker α - ς - $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ 'it happened'

The impersonal existential clause α - ς - $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ 'it happened' has a fully grammaticalised function as a discourse-structuring device that marks the beginning of a new discourse unit, e.g. $\alpha\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$ $\eta\pi\omega\gamma\varsigma$ $\lambda\gamma\beta\omega\kappa$ $\eta\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ $\gamma\iota\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\pi$ $\epsilon\omega\gamma\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\chi\iota$ $\beta\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ '*it happened* (α - ς - $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$) in ($\gamma\eta$) the days ($\eta\epsilon$ - $\gamma\omicron\omicron\gamma$) of the harvest (η - π - $\omega\gamma\varsigma$) (that) they went out (α - γ - $\beta\omega\kappa$) together ($\gamma\iota$ - $\omicron\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omicron\pi$) with ($\eta\eta$) one another ($\eta\epsilon\gamma$ - $\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$) to harvest (ϵ - $\omega\gamma\varsigma$) as day-labourer (lit. taking (ϵ - γ - $\chi\iota$) wage ($\beta\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$))' (V. Pach. 6:1-2), $\alpha\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\eta\pi\epsilon\varsigma\varphi\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ α $\pi\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\varsigma$ (for $\pi\kappa\omicron\mu\eta\varsigma$) $\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\pi\beta\eta\mu\alpha$ $\lambda\varphi\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\varphi\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\eta\mu\omicron\varphi$ $\eta\psi\omicron\rho\pi$ '*it happened* (α - ς - $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\Delta\epsilon$) on the next (lit. his) day (η - $\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\varphi\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon$) (that) the high official (the *comēs*) (π - $\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\varsigma$) sat down (α ... $\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$) on the tribune (ϵ - π - $\beta\eta\mu\alpha$) (and) made an effort (α - φ - $\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) to flatter (ϵ - φ - $\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) him (Ara Mēna) ($\eta\mu\omicron$ - φ) first (η - $\psi\omicron\rho\pi$)' (Mena, Enc. 57a:24-30).

12.1.1.2 The mandative meaning of impersonal verbs

In expressing volition, obligation and desirability, impersonal verbs belong to a larger group of deontic-modal constructions that have come to be known as mandative constructions in the linguistic literature. Mandative constructions typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have a manipulative or directive meaning like English *mandatory* and *command* (to cite two items on which the term "mandative" is based).

Coptic impersonal verbs demonstrate various degrees of modal strength, with mandative $\gamma\alpha\pi\varsigma$ 'it is necessary for, must' being more forceful than $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - ς 'it is good, better' and $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ 'it is appropriate'. Thus, while $\gamma\alpha\pi\varsigma$ comes close in meaning to imperatival clauses in expressing requests, instructions, and directions, $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - ς and $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ have a more argumentative character, endorsing the addressee or some other party to behave in a particular way. Compare, then: $\gamma\alpha\pi\varsigma$ $\omicron\eta$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\chi\mu\eta$ $\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\gamma\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\kappa\alpha\gamma$ $\psi\mu\eta\eta$ 'you must also ($\omicron\eta$) (lit. *it is necessary* ($\gamma\alpha\pi$ - ς) for you ($\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - κ) to) [establish (ϵ - $\tau\epsilon$ - κ - $\chi\mu\eta$) a congregation ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\gamma\gamma\varsigma$) in ($\gamma\eta$) the district (τ - $\kappa\alpha\gamma$) Akhmīm ($\psi\mu\eta\eta$)]' (V. Pach. 145:19-20), $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\varphi\iota$ $\gamma\alpha\pi$ $\gamma\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\tau\pi\omega$ $\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron$ $\epsilon\varphi\iota$ $\gamma\alpha$ $\pi\omicron\omega\eta\tau$

$\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon$ 'for ($\gamma\alpha\pi$) *it is better* ($\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$) [to bear ($\varphi\iota$) a burden ($\gamma\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma$ - $\epsilon\tau\pi\omega$) than ($\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\omicron$) to bear ($\varphi\iota$) the wrath ($\gamma\alpha$ π - $\omicron\omega\eta\tau$) of a man (η - $\omicron\gamma$ - $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$)]' (Mena, Mir. 81b:3-7), $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ $\pi\alpha\iota$ $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ [η ϵ] $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon$ $\gamma\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\eta\eta\alpha\uparrow$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\mu\eta\epsilon$ 'for ($\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$) this (reason) ($\pi\alpha\iota$) *it is appropriate* ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) for us ($\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η) [to think (ϵ - $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$) in this way (η - $\tau\epsilon\iota$ - $\gamma\epsilon$) as if ($\gamma\omega\varsigma$) we are going to give (ϵ - η - $\eta\alpha$ - \uparrow) account ($\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$) to God (η - π - $\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) daily ($\mu\eta\mu\eta\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 2:4-5).

Subject clauses generally convey backgrounded propositions, whose content is contextually inferable or pragmatically presupposed, e.g. $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu$ $\lambda\beta$ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon$ $\eta\rho\pi$ $\eta\gamma\tau\eta\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\eta\eta\varsigma\alpha\rho\chi$ $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$ $\gamma\iota\tau\eta$ $\tau\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$ '*it is good* ($\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$) [to eat ($\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu$) meat ($\lambda\beta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) to drink (ϵ - $\varsigma\epsilon$) wine ($\eta\rho\pi$)], but it is not to eat (η - γ - $\tau\eta$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$) the flesh (η - η - $\varsigma\alpha\rho\chi$) of your brothers (η - $\eta\epsilon\kappa$ - $\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$) through ($\gamma\iota\tau\eta$) slander (τ - $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha$)' (AP Chaîne no. 14, 3:12-13), $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\varsigma$ $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon$ $\eta\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\gamma\eta$ $\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ '*it is better* ($\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$ - ς) [to refute ($\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon$) them (the Origenists) ($\eta\mu\omicron$ - $\omicron\gamma$) with ($\gamma\eta$) what is evident (η - $\epsilon\tau$ - $\omicron\gamma\omega\eta\gamma$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)]' (Contra Orig. 408), $\lambda\rho\iota$ $\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\pi\varsigma$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\eta$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$ 'remember (lit. make ($\lambda\rho\iota$) remembrance (π - $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$)) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) *it is certain* ($\gamma\alpha\pi$ - ς) [that we ($\epsilon\rho\omicron$ - η) encounter (ϵ - $\tau\epsilon$ - η - $\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$) God (ϵ - π - $\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:12), $\gamma\alpha\pi\varsigma$ $\pi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\varphi\varsigma\omicron\rho\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota$ '*it is inevitable* ($\gamma\alpha\pi$ - ς) [(that) he who has lost it (the purse) ($\pi\epsilon$ - $\eta\tau$ - α - φ - $\varsigma\omicron\rho\mu\epsilon$ - ς) will come by (ϵ - $\tau\epsilon$... $\epsilon\iota$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 31, 6:12-13).

12.1.2 Complement clauses

Coptic has various classes of transitive verbs that take subordinate clauses as internal complements. The focus of this section is on the complement structure of mental verbs, while reportative verbs are dealt with in the next section. Mental verbs can be subdivided into two classes: *verbs of cognition* and *verbs of perception and discovery*. Cognition verbs ascribe to the subject referent certain beliefs, opinions, experiences and expertise, while verbs of perception and discovery describe situations, as they emerge in the visual field of the referent of the matrix clause subject. The most common mental verbs of cognition and perception/discovery are listed in table 12.2 below.

VERBS OF COGNITION			
ΕΙΜΕ	to come to know, become aware of	ΚΟΟΥΝ	to know
ΜΕΕΥΕ	to think, consider	ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ	to believe, be confident
VERBS OF PERCEPTION/DISCOVERY			
ΝΑΥ	to see	ΩΡΩΤ	to see, look
ΑΙΘΑΝΕ	to perceive, hear	ΩΤΗ	to hear
ΟΙΝΕ	to find	ΖΕ Ε-	to find

TABLE 12.2 Mental verbs

12.1.2.1 Mental verbs of cognition

The clausal complements of mental verbs of cognition are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

Canonical verbs of cognition select different-subject finite clauses as an internal complement. Complement clauses are overtly marked as such by the multi-functional subordinating complementiser *xe* 'that'. They immediately follow the verb phrase and the indirect object, e.g. *†πιστεύε xe πνούτε να[οβψq] αν ερον* 'I believe (†πιστεύε) [that (xe) *God* (π-νούτε) will not (αν) forget (να-οβψ-q) about us (ερο-ν)]' (V. Pach. 137:13-14), *†ναείμε xe κνα† δομ ναι ψανταχι μεκλον ναττακο* 'I will experience (†να-είμε) [that (xe) *you* will give (κ-να-†) me (να-ι) strength (δομ) [until I receive (ψαντα-χι) the imperishable (ν-ατ-τακο) crown (μ-πε-κλον)]]' (KHML II 30:5-6), *xe ννεqμεεγε ερος xe ογνοεικ τε* 'so that (xe) *he* would not think (ννε-q-μεεγε) about her (ερο-ς) [that (xe) *she* (τε) (is) adulterous (ογ-νοεικ)]' (Sh. Or 44, 159b:56-160a:1).

Same-subject complement clauses are possible, though uncommon, e.g. *εψωπε δε εψανείμε xe τογox εψωνε μελxitq* 'however (δε) when (εψωπε) I notice (ε-ι-ψαν-είμε) [that (xe) I am cured (†-ογox)

from illness (ε-ψωνε)], I will not accept it (the donkey) (με-ι-xit-q)' (V. Pach. 90:11-12).

b) Scope of negation

Both the main and the embedded clause can be negated. The scope of negation never exceeds a clause boundary (see above, section 9.2.1 of Unit 9). Thus, compare: *νεqκοουν δε αν xe οyczime τε* 'he *did not* (αν) *know* (νε-q-κοουν) [that (xe) she (τε) (was) a woman (ογ-czime)]' (Hil. 6:14-15) vs. *τεtnκοουν γαρ xe μειψεινε* (read *μειψινε*) *νca παντον* (...) 'since (γαρ) you *know* (τεtn-κοουν) [that (xe) I *do not* look (με-ι-ψεινε) for (νca) my own ease (πα-ητον) (...)]' (V. Pach. 88:28) vs. *η νγκοουν αν xe μερε λλλγ νχρηcτιανος* (for *χρηcτιανος*) *qei* (for *q*) *μπεqzo εzpai za ηzo μπετο ννοδ εροq* 'or (η) *do you not* (αν) *know* (ν-γ-κοουν) [that (xe) *no* (λλγ) Christian (ν-χρηcτιανος) *raises* (μερε ... qei εzpai) his face (μ-πεq-zo) under (za) the face (π-zo) of who is (π-ετ-ο) greater (ν-νοδ) than him (ερο-q)]' (KHML II 32:25-27).

c) Factive vs. non-factive cognition verbs

When formulated in the affirmative, factive cognition verbs presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. *μεγp πμεεγε pω xe ογν κοcμoc ψoon* 'they (the hermits) do not even (pω) *remember* (lit. make (μεγ-p) thought (π-μεεγε)) [that (xe) a (lower) world (κοcμoc) exists (ογν ... ψoon)]' (Onnophr. 215:3-4), *κκοουν παχοειc xe πειγενoc xe χρηcτιανoc* (for *χρηcτιανoc*) *cezyπομiνε* (for *cezyπομene*) *ενβaσανoc* 'you *know* (κ-κοουν), my Lord (πα-χοειc), [that (xe) this race (πει-γενoc) called (xe) Christians (χρηcτιανoc) bear (patiently) (ce-zyπομiνε) the tortures (ε-ν-βaσανoc)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).

Non-factive cognition verbs, by contrast, do not presuppose the truth of the embedded proposition, although they leave it open as a possibility, e.g. *αγω †πιστεύε xe εqψανει ψαρον τηναθεν zhy τηρν zιtn νεqψλη* 'and (αγω) I *believe* (†πιστεύε) [that (xe) [if he comes (ε-q-ψαν-ει) to us (ψαρο-ν)] [we will all (τηρ-ν) benefit (lit. gain (tn-na-θεν) profit (zhy)) from (zιtn) his prayers (νεq-ψλη)]]' (Hil.

10:30-31), ΝΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕCΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΗΜΑC ΝΟΥΜΕΤΗΑΙΡΩΜΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) she *thought* (ΝΕ-C-ΜΕΕΥΕ) [that (ΧΕ) he was going to do (Ε-C-ΝΑ-ΕΙΡΕ) her (ΝΗΜΑ-C) a favour (Ν-ΟΥ-ΜΕΤ-ΜΑΙ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:11-14).

d) Subordinate interrogatives

Subordinate interrogatives may appear as clausal complements of factive cognitive verbs. Although formulated as questions, such interrogative complement clauses have an answer-orientation: they state a positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked.

Examples: ΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΧΑΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΝΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ 'since (ΓΑΡ) we *found out* (Α-Ν-ΕΙΜΕ) [*why* (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) he (Constantine) was saved (Α-C-ΟΥΧΑΙ) on (ΖΗ) the day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) that we surrounded (ΝΤ-Α-Ν-ΚΩΤΕ) him (ΕΡΟ-C)]' (Eud. 44:14-15), ΚCΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΑΚΡ ΟΥΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΓCΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΚΕΟΥΗΡ 'you *know* (Κ-CΟΥΝ) [*how many* (ΟΥΗΡ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) you lived (lit. made (Α-Κ-Ρ)) so far (ΨΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ)], but (ΑΛΛΑ) you *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Γ-CΟΥΝ) [*how many other* (years) (ΚΕ-ΟΥΗΡ) you will live (Κ-ΝΑ-Ρ)]' (Enc. Victor 77:14-15), ΑΥΩ ΝΤ'CΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΗΜΟC ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑCΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΘΑΛΑCCA ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΠΙΖΕ ΗΜΟC ΖΙΤΗ ΝΙΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC 'and (ΑΥΩ) I *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-Τ'-CΟΥΝ) [*what* (ΟΥ) happened (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ) to her (ΗΜΟ-C)] and (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she died (ΝΤ-Α-C-ΜΟΥ) on (ΖΝ) the sea (ΘΑΛΑCCA)] or (ΚΑΝ) [*whether* (ΕΨΧΕ) she was taken prisoner (lit. *they* took her (ΗΜΟ-C) prisoner (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΠΙΖΕ)) by (ΖΙΤΗ) the Barbarians (ΝΙ-ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC)]' (Hil. 7:30-32), ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΚΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΕCΝΑΝΤQ ΤΩΝ 'he (ΑΡΑ ΙΟΗΝ) *did not* (ΑΝ) (Ν-Τ'-CΟΥΝ) *know* (ΝΕ-C-ΚΟΟΥΝ) [*where* (ΤΩΝ) he could bring it (the money) (Ε-C-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Q)]' (AP Elanskaya 13b:34-35), ΟΥΔΕ ΝΤΕΝCΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΝΗΜ ΠΕ 'and (ΟΥΔΕ) we *do not* (ΑΝ) *know* (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΚΟΟΥΝ) [*whose* (ΠΑ-ΝΗΜ) it (the gold) (ΠΕ) (is)]' (Mena, Mir. 85a:25-27).

12.1.2.2 Mental verbs of perception and discovery

Mental verbs of perception and discovery are always factive, since presenting an event as beheld by the subject referent implies that this

event actually occurred. The complement clauses of perception/discovery verbs are characterised by the following properties.

a) Switch reference

With mental verbs of perception and discovery, different-subject complement clauses seem to be the norm, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕCΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΧΕ Α ΠΕCΖΗΤ ΚΙΜ (...) 'and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-C-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *his heart* (ΠΕC-ΖΗΤ) was moved (Α ... ΚΙΜ) (...)]' (V. Pach. 2:25), ΝΤΕΡΕCΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΝΗΥ (...) 'when *he* (Pachôm) *saw* (ΝΤΕΡΕ-C-ΝΑΥ) [that (ΧΕ) *the brothers* (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) gathered (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Q)] (...)' (V. Pach. 4:1), ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΑCΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕ ΝΤΑCΤΑΑC ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΠΕΙΡ 'the (aforementioned) *man* (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) realised (Α-C-ΑΙCΘΑΝΕ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) (it was) the holy (Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) *Apa Mēna* who had deposited it (the gold) (ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΤΑΑ-C) into the basket (ΕΠΕCΗΤ Ε-Π-ΕΙΡ)]' (Mena, Mir. 86b:21-27), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΨΑΙCΩΤΗ (for ΝΕΨΑΙCΩΤΗ) ΧΕ CΕΜΟCΤΕ ΗΠΕΙΓΕΝΟC ΧΕ CΖΙΜΕ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I *heard* (Ν(Ε)-ΨΑ-Ι-CΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) *they* (the monks) hate (CΕ-ΜΟCΤΕ) this race (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΓΕΝΟC) called (ΧΕ) woman (CΖΙΜΕ)]' (Hil. 10:16-17), ΝQΟΥΨ ΑΝ ΕCΩΤΗ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΕΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΡΩ ΗΠΟΡΝΙΑ (for ΗΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ) ΝΖΗΤQ 'he *did not* (ΑΝ) *want* (Ν-Q-ΟΥΨ) [to *hear* (Ε-CΩΤΗ) [that (ΧΕ) (there) is (ΟΥΝ) a *monk* (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC) who has (lit. in whom are (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΖΗΤ-Q)) also (ΡΩ) pornographic (Η-ΠΟΡΝΙΑ) thoughts (ΜΕΕΥΕ)]]' (AP Chaîne no. 160, 36:5-6).

b) Scope of negation

As with cognition verbs, perception sentences allow negation to occur in the main and the dependent clause, e.g. ΕΙΕ ΗΠΕΚΩΤΗ ΝΤΑΚ (for ΝΤΟΚ) ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΗΠΕCΤΡΑΥΛΑΤΗC ΗΠΡΡΟ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΙΤ CΑ (for CΟ) ΕΡΟQ 'have you (ΝΤΑΚ) *not heard* (ΗΠΕ-Κ-CΩΤΗ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the son (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) of the king's (Η-Π-ΡΡΟ) general (Η-ΠΕ-CΤΡΑΥΛΑΤΗC) [that (Χ(Ε)) I *did not spare* him (lit. I did not give (ΗΠ-Ι-Τ) pardon (CΑ)) to him (ΕΡΟ-Q)]?' (KHML I 73:27-28) vs. ΑΤΕΤΝΝΑΥ Χ(Ε) ΗΠΕ ΙC ΕΨΝΑΖΜΕC ΖΝ ΝΑΟΙΧ 'you have *seen* (Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑΥ) [that (Χ(Ε)) Jesus (ΙC) *could not save* him

(Apa Nahrow) (ΜΠΕ ... ΕΨ-ΝΑΖΜΕ-Q) from (2N) my hands (ΝΑ-ΟΙΧ)]' (KHML I 5:28).

c) Subordinate exclamative

Subordinate exclamatives, like main clause exclamatives, are marked by the quantificational interrogative pronoun ΟΥΗΡ 'how much, how many', e.g. ΑΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΥ Ω Ν[Α]CΝΗΥ ΧΕ ΤΗΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΗΡ 'oh (ω) my brother (ΝΑ-CΝΗΥ), you have seen (Α-ΤΕΤΕΝ-ΝΑΥ) [(that) (ΧΕ) how (Ν-ΟΥΗΡ) bad (ΖΟΟΥ) pitilessness (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΝΑ) is]' (KHML II 51:13-14).

d) Depictive predication

"THAT (ΧΕ)"-complement clauses can be used as a marked alternative for object depictives that describe the current state or condition of the direct object referent (see below, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8), e.g. ΜΗΝCΑ ΦΙΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΤΨΕΕΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΧΕ ΗΝ ΜΟΡΤ ΜΗΟC 'after (ΜΗΝCΑ) nine (ΦΙΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ), they (the brothers) saw (Α-Υ-ΝΑΥ) about the little (ΨΗΜ) girl (Ε-Τ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) [that (ΧΕ) she had no beard (lit. (there) was no (ΜΗ) beard (ΜΟΡΤ) on her (ΜΗΟ-C))]' (Hil. 6:27-28), ΩΨΤ ΝΓΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΤΑΔCΕ ΧΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ 'look (ΩΨΤ) and you will see (Ν-Γ-ΝΑΥ) from my foot-soles (Ε-ΝΑ-ΤΑΔCΕ) [that (ΧΕ) I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a human being (ΟΥ-ΡΩΜΕ)]' (Onnophr. 206:23-24), ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ [ΧΕ] ΝΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕCΕ ΖΡΑ[C] '(oh) woman (ΤΕ-CΖΙΜΕ), I see (Τ-ΝΑΥ) about you (ΕΡΟ) [that (ΧΕ) you (ΝΤΟ) (are) a handsome (lit. whose face (ΖΡΑ-С) is beautiful (Ε-ΝΕCΕ)) woman (ΟΥ-CΖΙΜΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27a:21-23), ΝΤΑΖΕ ΕΠΟΥΨ ΝΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΕΖΚΟ 'and I would find (ΝΤΑ-ΖΕ) the news (Ε-Π-ΟΥΨ) about my children (Ν-ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) [that (ΧΕ) they are not going to die (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥ) of (ΖΑ) hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ)]' (Mena, Mir. 78b:16-19).

12.1.3 Reported speech

The term reported speech is used here in the broad sense to cover the reporting of spoken and written discourse. There are two main types of reported speech that represent an utterance from different points of view. Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of a given utterance, thereby expressing the internal viewpoint of the original

speaker, e.g. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑC ΧΕ ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΗ ΨΔΟΜ ΜΗΟΚ ΕΩΨ ΖΑΘΗΝ 'the holy one (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΔΕ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) to her (ΝΑ-С) [(that) (ΧΕ) »My son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ), you cannot (lit. (there) is no (ΜΗ) possibility (ΨΔΟΜ) for you (ΜΗΟ-Κ) to) stay (Ε-ΩΨ) with us (ΖΑΘΗ-Ν)«]' (Hil. 5:15-16). Indirect reported speech, on the other hand, only gives the content of the original, thus taking the external viewpoint of the reporter (the author of a text or the narrator within the text), e.g. ΑQΧΟΟC ΝΟΙ ΠΑΞΙΩΤ ΕΤΡΕΥΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΨΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕQΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ 'my Father (ΠΑ-ΞΙΩΤ) had said (Α-Q-ΧΟΟ-С) [that they should give (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Τ) them (ΝΑ-Υ) to eat (Ε-ΟΥΨΗ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) his order (ΠΕQ-ΟΥΕΖ-СΑΖΝΕ)]' (Abbatôn 236:27-28).

12.1.3.1 Main differences between direct and indirect reported speech

The distinction between reporting the wording (or form) and reporting the content (or meaning) of an utterance is to be found in the different use of deictic expressions and tense as well as the altered syntax of clause types.

a) Deixis

In direct reported speech, deictic expressions are invariably interpreted relative to the original utterance. The most straightforward case involves personal pronouns. In the direct type, reference to the speaker and the addressee is indicated by first and second pronouns, e.g. ΠΕΧΑC ΝΟΙ ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ (read ΕΥΔΟΞΙΑ) ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΓ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ 'the virgin (Τ-ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC) Eudoxia said (ΠΕΧΑ-С) [(that) (ΧΕ) »(As for) me (ΑΝΟΚ), I (ΑΝΓ) (am) a woman (ΟΥ-СΖΙΜΕ)]«' (Eud. 54:11-12), ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΝΑQ ΧΕ (...) ΑΛΗΘΩC ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΨΗΝΝΟC 'the governor (Π-ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ) said (ΠΕΧΕ) to him (Apa Ptolemy) (ΝΑ-Q) [(that) (ΧΕ) »(...) Verily (ΑΛΗΘΩC), you (ΝΤΟΚ) (are) a noble (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) of noble descent (Ν-ΨΗΝ-ΝΟC)!«]' (KHML II 33:6-9).

By contrast, third person pronouns are used to designate the original speaker and addressee or both in the indirect type, e.g. ΜΠΕQΤΑΜΕ ΑΛΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΧΕ QΨΩΝΕ 'he (Pachôm) did not tell (ΜΠΕ-Q-ΤΑΜΕ) any (ΑΛΑΥ) of (ΖΗ) the brothers (ΝΕ-СΝΗΥ) [that (ΧΕ) he was ill (Q-ΨΩΝΕ)]' (V. Pach. 87:12), ΑΙΧΟΟC ΖΩΨΤ ΧΕ ΟΥΓΕΝΟC ΝΑΨΗΠΕ ΤΕ 'I too

(ΖΩΩΤ), said (λ-ι-χοο-с) [that (xε) *she* (τε) (is) of shameless (ν-ατ-φιπε) race (ογ-γενος)]' (KHML I 84:1-2), νεγχω μμοc xε ντα νεγνουτε ει ψαροογ ενεγρπε '*they* (the pagan priests) said (νε-γ-χω μμο-с) [that (xε) *their* gods (νεγ-νουτε) had come (ντ-α ... ει) to *them* (ψαρο-ογ) to *their* temples (ε-νεγ-ρπε)]' (KHML II 49:16-17).

b) Tense

The tense of indirect reported speech is often interpreted with respect to the original utterance rather than the reporting frame. Indirect reports may therefore have a present tense form when the original has a present, even when the reporting frame has past tense reference, e.g. λψαχε νσι νζαλο ετβε ογόμε xε qр ζωε qxo мπεqzice εβολ τηpq εταγαпн εqkw ναq ммате ннетеqр xpia ναγ 'the elder (ν-ζαλο) said (λ-γ-ψαχε) about (ετβε) a gardener (ογ-όμε) [that (xε) he *worked* (q-р ζωε) (and) spent (q-xo εβολ) the entire (τηp-q) product of his labour (м-πεq-зice) to charity (ε-т-αγαпн), [keeping (ε-q-κω) for himself (να-q) only (ммате) what he needed (lit. what he was in need (ν-н-ετε-q-р) of (να-γ))]]' (AP Elanskaya 17a:14-20), λxооc εтвннтq αпа μακαριос xε εqоγψ εсacл неcннy 'they said (λ-γ-χοο-с) about him (εтвннт-q), (namely) Apa Makarios, [that (xε) he *wanted* (ε-q-ογψ) to comfort (ε-сacл) the brothers (не-сннy)]' (AP Chaîne no. 182, 45:7), λxооc εтβε оγa ннеcннy xε ψaqтaμio ннвip нqт маaxe epooγ 'they said (λ-γ-χοο-с) about (εтβε) one (ογa) of the brothers (н-не-сннy) [that (xε) he *made* (ψa-q-таμio) baskets (н-н-вip) and gave (н-q-т) them (epo-ογ) handles (маaxe)]' (AP Chaîne no. 162, 36:19-20).

If, on the other hand, the tense of the indirect report is interpreted relative to the reporting frame, a Conjunctive or infinitival verb form is selected instead, e.g. тасωне εтβε ογ мπεpхооc ннеceиote неceи нммаc '(oh) my sister (та-сωне), why (εтβε ογ) *did you not tell* (мπεp-χοο-с) her parents (н-неc-ειote) [that they *should come* (н-ce-ει) with her (нмма-с)]?' (KHML I 82:6-7), acπapaκαλeи мπεccон нн мπεсzαι εтpeγkaac нсвoк eπтoπoс нпzαγioс вкτωp 'she *begged*

(λ-с-παpακαλeи) her brother (м-πεс-сoн) and (нн) her husband (м-πεс-zαι) [that they *should allow her* (ε-тpe-γ-καλ-с) [to go (н-с-вoк) to the shrine (ε-п-тoπoс) of the holy (м-п-zαγioс) Apa Victōr]]' (KHML I 46:11-13), λqψaχε нммаq εтpeqпaπε тωβε eπтoπoс нпzαγioс αпа нмма ψaнтoγxoкq εβολ 'he (the archbishop) *told* (λ-q-ψaχε) him (the brick-maker) (нмма-q) [to make (ε-тpe-q-пaπε) bricks (τωβε) for the shrine (ε-п-тoπoс) of the holy (м-п-zαγioс) Apa Mēna [until it was finished (lit. they finished it (ψaнт-ογ-xoк-q εβολ))]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).

c) Clause types

All major clause types have a corresponding subordinate form used to express the report of a statement, question, or command. Such embedded declarative, interrogative or mandative clauses have a syntax different from the corresponding main clause.

□ REPORTED DECLARATIVES

Thus, reported assertions and denials, such as παι πε ετψαχε epoq xε πноυτε мме пе '(it is) this one (пaи) about whom (epo-q) I *say* (ε-т-ψaχε) [that (xε) he (пе) (is) the true (м-ме) God (π-ноυτε)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:2-4) and λxооc xε мнпote неceω εγт оγoi зн eнеeте 'I *said* (λ-ι-χοο-с) [that (xε) they (the foreign monks) should not (мнпote) continue (н-ce-ω) [to look around (ε-γ-т оγoi) in (зн) the monastery (eнеeте < т-zeheete)]]' (V. Pach. 138:32) are in complementary distribution with (i) modal adverbs like αληωс 'verily, truly' and λpнy 'perhaps', (ii) interjections like ειc знhte 'look', (iii) the positive and negative polarity markers ce 'yes' and ммон 'no' and their emphatic counterparts λze 'yes (indeed)' and мпωp '(oh) no!', and (iv) nouns in vocative function. All these expressions can only occur in direct reported speech.

Examples: пexaq xε αληωс оγноб нмагос пе пeиpωне 'he *said* (пexa-q) [(that) (xε) » *Verily* (αληωс), this man (пeиpωне) (is) a great (ογ-ноб) wizard (м-магос)!«] (KHML I 7:22-23), пexaq нaи xε ειc знhte

ἀκούει 'he said (πεχα-ϗ) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »look (εις ζηητε), you have become well (again) (α-κ-οῦχα)«]’ (Onnophr. 209:5-6), πεχαϗ ναι χε αζε λιζει τῶνοϗ ψ παψηρε 'he said (πεχα-ϗ) to me (να-ι) [(that) (χε) »Yes (αζε), I suffered (α-ι-ζει) a lot (τῶνοϗ), oh (ω) my son (πα-ψηρε)!«]’ (Onnophr. 208:21-22), ἀφοψωϗ (for ἀφοψωψε) νας νδι παιακονος χε κυρι спаθариε εις οὔμνηψε νογοειψ †επιψημει εβωκ επιμα ετμηαϗ ταψηα 'the deacon (π-διακονος) answered (α-ϗ-οῦψωϗ) her (Hilaria) (να-ϗ) [(that) (χε) »Sir (κυρι) knight (спаθариε), a lot (οὔ-μνηψε) of times (ν-ογοειψ) I wished (†-επιψημει) [to go (ε-βωκ) to that (ετμηαϗ) place (ε-π-μα) [to pray (τα-ψηα)«]]’ (Hil. 4:28-30).

□ REPORTED INTERROGATIVES

Main clause interrogatives are always construed as direct questions, i.e. as inquiries, e.g. *τοτε πεχε πρρο νουβαιψινε* (for *νουβαιψινε*) χε *νιμ πε παι* 'then (τοτε) the king (π-ρρο) said (πεχε) to a messenger (ν-οῦ-βαι-ψινε) [(that) (χε) »*Who* (νιμ) (is) this (man) (παι)?«]’ (KHML I 7:19-20). Subordinate interrogatives, on the other hand, may have an answer orientation, stating the positive or negative response to a question that may or may not have been asked, e.g. *ταμοι δε χε ντακβωκ ετων η εκψοοπ των ηπεινοδ νογοειψ* 'tell me (ταμο-ι) [*where* (ε-των) you have gone (ντ-α-κ-βωκ) to and (η) *where* (των) you have been living (ε-κ-ψοοπ) during this long (η-πει-νοδ) (period of) time (ν-ογοειψ)]’ (Mena, Enc. 51b:5-9), *ηπεφχοος χε νταϗκααϗ των* 'he (the deceased) did not tell (ηπε-ϗ-χοο-ϗ) [*where* (των) he had put it (the deposit) (ντ-α-ϗ-καα-ϗ)]’ (AP Chaîne no. 235, 65:18).

□ REPORTED DIRECTIVES

Imperative and Jussive mood are features of direct reported speech, e.g. *πεχε τπαρθενος μαρια νζραφана χε μοоне ηпχοι εζοῦν επейμα* (...) 'the Virgin (τ-παρθενος) Mary said (πεχε) to Raphaël (ν-ζραφана) [(that) (χε) »*Land* (μοоне) the boat (η-π-χοι) here (ε-πει-μα) (...)!«]’ (KHML I 81:25-26), *πεχε τεσмааϗ наϗ χε μαρεнкаас ζαζηηη* (...) 'her mother (τεс-мааϗ) said (πεχε) to him (να-ϗ) [(that) (χε) »*Let's place her* (μαρε-ν-каас) in front of us

(ζαζηηη-η) (...)!«]’ (Hil. 12:3). The corresponding subordinate forms in indirect reported speech are the declarative content clauses of mandative verbs like *ογεζ σαζνε* 'to order', *κελεγε* 'to command', or *κωρω* 'to entreat'. Reported directives are introduced by a Conjunctive or infinitival verb e.g. *αγω αϗκελεγε νсеентϗ εχη πβηма* 'and (αγω) he (the king) ordered (α-ϗ-κελεγε) [(that) *they brought him* (Απα Nahrōw) (ν-σε-εηт-ϗ) to (εχη) the tribune (π-βηма)]’ (KHML I 5:18-19), *μηννωс αϗκελεγε νδι πρρο ετρογεινε εβολ εροϗ νογαρξ* 'after that (μηννω-с) the king (π-ρρο) ordered (α-ϗ-κελεγε) [*that they bring* (ε-τρ-οῦ-εινε) out (εβολ) to him (Απα Nahrow) (ερο-ϗ) a bear (ν-οῦ-αρξ)]’ (KHML I 4:20-21), although the Inferential is available as an alternative, e.g. *νϗκωρω εροϗ ταρεϗ† наϗ ηпζолокоттинос таρεϗтааϗ ηпсon* 'and he (Απα John) entreated (ν-ϗ-κωρω) him (Απα Jacob) (ερο-ϗ) [*to give* (ταρε-ϗ-†) him (να-ϗ) the *holokottinos* (a golden coin) (η-π-ζолокоттинос) [so that he could give it (back) (ταρε-ϗ-таа-ϗ) to the brother (η-π-сon)])]’ (AP Elanskaya 14a:2-6).

12.1.3.2 The reportative verb πεχε-/πεχα-

The inflectional paradigm of the reportative verb *πεχε-*, *πεχα-* 'said' is presented in table 12.3 below.

	ΠΕΧΕ-/ΠΕΧΑ-	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	ΠΕΧΑ-Ι	ΠΕΧΑ-Ν
2 nd masc.	ΠΕΧΑ-Κ	ΠΕΧΗ-ΤΗ
2 nd fem.	ΠΕΧΕ	
3 rd masc.	ΠΕΧΑ-ϗ	ΠΕΧΑ-Υ
3 rd fem.	ΠΕΧΑ-С	
Before noun	ΠΕΧΕ Π-ΡΩΝΕ	

TABLE 12.3 The reportative verb *πεχε-/πεχα-*

The reportative verb *πεχε-*, *πεχα-* 'said' is commonly used to introduce reporting clauses that are located in the past. It belongs to the

morphologically unproductive class of frozen verb formations that have residual V-S-O order (see above, section 10.2 of Unit 10), e.g. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΚΝΑΠΩΤ ΑΝ 'they (the brothers) (ΝΤΟΟΥ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Υ) to him (Απα Moses) (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Would you (ΝΤΟΚ) not (ΑΝ) run away (Κ-ΝΑ-ΠΩΤ)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 186, 46:5-6).

12.1.3.3 Verbs of saying and reporting

A sample of the larger number of verbs that can be used to report direct speech is given in table 12.4. (ABS. ST. stands for 'absolute state', NOM. ST. for 'nominal state', and PRON. ST. for 'pronominal state').

ABS. ST.	NOM. ST.	PRON. ST.	GLOSS
ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С		ΧΟΟ-С	to say
ΨΑΧΕ			to speak, say
ΜΟΥΤΕ			to speak, call
	ΤΑΜΕ-	ΤΑΜΟ-	to inform, tell someone
	ΧΝΕ-	ΧΝΟΥ-	to ask someone
ΟΥΨΩΒ			to answer, reply
	ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ		to cry out, shout
ΩΡΚ			to swear (an oath)
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ			to command, order
ΑΙΤΕΙ			to ask for, demand
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ			to summon, beseech

TABLE 12.4 Verbs of saying and reporting

The reported clause is structurally marked as subordinate to the matrix reportative verb by means of the 'THAT'-complementiser *χε*. This feature of Coptic direct speech is not translatable. Reportative verbs may select a direct or indirect object besides the direct quote clause that designates the original addressee.

Examples: ΝΓΧΟΟС ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΤΗΜΕ ΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΟΕΙΚ (...) 'and you should say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) to him (ΝΑ-Φ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Feed (ΤΗΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ) your son (ΠΕΚ-ΩΗΡΕ) with (ΖΗ) this (piece of) bread (ΠΕΙ-ΟΕΙΚ) (...)!«]» (V. Pach. 141:26), ΜΗΝΝΑ ΚΕΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΧΕ ΖΑΠC ΟΝ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚCΗΝ ΟΥCΟΟΥΖC ΖΗ ΤΚΑΖ ΨΜΙΝ 'after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) some more time (ΚΕ-ΟΥΟΕΙΨ), he (Pachōm) was told (lit. they told (Α-Υ-ΨΑΧΕ) him (ΝΗΜΑ-Φ)) in (ΖΗ) a vision (ΟΥ-ΖΟΡΟΜΑ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »you must also (ΟΝ) (lit. *it is necessary* (ΖΑΠ-С) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) to) [establish (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Κ-СΗΝ) a congregation (ΟΥ-СΟΟΥΖC) in (ΖΗ) the district (Τ-ΚΑΖ) Akhmīm (ΨΜΙΝ)«]» (V. Pach. 145:18-20),]» (V. Pach. 145:18-20), ΑΦΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΚΚΑ ΝΕCΚΕΥΗ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΑΨ ΜΜΑ 'the old man (Π-ΖΛΛΟ) addressed (Α-Φ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) the deceased (Ε-Π-ΕΤ-ΜΟΟΥΤ) [*saying* (Ε-Φ-ΧΩ ΜΜΟ-С) [(that) (ΧΕ) »So-an-so (ΜΕΨΕ ΝΙΜ), in (ΖΗ) which (ΑΨ) place (ΜΜΑ) did you put (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΚΑ) the property (ΝΕ-СΚΕΥΗ) of the (previously mentioned) man (Η-Π-ΡΩΜΕ)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 225, 65:27-28), ΑΥΤΑΜΕ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΗCΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΚ ΕΘΗ ΠΕΚΩΗΝ (...) 'they (his servants) told (Α-Υ-ΤΑΜΕ) the holy (Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ) Apa Paëse [(that) (ΧΕ) » When Paul comes (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΕΙ) to you (ΨΑΡΟ-Κ) to pay (Ε-ΘΗ) you a visit (ΠΕΚ-ΩΗΝ) (...) «]» (KHML I 74:13-14), Α ΟΥCΟΝ ΧΝΕ ΑΠΑ CΑΡΑΠΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΧΙ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΙ 'a brother (ΟΥ-СΟΝ) asked (Α ... ΧΝΕ) Apa Sarapion [(that) (ΧΕ) » Say (ΑΧΙ) a word (ΟΥ-ΨΑΧΕ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι)!«]» (AP Chaîne no. 28, 5:24), ΑΦΟΥΨΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΧΕ ΚΑΛΩC 'our father (Pachōm) (ΠΕΝ-ΕΙΩΤ) answered (Α-Φ-ΟΥΨΕ) him (Απα Jōnas) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Well (ΚΑΛΩC) (said)!«]» (V. Pach. 145:9), ΠΔΕΜΩΝ (for ΠΔΛΙΜΩΝ) ΔΕ ΑΦΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΙΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΝΗΤΚ 'the demon (Π-ΔΕΜΩΝ) cried (Α-Φ-ΧΙ ΨΚΑΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »Do you think (Ε-Κ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) now (ΤΕΝΟΥ) [that (ΧΕ) I came (Ε-Ι-ΝΗΥ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) because of you (ΕΤΕΝΗΤ-Κ)?«]» (AP Chaîne no. 222, 62:27-28), ΦΑΙΩΡΚ ΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΧΕ ΜΗ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΗΜΑΙ 'I swear (ΨΑ-Ι-ΩΡΚ) to you (ΝΑ-Κ), my Lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC), [(that) (ΧΕ) »(there) is (ΜΗ) nobody (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) here (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) with me (ΝΗΜΑ-Ι)«]» (Mena, Mir. 14b:27-31), ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΡΟ ΧΕ ΦΕΙ (for ΦΙ) ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΛΙΠΟΡΟC (for ΜΠΕΙΤΑΛΛΙΠΩΡΟC) Τ[Α]ΑΦ ΝΝΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΝCΕΟΥΟΜΦ 'then (ΤΟΤΕ) the king (Π-ΡΡΟ) ordered (Α-Φ-ΚΕΛΕΥΕ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Take (ΦΕΙ) this miserable (person) (Η-ΠΕΙ-ΤΑΛΛΙΠΟΡΟC), give him (ΤΑΑ-Φ) to the beasts (Ν-ΝΕ-ΘΗΡΙΟΝ) [that they

beloved (πα-μεριτ) Mēna (μηνα)l«j' (Mena, Enc. 56a:17-23), *zoine men xe ourennepaia*t (for *ourennepaia*t) *pe znkooye de xe pappariotēs pe* 'some (people) (*zoine*) (say) [that (*xe*) he (Apa Mena) (*pe*) (was) a man of the Paiait (*ou-rem-ne-paiait*)], others (*zen-kooye*) [that (*xe*) he (*pe*) (was) one from the Mariôtēs (πα-π-μαριωτης)]' (Mena, Enc. 36b:27-37a:2).

12.2 Adjunct clauses

This section provides an overview of various classes of clausal adjuncts. It elaborates on already familiar aspects of the Coptic relative tense system, providing a contrastive analysis of subordinate verbal tenses with a range of semantically related constructions. As with common phrasal adjuncts, clausal adjuncts are optional sentence constituents that can be omitted without affecting the interpretability of the rest of the clause.

Clausal adjuncts are syntactically less well integrated into the structure of the main clause than clausal complements. Moreover, they convey relatively constant kinds of meaning. We adopt here a traditional taxonomy of semantic types of adverbial clauses, which is cast in terms of rhetorical notions such as conditionality, temporality, causality and purpose.

12.2.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis). What is common to all constructions fitting the IF P THEN Q schema is that they convey a consequence implicature, asserting that the situation described in the apodosis follows in one way or the other from the situation described in the protasis clause.

One important semantic distinction within the wide array of conditional constructions is that between open and remote conditionals. This subdivision is based on a contrast between "realis" and "irrealis" modality. Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to the question whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but

attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. *zotan de eγwancowz ezoun qnanaγ nōi peγxoeic xe a kemntxoeic amaγte exwou* '[when (*zotan*) they (the Egyptians) *gather* (*e-γ-ωαν-ωουz ezoun*)], their lord (*peγ-xoeic*) will see (*q-na-naγ*) that (*xe*) another leadership (*ke-mnt-xoeic*) has power (*a ... amaγte*) over them (*exw-ou*)' (Camb. 8:10-12).

Remote conditionals, on the other hand, express the idea that the satisfaction of the condition expressed in the hypothetical clause is relatively unlikely or even impossible in the actual world, e.g. *enetetnempeima* (for *tetnmpema*) *hmate netetnnamez mooy nnetoywω tennaγine ntentroφh npzooγ pezooγ* '[if *you only* (*hmate*) *had been here* (*e-ne-tetn-em-peima*)], you could have drawn (*ne-tetn-na-meγ*) water (*mooy*) for those who wish for (it) (*n-n-et-oywω*), (and) we would have found (*ten-na-ōine*) our food (*n-ten-trophh*) from day (*n-pe-zooγ*) to day (*pe-zooγ*)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29). The open conditional represents the prototypical conditional construction: we will examine it first, and then turn to the remote version.

12.2.1.1 Open conditionals

There are six basic categories of open conditional constructions, each associated with distinct syntactic and semantic properties: (i) *e-q-ωan*-conditionals, (ii) *ewwpe-/ewxe*-conditionals, (iii) concessive conditionals (*kan* 'even if'), (iv) 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, (v) coordinated and juxtaposed structures with conditional interpretations and (vi) hypothetical free relatives.

12.2.1.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) Word order

Word order in conditional sentences is largely determined by the principle of iconicity: since the protasis is logically prior to the apodosis, the conditional adjunct clause is generally placed in the front position of preposed adverbs, e.g. *erwan oucon de woubeq neqthnkoτk (...)* *ere peqrmnhē bok epta nnoikonomos nqxitou naq wantqlo*

'[when a brother (ΟΥ-CON) hurts himself (ΕΡ-ΨΑΝ ... ΨΟΟΘΕ-Ϛ) and cannot sleep (ΝΕϚ-ΤΗ-ΝΚΟΤΚ) (...)], his superintendent (ΠΕϚ-ΡΜΝ-ΗΙ) should go (ΕΡΕ ... ΒΩΚ) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) of the stewards (Ν-Ν-ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ) and take it (Ν-Ϛ-ΧΙΤ-ΟΥ) (the oil, a garment) for him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) until he gets better (ΨΑΝΤ-Ϛ-ΛΟ)' (praec. Pach. 105).

Conditional constructions with the reverse order also occur. The postponement of the conditional adjunct to the end of the consequence clause conveys a strong sense of contrastive focus, e.g. ΕΡΕ ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΧΑΙΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΘΑΙΦΙC ΤΑΖΟΟΥ Η ΕΥΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΒΕ ΕΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕCΩ 'where (ΤΩΝ) will they who are (Ν-ΕΤΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) the desert (Π-ΧΑΙΕ) for the sake of (ΕΤΒΕ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) find (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΖΕ) somebody (Ε-ΡΩΜΕ), [when they get into trouble (lit. if trouble (ΟΥ-ΘΑΙΦΙC) comes upon them (ΡΨΑΝ ... ΤΑΖΟ-ΟΥ)], or (Η) [when they are hungry (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΖΚΟ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) food (Ε-ΤΡΟΦΗ); [when they suffer from thirst (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΒΕ)], where (ΤΩΝ) will they find (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΖΕ) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)?' (Onnophr. 211:11-14).

b) Syntactic dependency

Conditional adjunct clauses are less well integrated into the matrix clause than temporal adjunct clauses. For this reason, the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional construction may be distributed over two successive clauses, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑϚ ΧΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΠΕ ΕΜΝ [Ϛ]ΒΟΜ ΗΜΟϚ Ε† ΝΟΥΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΠΕΧΑϚ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕϚΤΗΜΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΖΗ ΠΑΡΑΝ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ι) to him (ΝΑ-Ϛ) [(that) (ΧΕ) »if (ΕΨΩΠΕ) he (ΠΕ) (is) poor (ΟΥ-ΖΗΚΕ) and cannot afford (lit. without (there) being (Ε-ΜΝ) power (ΨΒΟΜ) in him (ΗΜΟ-Ϛ)) to give (Ε-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ) in your name (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΡΑΝ)«] He said (ΠΕΧΑ-Ϛ) to me (ΝΑ-Ι) [(that) (ΧΕ) »he should nourish (ΜΑΡΕ-Ϛ-ΤΗΜΕ) a poor (Ν-ΖΗΚΕ) brother (ΟΥ-CΟΝ) in (ΖΗ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ)!«] (Onnophr. 216:14-16).

c) Clause types

All major clause types apply to open conditionals: declarative, interrogative, exclamative, imperative. The clause type category is expressed in the apodosis clause, while the protasis is invariably formulated as a declarative clause.

Examples: (declarative) ΕCΨΑΝΘΩΨΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑC ΨΑΡΕ ΠΕCCA ΝΖΟΥΝ ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑCΠΑΖΤC ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝCΡΙΜΕ '[when she (Hilaria) looked (Ε-C-ΨΑΝ-ΘΩΨΤ) at her (sister's) face (Ε-ΖΡΑ-C)], her inner (Ν-ΖΟΥΝ) part (ΠΕC-CA) melted away (ΨΑΡΕ ... ΒΩΛ) (and) she threw herself (ΨΑ-C-ΠΑΖΤ-C) on (ΕΧΗ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) and wept (Ν-C-ΡΙΜΕ)' (Hil. 9:13-14), (interrogative) ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΚCΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΓΡΑΦΗ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) you (ΝΤΚ) (are) a soldier (ΟΥ-ΜΑΤΟΙ)], how (ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ) do you know (Κ-CΟΟΥΝ) the Scriptures (Ν-ΝΕ-ΓΡΑΦΗ)?' (Mena, Enc. 55b:7-10), (imperative) ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΘΗ ΠΑΨΕΙΝΕ (for ΠΑΨΙΝΕ) ΜΠΡΚΑ ΠΑCΩΜΑ ΖΗ ΠΗΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΟΜCϚ ΝΖΗΤϚ '[if the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙC) visits me (ΕΡΨΑΝ ... ΘΗ ΠΑ-ΨΕΙΝΕ)], do not let my body (ΠΑ-CΩΜΑ) rest (ΜΠΡ-ΚΑ) in (ΖΗ) the place (Π-ΜΑ) where (ΝΖΗΤ-Ϛ) it will be buried (lit. they will bury it (ΕΤ-ΟΥ-ΝΑ-ΤΟΜC-Ϛ))!' (V. Pach. 93:27-28), (exclamative) ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΜΕΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΑΧΙΑ Η ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΤΗΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕCΝΟϚ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC 'woe (ΟΥΟΙ) to you (ΝΗ-ΤΝ) [if you do not go (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΤΗ-ΒΩΚ) to church (Ε-Τ-ΕΚΚΑΧΙΑ)] or (Η) [if you do not take (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΨΑΝ-ΧΙ) from (ΕΒΟΛ) the body (Π-CΩΜΑ) and (ΜΝ) the blood (ΠΕ-CΝΟϚ) of the Lord (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙC)]' (Sh. III 45:10-11).

□ INTERROGATIVE APODOSIS

Open conditions with an interrogative apodosis are commonly interpreted as biased questions: the protasis clause provides information that suggests a negative answer to the question expressed in the apodosis clause, e.g. ΕΨΧΕ ΜΠΨΘΜΒΟΜ ΕΤΨΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΝΟΒΝΕC ΝΤΑΜΑΛΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΕΙΝΑΨΤΨΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΨΠΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΧ̄C ΜΝ ΝΕϚΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ '[if (ΕΨΧΕ) I was not able (ΜΠ-Ι-Ψ-ΘΜ-ΒΟΜ) to bear (Ε-ΤΨΟΥΝ) my mother's (Ν-ΤΑ-ΜΑΛΥ) reproach (ΖΑ Π-ΝΟΒΝΕC)], how (Ν-ΑΨ Ν-ΖΕ) will I be able to bear (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-Ψ-ΤΨΟΥΝ) the shame (ΖΑ Π-ΨΠΕ) on the day (Μ-ΠΕ-ΖΟΟΥ) of the judgement (Ν-ΤΕ-ΚΡΙCΙC) before (ΖΙΘΗ) Christ (Μ-ΠΕ-Χ̄C) and (ΜΝ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) his angels

(ΝΕQ-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC)?' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:19-21) (implied meaning: since I did not live up to my mother's expectation, there is no way that I could pass the Lord's judgement), ΕΩΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΒΕΚΗ (for ΠΑΒΕΚΕ) ΕΙΝΑΕΡ ΟΥ ΝΤΑΙ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) (is) my wage (ΠΑ-ΒΕΚΗ), *what* (ΟΥ) shall I do (Ε-Ι-ΝΑ-ΕΡ) with this (brick) (Ν-ΤΑΙ)?' (Mena, Mir. 79b:15-18) (implied meaning: I cannot do anything with this brick; it's not a reward at all).

□ IMPERATIVAL APODOSIS

In specifying a circumstance under which some course of action has to be taken, open conditionals formed with an imperatival apodosis are generally more restrictive than simple main clause imperatives. They commonly express non-wilful directives (advice, recommendations, warnings), e.g. ΕΩΧΕ CΕΡΑΝΑΚ ΗΠΕΚΡΑΤΟC (read ΗΠΕΚΚΡΑΤΟC) ΕΩΠΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΗΠΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΟΥ (read ΤΗΝΟΟΥ) ΝΤΕΚΨΗΡΕ ΕΨΗΤ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΣΚΥΤΗC (for ΝΝΑΣΚΗΤΗC) ΕΤΖΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) it pleases (C-ΕΡ ΑΝΑ-Κ) your majesty (Η-ΠΕ<Κ>-ΚΡΑΤΟC) to accept (Ε-ΨΩΠ) for you (ΕΡΟ-Κ) our advice (Η-ΠΕΝ-ΨΑΧΕ), *send* (ΤΕΝΟΟΥ) your daughter (Ν-ΤΕΚ-ΨΗΡΕ) to Shiēt (Ε-ΨΗΤ) to (Ε-ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ) the hermits (Ν-ΝΑΣΚΥΤΗC) who (reside) in (ΕΤ-ΖΗ) that (ΕΤΗΜΑΥ) place (Π-ΜΑ)!' (Hil. 7:7-9), ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΩΠΕ ΚΟΥΨ ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΑΛΟ ΑΡΙCΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΗΠΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΨΑΝΤΚΡ ΠΕΖΟΥ CΝΑΥ 'but [if (ΕΨΩΠΕ) you want (Κ-ΟΥΨ) to do (Ε-ΕΙΡΕ) a few (Ν-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) healings (Ν-ΤΑΛΟ), *do them* (ΑΡΙ-CΟΥ) outside (Η-Π-ΒΟΛ) the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC) at a distance (lit. until you make (ΨΑΝΤ-Κ-Ρ)) of two (CΝΑΥ) days (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ)!' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34).

d) Iteration of conditional adjuncts

Open conditional constructions may be recursive, allowing more than one protasis clause. The iteration of conditional adjuncts is comparatively rare, especially if they are placed adjacent to one another, e.g. ΕΩΧΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΚΑ ΡΩQ ΑΝ ΕQΨΑΝΟΜΟΜ ΕΤΩΒΕ ΗΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕQCΖΗΜΕ ΡΟCΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕQΝΑΪ CΟ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΝΤΑQΠΑΛCCE ΗΜΟΥ ΙC 'if (ΕΩΧΕ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) will not (ΑΝ) shut (ΝΑ-ΚΑ) his mouth (ΡΩ-Q)], [if he is able (Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-ΟΜ-ΟΜ) to repay (Ε-ΤΩΒΕ) him who committed

(Η-Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adultery (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to his wife (Ε-ΤΕQ-CΖΗΜΕ)], how much (ΡΟCΩ) more (ΜΑΛΛΟΝ) will he who created (ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Q-ΠΑΛCCE) them (ΗΜΟ-ΟΥ), Jesus (ΙC), give (Ε-Q-ΝΑ-Τ) pardon (CΟ)?' (Sh. Or 44, 163a:13-22).

12.2.1.1.2 Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-conditionals

Open conditionals formed with the Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-CΩΤΗ pattern may assume a range of different semantic interpretations, some of which are related to realis modality, while others involve quantification over event types.

a) Consequence and inference

The Ε-Q-ΨΑΝ-conditional construction generally conveys a consequence implicature: the apodosis situation is presented as the expected or intended outcome of the protasis situation. This relation is very often one of cause and effect, e.g. CΕΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙ ΝCΕΟΝΤΗ ΕΝΡΗC ΤΗΝΑΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ 'since (ΓΑΡ) they (the temptations) will come (CΕ-ΝΗΥ) and (ΑΥΩ) [when they come (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙ) and find us (Ν-CΕ-ΟΝΤ-Η) awake (Ε-Ν-ΡΗC)], we will be glorified (lit. receive (ΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΧΙ) glory (ΕΟΟΥ))' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17), ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΗΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΤΡΕ Π[ΛΙ] ΨΩΠΕ ΨΑΙΤ ΗΠΠΙΝΑΞ '[if the God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) of the holy (Η-Π-ΖΑΓΙΟC) Apa Mēna makes (ΕΡΨΑΝ ΤΡΕ) this (ΠΑΙ) happen (ΨΩΠΕ)], I give (ΨΑ-Ι-Τ) the dish (Η-Π-ΠΙΝΑΞ)' (Mena, Mir. 20a:18-22).

A second common type of consequence is inference, where the truth of the apodosis is seen as following from that of the protasis clause, e.g. ΕΚΨΑΝΚΡΙΝΕ ΑΚΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΗΠΝΟΜΟC ΖΩΩΚ '[when you judge (Ε-Κ-ΨΑΝ-ΚΡΙΝΕ)], you, too (ΖΩΩ-Κ), have transgressed (Α-Κ-ΠΑΡΑΒΑ) the law (Η-Π-ΝΟΜΟC)' (AP Elanskaya 22a:7-9), ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ ΤΗΡΟΥ CΕΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟQ '[because (ΓΑΡ) if all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) who saw (Ν-ΕΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΝΑΥ) him (Jesus) (ΕΡΟ-Q) come to know (Ε-Υ-ΨΑΝ-ΕΙΜΕ) (about it)], they will believe (CΕ-ΝΑ-ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ) in him (ΕΡΟ-Q)' (Eud. 52:21-22).

b) Realis modality

Open $\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals indicate a positive belief on the part of the speaker about the actualisation of the protasis situation at some point in the nearby future, e.g. $\lambda\gamma\omega \uparrow\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \chi\epsilon \epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta\iota \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota \tau\eta\eta\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\eta \chi\eta\upsilon \tau\eta\rho\eta \chi\iota\tau\eta \nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) I believe ($\uparrow\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) [if he comes ($\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta\iota$) to us ($\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$)] we all ($\tau\eta\rho\eta$) will benefit (lit. gain ($\tau\eta\eta\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\eta$) profit ($\chi\eta\upsilon$)) from ($\chi\iota\tau\eta$) his prayers ($\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda$)]' (Hil. 10:30-31), $\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\lambda\chi\iota \mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu \nu\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \kappa\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\psi\omega\eta\chi\iota \epsilon\rho\omicron[\kappa] \nu\kappa\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon [\nu\eta\mu]\mu\alpha\kappa \nu\eta\lambda\gamma \nu\eta\mu$ '[when you receive ($\epsilon\kappa\psi\alpha\lambda\eta\chi\iota$) the crown ($\mu\pi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\mu$) of the martyrdom ($\nu\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$)], he (Jesus) will reveal (himself) ($\kappa\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\psi\omega\eta\chi\iota$) to you ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$) and talk ($\nu\kappa\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to you ($\nu\eta\mu\mu\alpha\kappa$) every ($\nu\eta\mu$) hour ($\nu\eta\lambda\gamma$)' (KHML II 30:22-23), $\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa \epsilon\chi\rho\alpha\iota \epsilon\theta\iota\lambda\eta\eta\mu$ (...) $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \nu\omicron\iota \nu\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$ (...) '[when you (woman) go ($\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa$) to ($\epsilon\theta\iota\lambda\eta\eta\mu$) Jerusalem] (...), the people from ($\nu\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) my tribe ($\tau\alpha\phi\gamma\lambda\eta$) will inform you ($\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron$) about it ($\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$) (the tomb)' (Eud. 58:23-26).

The conditional adjunct may establish a time frame for the course of action described in the consequence clause, e.g. $\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda \pi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta \epsilon[\iota] \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \lambda\eta\eta \epsilon\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta \lambda\gamma\omega \pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron \nu\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \nu\epsilon$ '[when daylight ($\pi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$) appears ($\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$... $\epsilon\iota \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)], go (woman) ($\lambda\eta\eta$) to my shrine ($\epsilon\pi\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) healing ($\pi\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron$) will be granted (lit. will happen ($\nu\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$)) to you ($\nu\epsilon$)' (Mena, Mir. 30b:19-23), $\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa \nu\omicron\iota \nu\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon \nu\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega \uparrow\mu\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\kappa \nu\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\kappa \epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$ '[when the people ($\nu\epsilon\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$) of the harbour ($\nu\tau\epsilon\mu\rho\omega$) go to sleep ($\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$)], I will take it (the corpse) ($\uparrow\mu\alpha\kappa\iota\tau\kappa$) and throw it ($\nu\tau\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\kappa$) into the sea ($\epsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$)' (Mena, Mir. 14a:3-7).

c) Multiple situations

The protasis and the apodosis situation of open $\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals are located in the same time-sphere, temporal reference being established by the tense of the matrix clause. The selection of habitual aspect in the apodosis clause imposes quantificational interpretation on the entire conditional sentences, which then describes the interdependency between two event patterns, e.g. $\lambda\lambda\alpha \rho\psi\alpha\lambda \omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\eta \uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\chi \nu\alpha\varsigma \chi\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\omega\kappa$ (for $\chi\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\omega\kappa$)

$\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\kappa$ '[but ($\lambda\lambda\alpha$) whenever a brother ($\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\eta$) hurt ($\rho\psi\alpha\lambda$... $\uparrow\mu\kappa\alpha\chi$) him (the ill-tempered monk) ($\nu\alpha\kappa$) in anything ($\chi\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\chi\omega\kappa$)], he used to hate him ($\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\kappa\mu\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\kappa$)' (V. Pach. 86:2-3), $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega \nu\eta\mu \epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota \nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa \nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\varsigma\omega\upsilon\chi\iota \epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$ (...) 'because ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon$) every ($\nu\eta\mu$) time ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omega$) [when they finished ($\epsilon\upsilon\psi\alpha\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega$) eating ($\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu$) their small portion ($\mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$) of bread ($\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$)], they used to gather ($\nu\epsilon\psi\alpha\gamma\varsigma\omega\upsilon\chi\iota$) with one another ($\epsilon\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$) (...) ' (V. Pach. 137:3-4), $\epsilon\varsigma\psi\alpha\lambda\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \nu\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon \nu\alpha\varsigma \nu\chi\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\tau \eta \chi\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\delta\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu \psi\alpha\kappa\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon \nu\kappa\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma \nu\alpha\gamma$ '[whensoever it happened ($\epsilon\varsigma\psi\alpha\lambda\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) [(that) they brought ($\nu\varsigma\epsilon\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$) him (Pachōm) ($\nu\alpha\kappa$) fish ($\nu\chi\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\tau$) or (η) other food ($\chi\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\delta\iota\eta\omicron\upsilon\omega\mu$)]], he took it ($\psi\alpha\kappa\chi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$) and prepared it ($\nu\kappa\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) for them (the brothers) ($\nu\alpha\gamma$)' (V. Pach. 5:1-3).

12.2.1.1.3 $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ -conditionals

As a syntactic alternative for the $\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ -pattern, the hypothetical clause of an open conditional can also be marked as such by the conditional conjunctions $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ 'if, when'. The apodosis clause is sometimes introduced by correlative $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ 'then', e.g. $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\pi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho \epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon \kappa\eta\alpha\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta \tau\alpha\chi\eta \chi\eta \pi\chi\omega\beta \epsilon\uparrow\eta\alpha\epsilon\omega\kappa \epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\iota\epsilon \mu\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\eta \epsilon\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\eta\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota \mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ '(oh) Lord ($\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), God ($\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$) Almighty ($\pi\pi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omega\rho$), [if ($\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$) you want to direct ($\kappa\eta\alpha\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$) my way ($\tau\alpha\chi\eta$) in ($\chi\eta$) the matter ($\pi\chi\omega\beta$) that I want to pursue ($\epsilon\uparrow\eta\alpha\epsilon\omega\kappa$), then ($\epsilon\iota\epsilon$) let me hear ($\mu\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\omega\tau\eta$) Scripture readings ($\epsilon\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\gamma\eta\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$) that are suited ($\epsilon\upsilon\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$) to my goal ($\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$)!' (Hil. 2:20-21).

a) Syntactic distribution

Open $\epsilon\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ - and $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ -conditionals complement each other in various ways. Thus, while $\epsilon\rho\psi\alpha\lambda\eta$ -conditionals are restricted to verbal clauses, a range of verbal and non-verbal sentence patterns are initiated by the conditional subordinators $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$ or $\epsilon\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$. Thus, consider: $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon \nu\kappa\eta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon\eta \lambda\eta \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\uparrow\tau \nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma \nu\alpha\eta$ '[if ($\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$) he will not ($\lambda\eta$) rise ($\nu\kappa\eta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon\eta$)], he shall give ($\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\uparrow\tau$) what is his ($\nu\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$) to us

fornicating (τε-πορνευε), although you have (ε-οντε) your husband (που-2αι)], you are actually (οντως) no (αν) different (τετν-υοβε) from beasts (ε-νε-θηριον)' (Sh. Or 44, 155a:4-12).

12.2.1.1.4 Concessive conditionals

The essence of concessive ('EVEN THOUGH') conditionals is a semantic opposition between the hypothetical clause, which may or may not be true, and the consequent clause, which is claimed to be so. Whereas in a regular conditional the consequence depends on the truth of the hypothetical clause, in a concessive, the reality of the event or situation in the antecedent clause is irrelevant. The truth of the subordinate clause might lead one to expect that the superordinate clause would be false (contrary-to-expectation implicature).

Coptic concessive conditionals are initiated with the concessive subordinators ΚΑΝ or ΠΑΝ 'even though' plus a conditional adjunct clause. Both ε-q-ψαν- and εψωπε-/εψχε-conditionals are permitted. Very often, the consequence clause of concessive conditionals is marked as contrastively focused by means of the adversative conjunction ΑΛΛΑ 'but, nevertheless', as in: ΚΑΝ ΕΚΨΑΝΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΜΗ ΝΤΕΤ ΟΥΩΜ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΗΝΝΑ ΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΝ ΕΥΨΑΝΤ ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΚΩΖΤ ΝΦΟΧΝΟΥ ΠΚΑΖ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΡΟQ '[even though (ΚΑΝ) you may say (ε-κ-ψαν-χοο-с) that (χε) the birds (Ν-ΖΑΛΑΤΕ) and (ΗΝ) the fish (Ν-ΤΕΤ) ate (Α ... ΟΥΩΜ) others (ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) they had come (ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΗ) the latter (Ν-ΕΤ-ΗΜΑΥ), they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ) to the earth (ε-Π-ΚΑΖ). [Even though (ΚΑΝ) they might give (ε-Υ-ψαν-τ) some (ΖΟΕΙΝΕ) (of them) to the fire (Μ-Π-ΚΩΖΤ) and it perishes them (Ν-q-οχн-ου)], (it is) again (ΟΝ) the earth (Π-ΚΑΖ) towards which (ΕΡΟ-q) they returned (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-ΚΤΟ-ΟΥ)' (Zen. 202:13-16), ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΖΕΝΑΨΗ ΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΦΟΥΨ ΕΨCΨΟΥΖ ΜΗΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕ ΝΝΑΖΡΗ ΝΕΤCΨΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕCΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΙΡΟC ΕΤΗΗΥ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [even (ΚΑΝ) though (ΕΨΧΕ) those he (Απα Zenobius) had already (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-q-ΟΥΨ) gathered (ε-q-сΨΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ) (are) many (ΖΕΝ-ΑΨΗ)], they (ΝΕ) (were) nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) only (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) compared to (ΝΝΑΖΡΗ) those that he was zealous (Ν-ΕΤ-q-CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) to

gather (ε-сΨΟΥΖ-ΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ) in (ΖΗ) the time (Π-ΚΑΙΡΟC) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ)' (Zen. 205:13-16), ΠΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΗΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΝΕΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ (for ΝΕΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ) ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡΗ[Η] ΜΗΝCΟΦΟC ΕΡΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC '[even (ΠΑΝ) though (ΕΨΧΕ) (it is) just (ΕΜΑΤΕ) a few things (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) that we are going to say (Ν-ΕΤ-Ν-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Υ) about (ΖΗ) his (Απα Zenobius') achievements (ΝΕΚ-ΚΑΤΩΡΩΜΑ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) these (ΝΑΙ) suffice (ΡΩΨΕ) to provide (ε-†) a starting point (ΑΦΟΡΗ) for the wise men (Ν-Ν-CΟΦΟC) to become wiser (ε-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC)' (Zen. 201:13-14), ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΝ CΟΜ ΜΗΟΚ ΕΤΑΜΙΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΙ ΤΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΚΒΗΚ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΨΑΝΤΑΕΙ ΝΤΑ† ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΚΒΕΚΗ (read ΜΠΕΚΒΕΚΕ) '[even (ΚΑΝ) though (ΕΨΧΕ) you are able (lit. (there) is (ΟΥΕΝ) power (CΟΜ) in you (ΜΗΟ-Κ)) to manufacture (it) (the brick) (ε-ΤΑΜΙΟ)], nevertheless (ΑΛΛΑ) take (ΧΙ) this (brick) (ΤΑΙ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) [when you go (ε-Κ-ΒΗΚ) to the city (ε-Κ-ΒΗΚ) [until I come (ΨΑΝΤΑ-ΕΙ) and give (ΝΤΑ-†) you (ΝΑ-Κ) your wage (Μ-ΠΕΚ-ΒΕΚΗ)]]' (Mena, Mir. 79b:6-13).

12.2.1.1.5 Other markers of conditionality

Marked alternatives to the conditional markers εψχε and εψωπε 'if, when' include the Greek subordinating complementisers ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ 'as long as' and ΕΙΗΗΤΙ 'unless, except that', e.g. ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ ΕCΝCΩΝ ΕΤΗΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΤΡΕΝCΩΨ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙC '[as long as (ΕΝΖΟCΟΝ) it is up to us (ε-С-NCΩ-Ν) not to sin (lit. make (ε-ΤΗ-Ρ) sin (ΝΟΒΕ))], let us not loathe (ΜΠΡ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-СΩΨ) grace (Ν-ΤΕ-ΧΑΡΙC)!' (Sh. IV 24:8-9), Ν†ΝΑ† ΖΩΒ ΕQΖΟCΕ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΙΗΗΤΕΙ ΝΓQΕΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΙΒΑΝΟC ΝΓΤΑΛΟQ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΗ ΤΨΗΥΕ ΝΓΧΟΟC ΜΗΑΤΕ (...) 'I will not (ΑΝ) burden (lit. give (Ν-†-ΝΑ-†)) you (ΝΑ-Κ) (with) a difficult (ε-q-ΖΟCΕ) job (ΖΩΒ), [except that (ΕΙΗΗΤΕΙ) (that) you carry (ΝΓQΕΙ) some (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΟΥΙ) frankincense (Ν-ΑΙΒΑΝΟC), place it (Ν-Γ-ΤΑΛΟ-q) on (ΕΧΗ) the altar (Τ-ΨΗΥΕ) and just (ΜΗΑΤΕ) say (Ν-Γ-ΧΟΟ-С) (....)]' (KHML II 33:14-16).

12.2.1.1.6 Circumstantial clauses as implicit conditionals

Circumstantial 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often interpreted as implicitly conditional constructions, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΝΑΧΠΕ ΨΗΡΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΜΠΓΑΜΟC

ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 'why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) would you, oh (Ω) man (ΠΡΩΜΕ) and (ΛΥΩ) you (ΝΤΟ) woman (ΤΕ-ΣΖΙΜΕ), beget (Ε-Κ-ΝΑ-ΧΠΕ) children (ΨΗΡΕ) in secret (Ν-ΧΙΟΥΕ) [if God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) gives (ΕΡΕ ... †) marriage (Μ-Π-ΓΑΜΟΣ) to everyone (Ν-ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ)]?' (Sh. Or 44, 153b:41-48).

Negative conditions are formed with the Relative Present Ε-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ 'when/while he hears/heard' and the ΤΗ 'to do not' (see above, section 9.4.6.3), e.g. ΕΙΤΗΨΕΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΦΝΑΟΥΑΖΦ ΝΣΩΙ ΑΝ '[if I do not wander to and fro (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΨΕΕΙ) with him (the obnoxious monk) in (ΖΝ) everything (ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ)], he will not (ΑΝ) follow (Ν-Φ-ΝΑ-ΟΥΑΖ-Φ) me (ΝΣΩ-Ι)' (V. Pach. 147:26-27), ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΤΗΤΑΜΙΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΦΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ (...) '(as for) the latter (ΠΑΙ ΔΕ), [if I did not manufacture it (the net) (Ε-Ι-ΤΗ-ΤΑΜΙΟ-Σ) for him (ΝΑ-Φ)], he would say (Φ-ΝΑ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) that (ΧΕ) (...) ' (AP Elanskaya 24a:17-18), ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΝΓΝΑΣΕΝ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΗΠΕΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΛΑΦ 'verily (ΖΝ ΟΥ-ΜΕ), you will not (ΑΝ) leave (Ν-Γ-ΝΑ-ΣΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ) this place (ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), [if you have not admitted (ΗΠΕ-Κ-ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ) what you have done (Μ-ΠΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Φ)]' (KHML II 52:8-9).

12.2.1.1.7 Conditionally interpreted coordinated and juxtaposed structures
Many coordinated and juxtaposed sentence constructions do not have the form or literal meaning of open conditionals, but serve indirectly to convey conditional meaning. Such conditionally interpreted coordinated or juxtaposed structures often contain an imperatival clause as a first conjunct, e.g. ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΤΒΕΟ ΤΑΡΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΠΟΛΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'preserve (ΖΑΡΕΖ) purity (Ε-Π-ΤΒΕΟ) and you will go (ΤΑΡΕ-Κ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙΣ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)' (Catéch. Pach. 81:8), ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΝΡΕΦ† ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΤΑΡΕ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΩΚ 'become (ΨΩΠΕ) a tree (Ν-ΨΗΝ) which brings forth (Ν-ΡΕΦ-†) fruit (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ) and the Lord's (Μ-Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) blessing (ΠΕ-ΣΜΟΥ) will come down (ΤΑΡΕ ... ΨΩΠΕ) upon you (ΖΙΧΩ-Κ)' (BHom. 4:32-33).

12.2.1.1.8 Hypothetical free relatives

Topicalised free relatives with non-specific reference are often used as a semantic paraphrase of a protasis clause of an open conditional construction, with the surrounding main clause being interpreted as the

apodosis (see above, section 11.2.2 of Unit 11), e.g. ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΖΜ ΠΑΡΑΝ ΕΥΡ ΠΗΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΙ ΙΤ ΖΩΩΦ ΝΑΝΤΦ ΖΝ ΤΨΟΡΠ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΠΨΟ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'he who will give (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-†) a sacrifice (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ) in (ΖΜ) my name (ΠΑ-ΡΑΝ) in remembrance (Ε-Υ-Ρ Π-ΗΕΕΥΕ) of me (ΝΑ-Ι), Jesus (ΙΤ) himself (ΖΩΩ-Φ) will receive him (ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Φ) in (ΖΝ) the first (Τ-ΨΟΡΠ) hour (Ν-ΟΥΝΟΥ) of (the banquet of) the thousand (Μ-Π-ΨΟ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ)' (Onnophr. 216:12-14).

12.2.1.2 Remote conditionals

The remote conditional construction puts forward a hypothetical condition about which the speaker knows that the satisfaction of that condition in the actual world is relatively unlikely or even impossible. The apodosis clause describes what would have been the consequence if the protasis condition had been satisfied, e.g. ΝΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΤΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΗΜΟΦ '(if) the Lord (Π-ΧΟΕΙΣ) were (ΝΕΡΕ) in this place (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ), I would go (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΒΩΚ) and appeal (ΤΑ-ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ) to him (ΗΜΟ-Φ)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101), ΕΝΕΜΠΟΥΡΨΡΠΡ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΣΝΑΠΕΙΘΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΣΝΑΡΑΨΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΟ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΣΨΕΕΡΕ '[if they had not first committed (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠ-ΟΥ-Ρ-ΨΡΠ-Ρ) adultery (ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her (ΕΡΟ-Σ)], she would not (ΑΝ) have cajoled (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΠΕΙΘΕ) or (ΟΥΔΕ) rejoiced (ΝΕ-Σ-ΝΑ-ΡΑΨΕ) about him who is (Π-ΕΤ-Ο) adulterous (Ν-ΝΟΕΙΚ) to her daughter (Ε-ΤΕΣ-ΨΕΕΡΕ)' (Sh. III 76:6-7).

12.2.1.2.1 Tense and mood restrictions

As with open conditionals, various combinations of protasis and apodosis tenses are possible in remote conditionals, although some arrangements are much more frequent than others. The protasis clause usually contains a preterit tense, which expresses modal remoteness, not past time, e.g. ΕΝΕΦΟΥΨΩ Ε† ΝΑΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΗ (for ΜΠΕΝΒΕΚΕ) ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΙΤΩΒΕ ΖΕΝ (for ΖΝ) ΤΕΠΠΟΛΙΣ '[if he (Apa Mēna) were not (ΑΝ) willing (Ε-ΝΕ-Φ-ΟΥΨΩ) [to give (Ε-†) us (ΝΑΝ) our wage (Μ-ΠΕΝ-ΒΕΚΗ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) our neediness (ΤΕΝ-ΗΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ)]], what (ΟΥ) would be (ΝΕ) the use (ΤΕ-ΧΡΙΑ) of this brick (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΤΩΒΕ) in (ΖΕΝ) this city (ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙΣ)]?' (Mēna, Mir. 80b:20-28), ΕΝΕΥΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥΗΝΤΑΤΨΑΥ ΝΕΟΥΨΠΕ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if

(they (the parents) were (Ε-ΝΕ-Υ-Ο) ignorant (Ν-ΑΤ-ΟΟΟΥΝ) of their (the children's) worthlessness (Ε-ΝΕΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΨΑΥ)], it (ΠΕ) would not (ΑΝ) be (ΝΕ) a shame (ΟΥ-ΨΗΠΕ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ)' (Sh. III 75:19-20).

The combination of a Preterit Present protasis with a Preterite Future is commonly used to indicate the co-temporality between a hypothetical situation and its anticipated outcome, e.g. ΕΝΕΤΕΤΗΝΕΜΠΕΙΜΑ (for ΤΕΤΗΝΠΕΙΜΑ) ΜΗΛΤΕ ΝΕΤΕΤΗΝΑΜΕΖ ΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΩΨ ΤΕΝΝΑΓΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΡΟΦΗ ΜΠΖΟΥ ΠΕΖΟΥ '[if you only (ΜΗΛΤΕ) had been here (Ε-ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΗ-ΕΜ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)], you could have drawn (ΝΕ-ΤΕΤΗ-ΝΑ-ΜΕΖ) water (ΜΟΟΥ) for those who wish for (it) (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΩΨ), (and) we would have found (ΤΕΝ-ΝΑ-ΘΙΝΕ) our food (Ν-ΤΕΝ-ΤΡΟΦΗ) from day (Η-ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ) to day (ΠΕ-ΖΟΥ)' (Mena, Mir. 81b:21-29).

12.2.1.2.2 Irrealis modality

Open and remote conditionals have much in common semantically. Both conditional constructions express the interdependency between two states of affairs; they implicate that the apodosis situation is a consequence of the protasis situation. The remote conditional differs from the open conditional in that it entertains the situation described in the protasis clauses as being fulfilled in a hypothetical world that is different from the actual world, e.g. ΕΝΕΨΑΡΕ ΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΗΝΝΑ ΤΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΟ ΖΝ ΤΠΑΡΟΥΟΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΚΟΟΜΟΟ ΠΕ ΝΑΜΟΥ ΜΝΕΖΨΑΩ ΖΙ ΟΤΩΤ '[if the souls (ΝΕ-ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ) of men (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) were able to escape (Ε-ΝΕ-ΨΑΡΕ ... ΕΨ-ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ) from (ΖΝ) fear (ΘΟΤΕ < Τ-ΖΟΤΕ) after (ΜΗΝΝΑ) the resurrection (Τ-ΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΟ) in (ΖΝ) the presence (Τ-ΠΑΡΟΥΟΙΑ) of God (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)], the world (Π-ΚΟΟΜΟΟ) would die (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΜΟΥ) from terror (Ν-ΝΕΖ-ΨΑΩ) and (ΖΙ) trembling (ΟΤΩΤ)' (AP Chaîne no. 2, 1:24-2:1).

a) Reasoning about possible worlds

In remote conditionals, the speaker envisages a world differing from the actual one by stipulating a condition as being true in that world and imagining its consequences. Very often, reasoning about the properties of possible worlds is a way of drawing inferences about the actual world, e.g.

ΑΡΑ ΕΝΕΚΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΜΠΟΟΥ ΝΕΚΝΑΕΨΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΧΕ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗΟΙΑ '[so (ΑΡΑ) if you were in Alexandria (Ε-ΝΕ-Κ-ΖΝ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ) today (ΜΠΟΟΥ)], would you possibly dare (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΕΨ-ΤΟΛΜΑ) to speak (Ε-ΧΕ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) in (ΖΝ) public (ΟΥ-ΠΑΡΡΗΟΙΑ)?' (Zen. 202:30-31), ΕΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΩΨΝΕ ΟΝ ΝΧΙΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΡΕ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ '[if you had not also (ΟΝ) become sick (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΨΩΝΕ) in (ΝΧΙΝ) the first place (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ)], this state of poverty (ΤΕΙ-ΜΝΤ-ΖΗΚΕ) would not (ΑΝ) have befallen (ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ) us (ΜΜΟ-Ν)' (Mena, Mir. 80a:5-11), ΕΝΕΑΚΕΙΕΡΖ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΩΡΧ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΜΟΥΖ ΝΒΝΤ (for ΝΟΥΤ) ΕΡΟΚ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΠΩΖ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΚ[ΜΟΤΕ] ΝΕΚΝΑΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ [ΝΖΗ]ΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΓΩΙ ΖΑΡ[ΟΟΥ] ΝΓΤΗΖΛΟΠΛ[Π] '[if you had observed (Ε-ΝΕ-Α-Κ-ΕΙΕΡΖ) these (things) (ΝΑΙ) thoroughly (ΖΝ-ΟΥ-ΩΡΧ) and (ΑΥΩ) your living-quarter (ΠΕΚ-ΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ) would have been filled (ΝΤΕ ... ΜΟΥΖ) with worms (Ν-ΒΝΤ) until they reached (ΨΑΝΤ-ΟΥ-ΠΩΖ) your neck (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΜΟΤΕ)], you would have remained (ΝΕ-Κ-ΝΑ-Ω) in them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ), bearing (Ν-Γ-ΩΙ) under them (ΖΑΡ-ΟΥ) and not be weary (Ν-Γ-ΤΗ-ΖΛΟΠΛΠ)' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:26-28).

b) Counterfactuality

When the protasis clause of a remote conditional contains negation, it generally implies that the corresponding affirmative clause holds true in the actual world. The correlative meaning may be overtly marked by the subordinator ΕΨΧΕ 'then', which normally introduces conditional adjuncts, e.g. ΕΝΕΡΜΠΩ ΑΝ ΜΜΟΩ ΝΕΥΝΑΠΑΖΤΩ ΑΝ ΕΧΩ '[if you (woman) were not (ΑΝ) worthy (Ε-ΝΕ-Ρ-ΜΠΩ) of it (the oil) (ΜΜΟ-Ω)], they would not (ΑΝ) have sprinkled it (ΝΕ-Υ-ΝΑ-ΠΑΖΤ-Ω) on you (ΕΧΩ)' (KHML I 81:16-17), ΑΛΗΘΩΟ ΕΝΕΜΠΕ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΟΚΟΠΟΟ ΖΩΒΕΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ (for ΕΧΗ) ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΝΕΙΨΗΡΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΩ ΕΨΧΕ ΑΥΜΟΟΥΤΩ ΠΕ ΖΙΤΕΝ (for ΖΙΤΗ) ΘΟΡΜΗ ΜΠΜΗΝΩΕ ΕΤΨΟΩΟ ΕΧΩΩ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΧΩΖ ΜΗΛΤΕ ΕΝΕΚΖΟΕΙΤΕ (...) 'verily (ΑΛΗΘΩΟ), [if the archbishop (Π-ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΟΚΟΠΟΟ) had not protected (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ ... ΖΩΒΕΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΕΜ) the man (Π-ΡΩΜΕ) by whose virtue (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ-Ω) these wonders (ΝΕΙ-ΨΗΡΕ) had occurred (ΝΤ-Α ... ΨΩΠΕ)], then (ΕΨΧΕ) he

would have been killed (lit. *they* would have killed him (λ-Υ-ΜΟΟΥΤ-Ϟ)) by (ΖΙΤΕΝ) the assault (ΘΟΡΜΗ < Τ-ΖΟΡΜΗ) of the crowd (Η-Π-ΜΗΝΨΕ) that rushed down (ΕΤ-ΨΟΥΟ) on him (ΕΧΩ-Ϟ) just (ΜΜΑΤΕ) to touch (Ε-Υ-Ε-ΧΩΖ) his clothes (Ε-ΝΕϞ-ΖΟΕΙΤΕ) (...)’ (Mena, Mir. 90a:11-25), ΕΝΕΜΠΕΚΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΣΑϞ ΧΕ ΘΩ ΝΑΚ ΨΑ ΠΟΥϞ ΕΨΧΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΝΧΙΝ ΣΑϞ ΝΤΑΖΕ ΕΠΟΥΨ ΜΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΥ ΖΑ ΠΕΖΚΟ ‘[for (ΓΑΡ) if (ΕΝΕ) you had not said (Ε-ΝΕ-ΜΠΕ-Κ-ΧΟΟ-Σ) to your servant (Η-ΠΕΚ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) yesterday (Ν-ΣΑϞ) [(that) (ΧΕ) » Stay (ΘΩ) for you (ΝΑ-Κ) until (ΨΑ) today (ΠΟΥϞ)!«]], then (ΕΨΧΕ) I would have left (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) already (ΝΧΙΝ) yesterday (ΣΑϞ) and heard (ΝΤΑ-ΖΕ) the news (Ε-Π-ΟΥΨ) about my children (Η-ΝΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) that (ΧΕ) they are not going to die (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥ) of (ΖΑ) hunger (ΠΕ-ΖΚΟ)’ (Mena, Mir. 78b:10-19).

c) Exclamative ΖΑΜΟΙ

The exclamative particle ΖΑΜΟΙ ‘would that’ is occasionally added to the conditional adjunct to express regret on the part of the speaker about the fact that the actualisation of the situation at hand has been foreclosed for good, e.g. ΖΑΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΙΔΙΝΕ ΜΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΥΙ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΑΓΓ ΕΡΟϞ ΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΕ ΑΥΨ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΕΜΤΟΝ ‘[would that (ΖΑΜΟΙ) if I had found (Ε-ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΔΙΝΕ) the body (Η-Π-ΣΩΜΑ) of my little (Η-ΠΑ-ΚΟΥΙ) servant (Ν-ΖΜΖΑΛ)], I would have given (Α-Ι-Γ) him (ΕΡΟ-Ϟ) a shroud (Ν-ΟΥ-ΚΑΙΣΕ) and (ΑΥΨ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ) would come to rest (ΝΑ-ΕΜΤΟΝ)’ (Mena, Mir. 20a:11-16).

d) Counterfactuals with ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ

The protasis clause of remote conditionals can also be introduced by the negative conditional conjunction ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ ‘except that, had not’, e.g. ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ Α ΠΑΨΗΡΕ ΚΩΛΥ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΕΙΝΑΝΟΧΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ‘[had my son (ΠΑ-ΨΗΡΕ) not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) stopped (Α ... ΚΩΛΥ) me (ΗΜΟ-Ι)], I would have thrown it (the brick) (ΝΕ-Ι-ΝΑ-ΝΟΧ-Σ) away (ΕΒΟΛ)’ (Mena, Mir. 83b:17-21), ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΧΕ ΝΙΨΑΧΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΘΣ ΕΡΩΤΗ Η ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ‘[for (ΓΑΡ) had you not (ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ) spoken (ΝΤ-Α-ΤΕΤΝ-ΧΕ) these words (ΝΙ-ΨΑΧΕ) in (ΖΝ) ignorance (ΟΥ-ΜΝΤ-ΑΤ-ΣΟΟΥΝ)], God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)

would be angry (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΝΟΥΘΣ) with you (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) and (Η) evil things (ΖΕΝ-ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ) would happen (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΨΩΠΕ)’ (Sh. III 86:21-23).

12.2.2 Temporal subclauses

In Coptic, subordinate temporal clauses are generally expressed by means of relative tenses, so called because they locate the main clause situation in time in relation to the dependent clause situation. In providing a contextually given reference point, ‘WHEN’-, ‘AFTER’-, and ‘SINCE’-clauses play an important role in the temporal organisation of the narrative.

12.2.2.1 ‘WHEN’- and ‘WHILE’-clauses

The Relative Present Ε-Ϟ-ΩΤΗ ‘while he hears’ has a broad syntactic distribution, initiating such diverse sentence constructions as temporal subclauses, predicative adjuncts (subject and objective depictives), resultative complements, and sequential-consecutive clauses (see above, section 8.1.5 of Unit 8 for a more detailed review of the main construction types). What is common to all subordinate clauses containing a Relative Present is that two eventualities are located in the same time frame. Yet, we seem to be dealing with a heterogeneous class of subordinate clauses. The focus of this section is on the structural and interpretative differences between temporal subclauses and predicative adjuncts.

12.2.2.1.1 ‘WHEN’-clauses vs. predicative adjuncts

a) The adjunct-complement contrast

‘WHEN’- and ‘WHILE’-clauses are temporal location adjuncts, which can be omitted without significant change in meaning to the rest of the clause. Thus, the presence or absence of a temporal subclause does not affect the presentational meaning and function of the following subject-inverted sentences: ΕΤΕΙ (for ΕΤΙ) ΕΝΖΜΟΟΣ ΑΓΓ ΠΕϞΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΟΙ ΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΖΛΛΟ ΕΠΕϞΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ‘[when we were still (ΕΤΕΙ) sitting (Ε-Ν-ΖΜΟΟΣ)], an old (Ν-ΖΛΛΟ) priest (ΟΥ-ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ) came forth (lit. gave (Α-Ϟ-Γ) his way (ΠΕϞ-ΟΥΟΙ)) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι), whose

name (ε-περ-ραν) (was) John (ιωζαννης)' (Abbatôn 228:13-15) vs. αρεσκ νοι ουσον ψα απα χιχωι επιτοου ναπα αντωνιος 'a brother (ου-σον) went (α-ρ-εσκ) to (ψα) Apa Čičōi to the monastery (ε-π-τοου) of Apa Antonius' (AP Chaîne no. 117, 27:10).

The adjunct-complement contrast cuts across depictive and resultative predicates. As clausal complements of aspectual verbs, resultative phrases are part of a complex predicate and hence not omissible e.g. *χε νηειδω εικηκ αζηγ* 'so that (*χε*) I would not stay (*νηε-ι-δω*) naked (lit. stripped off (*ε-ι-κηκ*) naked (*αζηγ*))' (Onnophr. 217:31). There are grounds for saying that subject and object depictives are clausal adjuncts, even if their occurrence is licensed by certain types of verbs: object depictives, for instance, are generally construed with verbs of perception and discovery, e.g. *λιωτη ευμνησε ευψ εβολ ευριμε. 2η 2ενκετοπος αλλα νειναγ εροου αν πε* 'I heard (α-ι-ωτη) a multitude (ε-γ-μνησε) [*crying* (ε-γ-ωψ) out (εβολ) (and) weeping (ε-γ-ριμε) in (2η) other places (2εν-κε-τοπος)], but (αλλα) I could not (αν) see (νε-ι-ναγ) them (ερο-ου)' (Ac. A&P 204:139-140), *χε ανζε ερος ρω εσον2* 'because (*χε*) we found (α-ν-ζε) her (Hilaria) (ερο-ς) at all (ρω) [*being alive* (ε-ς-ον2)]' (Hil. 12:6-7).

b) Anaphoric dependencies

Depictives and resultatives share one argument with the main verbal predicate, which is cross-referenced by means of a resumptive subject pronoun, e.g. *ογτε νηετνημοος ετομ ετε[τη]ρ σναγ* 'and (ογτε) you shall not sit (νηε-τη-2μοος) on a mat (ε-τομ) [*with the two of you* (ε-τε-τη-ρ σναγ)]' (praec. Pach. 95), *κναγ εροι εψωνε* 'you find (lit. you see (κναγ)) me (ερο-ι) [*sick* (ε-ι-ψωνε)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:19-20), *αγω νεψαρσεκ ψομντ ν2ηε τερομπε ερνηστεγε* 'and (αγω) he (Issac) used to spend (νε-ψα-ρ-σεκ) three (times) (ψομντ) (of) forty (days) (ν-2ηε) a year (τε-ρομπε) [*fasting* (ε-γ-νηστεγε)]' (Test. Is. 231:32-232:1).

No such anaphoric dependencies constrain 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses, whose subject may be identical to or different from that of the main clause, as seen in: *εφωτη δε ελαι αφωντ εματε* 'when he (the

governor) heard (ε-φ-ωτη) these (words) (ε-λαι), he got very (εματε) angry (α-φ-ωντ)' (KHML I 76:17-18) vs. *λαι δε εφω ημοου νοι π2αλο ημαιουτε πενειωτ ισακ αγσωο2 εροφ νοι ναπερηι τηρου αγριμε* '[when the God-loving (η-μαι-νουτε) old man (π-2αλο), our father (πεν-εωτ) Isaac, said (ε-φ-ω) these (words) (λαι)], all (τηρ-ου) members of his household (λα-περ-ηι) gathered (α-γ-σωο2) around him (ερο-φ) (and) wept (α-γ-ριμε)' (Test. Is. 231:24-25).

c) Scope

As with temporal location adverbs, 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses take wide scope over the entire clause that they modify, e.g. *αγω αιτει (for ετι) εφο2ς αφ2ε επεσнт εχεν* (for εχн) *πφ2ο (for πεφ2ο) 2η τεγμηте* 'and (αγω) [*while* (αιτει) he (Pachôm) was still (αιτει) harvesting (ε-φ-ο2ς)], he fell (α-φ-2ε) down (επεснт) on (εχεν) his face (πφ-2ο) in (2η) their (the brothers') midst (τεγ-μηте)' (V. Pach. 87:16-17). Depictive and resultative predicates, on the other hand, are more limited in scope, modifying the main verb and one of its arguments, e.g. *χεκας εφεδω εφнаγ ερος ημνηε* 'in order that (χεκας) he could keep (ε-φ-ε-δω) [*seeing* (ε-φ-наγ) her (ερο-ς) daily (ημνηε)]' (Hil. 12:9-10), *αγ2ε εροφ εφ2μοος 2ι πμε2ωμнт нро ηππαλιον* 'they found (α-γ-2ε) him (Constantine) (ερο-φ) [*sitting* (ε-φ-2μοος) at (2ι) the third (π-με2-ωμнт) gate (н-ро) of the palace (η-π-παλιον)]' (Eud. 38:6).

d) Syntactic position

'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses can occur in two syntactic positions: at the end of the matrix clause in the position of heavy constituents, e.g. *εφνηγ δε εβολ 2η πτοου αφнаγ εροφ νοι π2αβολος нεε νογχωρε εαφкотφ επερηι 2η πтреφχρο 2η ππολγμος* (for ππολεμος) '[when he (Apa Moses) came (ε-φ-νηγ) down (εβολ) from (2η) the mountain (π-τοου)], the devil (π-2αβολος) saw (α-φ-наγ) him (ερο-φ) as (нεε < н-т-2ε) a hero (lit. strong one (н-ογ-χωρε)) who returned (ε-α-φ-кот-φ) to his home (ε-περ-ηι) after (2η) having won (π-тре-φ-χρο) in (2η) the war (π-πολγμος)' (KHML II 50:14-16), or in

the left-dislocated topic position of preposed adverbials, e.g. $\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa[\epsilon\pi] \pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \eta\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\beta\eta\kappa \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \eta\alpha\pi\alpha \eta\mu\eta\alpha \eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\pi[\varsigma\omega]\pi\iota$ 'you should not act ($\eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\epsilon\pi$) evil ($\pi\epsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon < \pi\text{-}\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) towards me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\iota$) [*whilst I am on my way* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\beta\eta\kappa$) to the shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of Apa Mēna to beseech him ($\eta\tau\alpha\text{-}\varsigma\epsilon\pi\varsigma\omega\pi\text{-}\iota$)]' (Mena, Mir. 29a:29-29b:1).

Depictive and resultative predicates have a more restricted syntax and must follow the main verb as closely as possible, e.g. $\lambda \pi\omicron\gamma\alpha \epsilon[\iota] \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota \mu\pi\alpha\tau\alpha \pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ 'one (dish) ($\pi\text{-}\omicron\gamma\alpha$) came ($\lambda \dots \epsilon\iota$) out ($\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) [*better* ($\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\tau\tau\iota$) *than* ($\mu\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$) *the other one* ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}\kappa\epsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\alpha$)]' (Mena, Mir. 18a:5-7), $\lambda\upsilon\rho \tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon \eta\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\rho \gamma\alpha\lambda \mu\pi\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \eta\mu\iota\eta \mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ 'they spent ($\lambda\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\rho$) fifty ($\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$) years ($\eta\text{-}\rho\omicron\mu\pi\epsilon$) [*deceiving* ($\epsilon\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\rho$) *their own* ($\eta\mu\iota\eta \mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) *memory* ($\eta\text{-}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 36, 7:9), $\lambda\lambda\lambda \lambda\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega \epsilon\chi\iota \eta\mu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\pi\iota\omicron\eta$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda$) they had already ($\lambda\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\omega$) [*brought* ($\epsilon\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\chi\iota$) *him* ($\eta\mu\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$) to the palace ($\epsilon\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\pi\alpha\gamma\tau\omega\pi\iota\omicron\eta$)]' (Ac. A&P 200:101-202:102).

12.2.2.1.2 Temporal and non-temporal interpretations of 'WHEN'-clauses
'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are among the most common adjunct clauses of temporal location used to express the co-extensiveness or (partial) temporal overlap between two states of affairs.

a) Temporal duration and aspect

The temporal relation between the main and the dependent clause situation depends on the verbal tense-aspect of the main clause. When the main clause event is aspectually marked as unbounded or continuous through the selection of a present tense, it is temporally interpreted as co-extensive with the dependent clause event; i.e. both eventualities last through the same period of time, e.g. $[\lambda]\lambda[\lambda] \text{†}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi \gamma\eta \omicron\gamma[\lambda\eta]\epsilon\iota\lambda \epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\mu \epsilon\iota\omega \epsilon\iota\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda$) I am ($\text{†}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$) in ($\gamma\eta$) (a state of) negligence ($\omicron\gamma\text{-}\lambda\eta\epsilon\iota\lambda$) [*whilst eating* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\omicron\gamma\omega\mu$), *drinking* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\varsigma\omega$), (and) *sleeping* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\kappa$)]' (AP Chaîne no. 49, 10:27-28), $\pi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \Delta\epsilon \gamma\omega\omega\varsigma \pi\alpha\gamma\omega\mu \eta\epsilon\varsigma\mu\eta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \gamma\eta \pi\omega\omega\eta\epsilon \epsilon\pi\epsilon \theta\epsilon\omega\delta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \Delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota \eta\alpha\varsigma$ 'our father ($\pi\epsilon\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$) Pachôm, too ($\gamma\omega\omega\text{-}\varsigma$), remained sick (lit. remained

($\eta\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\mu\eta\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$) in ($\gamma\eta$) the sickness ($\pi\text{-}\omega\omega\eta\epsilon$)), [*while Theodore took care* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \Delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omega\eta\epsilon\iota$) *of him* ($\eta\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$)]' (V. Pach. 91:24-25).

If, on the other hand, the main clause event is aspectually marked as bounded through the selection of a Perfect tense, the main clause and the dependent clause situation are presented as overlapping in time, but not as co-extensive. The 'WHEN'-clause very often describes an eventuality that was still in progress or continuing when the main clause event took place, e.g. $\lambda\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\tau \eta\pi\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau \eta\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\gamma\varsigma \lambda\gamma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota \eta\psi\lambda\chi\epsilon \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\omicron\upsilon \eta\eta \eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma$ 'it happened ($\lambda\varsigma\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \Delta\epsilon$) (that) [*when they were building* ($\epsilon\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\kappa\omega\tau$) *the wall* ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\tau$) *of the convent* ($\eta\text{-}\tau\text{-}\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\gamma\varsigma$)], a minor ([\omicron] $\gamma\text{-}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\iota$) argument ($\eta\text{-}\psi\lambda\chi\epsilon$) came up ($\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$) between them (Pachôm and his brother) ($\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$) with ($\eta\eta$) each other ($\eta\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma$)]' (V. Pach. 1:16-17), $\epsilon\tau\iota \Delta\epsilon \epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\rho \gamma\omega\beta \eta\omicron\iota \eta\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma \lambda \tau\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon \tau\eta\eta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \gamma\eta \rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$ '[*while Mark, the workman* ($\pi\text{-}\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$), *was still* ($\epsilon\tau\iota$) *working* ($\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\epsilon\rho \gamma\omega\beta$)], his wife ($\tau\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\iota\mu\epsilon$) sent ($\lambda \dots \tau\eta\eta\omicron\omicron\upsilon$) (a message) to him ($\psi\alpha\rho\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$) from ($\gamma\eta$) Alexandria ($\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon$)]' (Mena, Mir. 76a:13-19).

b) Correlative interpretation

'WHEN'-clauses may assume a correlative reading, describing paired events and situations, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon \omicron\gamma \epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma \gamma\eta \pi\alpha\mu\alpha\eta\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau \kappa\omega\tau\epsilon \varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha \eta\eta\mu$ 'why ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon \omicron\gamma$) does my mind ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\gamma\eta\tau$) go around ($\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$) all ($\eta\eta\mu$) sides ($\varsigma\alpha\varsigma\alpha$), [*whenever I am sitting* ($\epsilon\text{-}\iota\text{-}\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$) in ($\gamma\eta$) my living-quarters ($\pi\alpha\text{-}\mu\alpha\eta\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$)]?' (AP Chaîne no. 5, 2:19-20), $\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\iota \Delta\epsilon \eta\tau\epsilon\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha \epsilon\tau\varsigma\eta\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau \lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon \gamma\epsilon\eta\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega \eta\pi\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota \epsilon\chi\eta \tau\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma\phi\omicron\tau\alpha \epsilon\pi\epsilon \mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$ (read $\mu\eta\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$) $\tau\eta\pi\omicron\upsilon \omicron\gamma\omega\psi\beta \eta\varsigma\omega\upsilon \chi\epsilon \lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\alpha$ 'when he (Apa Theophilos) had offered ($\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\text{-}\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma\iota$) the blessed ($\epsilon\tau\text{-}\varsigma\eta\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\tau$) sacrifice ($\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha$), they let some brothers ($\gamma\epsilon\eta\text{-}\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma$) sing psalms ($\lambda\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon \dots \psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$), [*saying* ($\epsilon\text{-}\upsilon\text{-}\chi\omega$) the Alléluia ($\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$) over ($\epsilon\chi\eta$) the Eucharist ($\tau\epsilon\text{-}\pi\omicron\varsigma\phi\omicron\tau\alpha$)], [*while the whole* ($\tau\eta\pi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$) *crowd* ($\eta\text{-}\mu\eta\eta\psi\epsilon$) *responded* ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon \dots \omicron\gamma\omega\psi\beta$) *after them* ($\eta\varsigma\omega\text{-}\omicron\upsilon$) »Alléluia ($\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\iota\alpha$)]' (Eud. 72:28-74:2).

Such correlated 'WHEN'- and 'WHILE'-clauses are often accompanied by an implicature of causation, e.g. *ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΓΧΩ ΜΗΘΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΗΝΤΧΑΚΙΖΗΤ ΑΔ[†] ΤΟΟΤΩ ΗΠΜΕΖΣΕΠCΝΑΥ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΩΖΟ* '[when he (Diocletian) said (ε-ω-χ) these (words) (ΝΑΙ) with (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΣ) arrogance (Η-ΜΗΝΤ-ΧΑΚΙ-ΖΗΤ)], he (the archangel Michael) hit him (lit. give (Α-Ω-†) his hand (ΤΟΟΤ-Ω)) on (ΕΧΗ) his face (ΠΕΩ-ΖΟ) for the second time (Η-Π-ΜΕΖ-ΣΕΠ-CΝΑΥ)' (Eud. 36:17), *ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡ (for ΝΕΡΕ) ΖΑΖ ΟΝ ΖΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΡΕΙΜΕ (for ΡΙΜΕ) ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΗΝΤΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΜΗΟC ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΗ ΑΧΝ ΩΧΝ* 'and (ΑΥΩ) many (ΖΑΖ) of (ΖΝ) the brothers (ΝΕ-CΝΗΥ) were also (ΟΝ) weeping (ΝΕΡ ... ΡΕΙΜΕ), [when they realised (Ε-Υ-CΟΟΥΝ) the ceaseless (lit. without (ΑΧΝ) ceasing (ΩΧΝ)) servitude (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΝΤ-ΖΜΖΑΛ) that he (Pachôm) practised (ΕΤ-Ω-ΕΙΡΕ) with (ΜΝ) everybody (ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΗ)]' (V. Pach. 90:17-18).

c) Metaphorical extension of the main-dependent clause simultaneity

'WHEN'-clauses may also have interpretations that do not involve temporal duration. In this case the temporal concept of simultaneity may be metaphorically extended to describe the conditions or the circumstances under which the main clause situation took place, e.g. *ΑΝΔΡ[ΕΑΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΩ ΑΩ][ΒΩΚ] [Ε]ΡΝ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΡΕ ΜΗΗΩΕ ΟΥΗΖ ΝCΩΩ ΗΝ ΖΕΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΥΩΩ ΕΜΝ ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ* 'Andreas, too (ΖΩΩ-Ω), went (Α-Ω-ΒΩΚ) to (ΕΡΝ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΗ) of the city (Ν-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC), [while lots of people (Η-ΜΗΗΩΕ) had assembled (ΕΡΕ ... ΟΥΗΖ) behind him (ΝCΩ-Ω) together with (ΗΝ) Jews (ΖΕΝ-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ), (too) many (Ε-Υ-ΩΩ) to count (lit. (there) is no (Ε-ΜΝ) number (ΗΠΕ) for them (ΕΡΟ-ΟΥ))]' (Ac. A&P 194:18-19), *†CΒΤΩΤ ΕΧΟΟΥ ΕΩCΩΤΗ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΧΕΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC (for ΠΑΡΧΕΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC)* 'I am prepared (†CΒΤΩΤ) to say them (the words) (Ε-ΧΟΟ-Υ) [with the archbishop (Π-ΑΡΧΕΙΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC) listening (Ε-Ω-CΩΤΗ)]' (Zen. 202:32), *ΝΤΚ ΝΙΗ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΝΟC ΝΕΟΟΥ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΑΧΟΕΙC* 'who (ΝΙΗ) of such kind (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΖΕ) (are) you (ΝΤΚ), my lord (ΠΑ-ΧΟΕΙC), [that this great (ΠΕΙ-ΝΟC) glory (Ν-ΕΟΟΥ) surrounds (ΕΡΕ ... ΚΩΤΕ) you (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]?' (Eud. 50:28-52:1), *ΑΩΜΟΩΕ ΜΑΓΑΑΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΤΟΟΥ Ε[ΜΝ] ΑΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΟΩΕ ΝΗΜΑΩ ΨΑΝΤΕΩΠΩΖ [Ε]ΥΜΑ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΩ ΧΕ ΤΑΙΒΗ ΝΝΕΠΑΙΕΑΤ* 'he (the camel) went (Α-Ω-ΜΟΩΕ) on his own (ΜΑΓΑΑ-Ω) into

(ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ) the mountain (Π-ΤΟΟΥ), [without anyone (ΑΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) accompanying (Ε-ΜΝ ... ΜΟΩΕ) it (ΝΗΜΑ-Ω)], until it (finally) reached (ΨΑΝΤΕ-Ω-ΠΩΖ) a place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) called (lit. which they say (Ε-Υ-ΜΟΥΤΕ) about (ΕΡΟ-Ω)) »Libya (Τ-ΛΙΒΗ) of the Paiceteans (Ν-ΝΕ-ΠΑΙΕΑΤ)«] (Mena, Martyrd. 4b:33-5a:9).

12.2.2.2 'AFTER'-clauses

Adjunct clauses indicating anterior events are expressed by means of the Temporal conjugation *ΝΤΕΡΕ-Ω-CΩΤΗ* 'after/when he had heard' (see above, section 8.1.2 of Unit 8). The focus of this section is on the dual function of 'AFTER'-clauses as temporal location expressions and as boundary markers in narrative discourse.

12.2.2.2.1 'AFTER'-clauses used as temporal location adverbs

Temporal *ΝΤΕΡΕ*-clauses are typically used to initiate a sequence of completed past-time events that push forward the storyline. The event chain is located in time in one of the following ways:

a) In relation to context-dependent time specification

ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses may select time-indicating nominals as subjects to signal a change of temporal location. Particularly common are cyclic expressions like *ΖΤΟΟΥΕ* 'dawn' and *ΡΟΥΖΕ* 'night' or clock-times like *ΩΩΡΠ* 'morning', whose exact temporal interpretation is determined deictically through the matrix clause tense, but interval nouns like *ΟΥΝΟC* *ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ* 'a long (ΟΥ-ΝΟC) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ)' are equally possible. There are only a few verbs that permit temporal expressions as subjects, viz. (i) the verb of existence and occurrence *ΩΩΠΕ* 'to happen' and (ii) verbs of inherently directed motion like *ΟΥΕΙΝΕ* 'to pass by' and *ΖΩΝ* 'to come near'.

Examples: *ΝΤΕΡΕ ΖΤΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΩΩΠΕ Α [Ι]ΟΥΛΙΟC ΤΩΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΕΩΝΑ† ΖΡΕ ΝΝΕΩΔΑΜΟΥΛ* '[when it was (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΩΩΠΕ) dawn (ΖΤΟΟΥΕ)], Julius stood up (Α ... ΤΩΟΥΝ) to (ΧΕ) feed (lit. give (Ε-Ω-ΝΑ-†) food (ΖΡΕ) to) his camels (Ν-ΝΕΩ-ΔΑΜΟΥΛ)' (Mena, Mir. 11b:10-14), *ΝΤΕΡΕ ΡΟΥΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΩΩΠΕ ΑΥ† ΟΥΩ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΕ* '[when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΩΩΠΕ)], they stopped (Α-Υ-† ΟΥΩ) working (Ε-Υ-Ρ ΖΩΕ)' (V. Pach. 6:5), *ΩΩΡΠ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΩΩΠΕ Α*

πρηνεμων χοογ nca απα πτελεμη 'when it had become (ντερε-q-ωπηε) *morning* (ωπηη)], the governor (π-ρηγεμων) sent (α ... χοογ) for (nca) Apa Ptolemy (πτελεμη)' (KHML II 35:9-10), αςωπηε δε ντερογζων εζοyn νδι νεζοογ μππατριαρχις ειςαακ ετρεφει εβολ ζη cωμα α πνουτε τννοογ φαροq μπαγτελoς μπεφειωτ αβραζαη 'it happened (α-ς-ωπηε) [when the days (νε-ζοογ) of the patriarch (μ-π-πατριαρχις) Isaac had come near (ντερ-ογ-ζων) that he was going to die (lit. for him to go (ε-τρε-q-ει) out of (εβολ ζη) the body (cωμα)], God (π-νογτε) sent (α ... τννοογ) to him (φαρο-q) the angel (μ-π-αγτελoς) of his father (μ-πεq-ειωτ) Abraham' (Test. Is. 229:1-3), ντερε ογνοδ νογοειω ογεινε εφωοπ ζη τειαναχωρησις μν πoδρεζτ αυτωζη δε ζωωq μπζαγιoς απα μhνα [ε]ζοyn επαγ[ων] ντηντη[арту]poc ζιτη τε[χα]pиc μπενχοειс iс πεχc 'after a long (ογ-νοδ) time (ν-ογοειω) had passed (ντερε ... ογεινε) during which he lived (ε-q-ωοπ) in (ζη) this seclusion (τει-αναχωρησις) and (μν) peace (π-οδρεζτ)], the holy (μ-π-ζαγιoς) Apa Mēna, too (ζωω-q), was summoned (lit. they summoned (α-γ-τωζη)) to the combat (ε-π-αγων) of the martyrdom (ν-τ-μντ-μαρτυpoc) through (ζιτη) the grace (τε-χαpиc) of our Lord (μ-πεν-χοειс) Jesus (iс) Christ (πεχc)' (Mena, Martyrd. 3b:17-29).

b) In relation to other events

As the exponent of past anteriority (Pluperfect), the Temporal designates bounded (or telic) events that had been accomplished some time before the main clause event started.

Examples: ντερε παπpо δε χι πογω εζοyn μπeneιωτ αqр ωπηρε αυω αqτωοyn αqει εβολ αqφaxe μhναq '[when the gatekeeper (π-πα-π-pо) had brought (ντερε ... χι) the news (π-ογω) inside (εζοyn) to our father (μ-πεν-ειωτ) (Pachōm)], he was surprised (α-q-р ωπηρε) and (αγω) he stood up (α-q-τωοyn), went (α-q-ει) out (εβολ), and talked (α-q-φaxe) to him (the visitor) (μhμα-q)' (V. Pach. 137:26-28), ντερεqсωτη δε εναи αqβωκ αqτααγ εβολ αqχι τεγ[ι]μη αqτααс нnetφaαт '[when he (the brother) had heard (ντερε-q-сωτη) these (words) (ε-наи)], he went forth (α-q-βωк), sold them (the books) (α-q-ταα-γ εβολ), took (α-q-χι) the price (τεγ-ιμη) and gave it (α-q-ταα-с) to the poor (ν-н-ετ-φaαт)' (AP Elanskaya 13a:30-34), επζαε ντερεqтμeψoнoн νδι пeδpaκων eтaγo eпeчит ннaнтoнioс

(for нaнтoнioс) αqсoнт epoq μhиn нmoq αqзpoчpч ннeqoвзe epai εxωq '[finally (ε-π-ζαε), when the dragon (пe-δpaκων) had not been able (ντερε-q-тн-εψ-oнoм) to cast (ε-таγo) Antonius (нн-aнтoнioс) down (eпeчит), he became furious (α-q-сoнт) about him (epo-q) himself (μhиn μmo-q) and gnashed (α-q-зpoчpч) his teeth (н-нeq-oвзe) against him (εxω-q)' (V. Ant. 9:6-8), ντερεqдоκимаze xe (read δε) μmooy нqнаγ xe нaнoγ пeγcмoт aqт εxωoy нпeсcиma μmoнaxoc αqψoпoγ epoq ζη oγpaψe '[when he (Pachōm) had tested (ντερε-q-доκимаze) them (the novices) (μmo-oy) and had seen (н-q-наγ) that (xe) their character (пeγ-сmот) was good (наноγ)], he put (α-q-т) the monkish (μ-μoнaxoc) habit (μ-пe-сиma) on them (εxω-oy) and received them (α-q-ψoп-oy epo-q) with (ζη) joy (ογ-paψe)' (V. Pach. 112b:14-19), ντερεqβωк δε нqр μoнaxoc αqψωпe ζη oγameλia αυω αqxe пeqaze εβολ kaкωc '[when he had gone (away) (ντερε-q-βωк) and become (н-q-р) a monk (μoнaxoc)], he became (α-q-ψωпe) negligent (lit. in (ζη) a negligence (ογ-ameλia)) and (αγω) spent (α-q-xe εβολ) his time (пeq-azε) badly (kaкωc)' (AP Chafne no. 1, 1:3-4).

c) Iterated Temporal clauses

It is not uncommon to combine two or more Temporal clauses in a series to describe multifaceted changes of temporal setting before the main course of events started, e.g. ντερε ογνοδ δε νογοειω ογεινε εφqi ζα neγzice ντειze μн neγxηp noγpоппe an н cнтe αλλα qтo н † (read †ε) αυω ντερεqнаγ epooy xe нпoγкotoγ eпнoγтe eптнpq ζη τεqзapψзнт μн τεqanoчн eтqειpe μmoс нhμαγ тote ντερε poγze ωπηe noγzooy αqβωк eγma μαγaaq αqazε patq αqφaηa нтeγωн тнpс eqмoкz нзнт eтвннtoγ (...) '[when a long (ογ-ноδ) time (ν-ογοειω) had passed (ντερε ... ογεινε) [while he (Pachōm) suffered (patiently) (ε-q-qi) from (ζα) their (the brothers') trouble-making (νεγ-ziсe) in this manner (н-тeι-ze) as well as (μн) their carelessness (νεγ-xηp)], not (an) a year (н-oy-рoмпe) or (н) two (cнтe), but (αλλα) four (qтo) or (н) five (†)] and (αγω) [when he noticed (ντερε-q-наγ) about them (epo-oy) [that (xe) they had not turned themselves (μп-oy-кoт-oy) towards God (ε-π-ноγтe) at all (eптнpq)

through (2N) his long-suffering (ΤΕQ-2APΩ-2HT) and (MN) his holding back (ΤΕQ-ΑΝΟΧΗ) that he practised (ΕΤ-Q-ΕΙΡΕ) with them (NMMA-Υ)], [then (ΤΟΤΕ) when night (ΡΟΥΖΕ) had fallen (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΦΩΠΕ) one day (N-ΟΥ-20ΟΥ)], he went (Α-Q-ΒΩΚ) somewhere (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ) all by himself (ΜΑΥΑΑ-Q), stood on his feet (Α-Q-Α2Ε ΡΑΤ-Q), (and) prayed (Α-Q-ΦΑΛΑ) all (ΤΗΡ-С) night (N-ΤΕ-ΥΩΗ) (long), being grieved (Ε-Q-ΜΟΚ2 N-2HT) because of them (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-ΟΥ) (...)’ (V. Pach. 6:14-22).

12.2.2.2.2 ‘AFTER’-clauses used as boundary markers

a) Discourse-linked Temporal clauses

The content of ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses is either presupposed or contextually inferrable. Very often, the link with the preceding discourse is explicitly marked by anaphoric expressions. Such discourse-linked temporal subclauses have both a recapitulative and a cohesive function, bridging the gap between two narrative units, e.g. ΝΤΕΡΕQXΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΙΤΕΛΟC ΑQΤΩΟΥΝ 2ΙΧΗ ΠΕQΘΛΟC ΕΡΕ ΙCΑΑΚ ΕΝΚΟΤΚ 2ΙΧΩQ ΑQΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΧΙCΕ (...) ‘[when the angel (Π-ΑΙΤΕΛΟC) had said (ΝΤΕΡΕ-ΧΕ) these (ΝΑΙ) (words)], he raised (Α-Q-ΤΩΟΥΝ) from (2ΙΧΗ) his bed (ΠΕQ-ΘΛΟC), while Isaac was lying (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΝΚΟΤΚ) on it (2ΙΧΩQ), (and) went away (Α-Q-ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ) to the higher (N-Π-ΧΙCΕ) worlds (Ε-N-ΑΙΩΝ) (...)’ (Test. Is. 230:12-13), ΑQΤΡΕC2ΡΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ 2Η ΠΧΙΜΩΝ (for ΠΧΕΙΜΩΝ) ΜΠΔΩΜΟC (for ΤΟΜΟC) ΝΤΑΥ2ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΤ2ΑΤΕQ2Η ΕΤΕ ΛΕΩΝ ΠΕ ΜΗ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟC ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΡΕQ2ΜΟΟC 2ΙΧΗ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΑQΟΥΩCQ ΝΝΕΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΜΝΤΑCΕΒΗC ‘he (Zēnō) caused her (the church) to find rest (Α-Q-ΤΡΕ-С-2ΡΟΚ) from (2Η) the tempest (Π-ΧΙΜΩΝ) of the document (N-Π-ΔΩΜΟC) that his predecessors (N-ΕΤ-2Α-ΤΕQ-2Η) signed (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-2ΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕ) to (ΕΡΟ-Q), namely (ΕΤΕ ... ΠΕ) Leōn and (MN) Aurellianus. [When the former (ΠΑΙ) had occupied (lit. sat down (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-2ΜΟΟC) on (2ΙΧΗ)) the throne (ΠΕ-ΘΡΟΝΟC) of the kingdom (N-Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΟ)], he annulled (Α-Q-ΟΥΩCQ) the impious (N-ΜΝΤ-ΑCΕΒΗC) ordinances (N-ΝΕ-ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ)’ (Hil. 1:24-2:3).

b) Inverted subjects

Changes in the temporal setting of the narrative often co-occur with a new set of participants. As a result, ΝΤΕΡΕ-clauses are typically found in switch reference contexts. Very often, the different subject is encoded as presentational focus through subject-verb inversion, denoting referents that appear on stage for the first time or are reintroduced into the discourse after a short period of absence. Focalised inverted subjects can appear in either the subordinate Temporal clause or the following main clause.

Examples: ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΑΦΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΦΕ ΕΤΗΗΥ ΕΠΤΟΠΟC ΜΠ2ΑΠΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΥΕΛΙΒΕ ΕΝΑΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΜΗΗΦΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΙΒΕ ΜΠΟΥ2Ε ΕΜΟΟΥ ΕCΩ ‘it happened (Α-С-ΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when the crowds (N-ΜΗΗΦΕ) that were going (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) to the shrine (Ε-Π-ΤΟΠΟC) of the holy (N-Π-2ΑΠΙΟC) Αρα Μēνα had become numerous (ΝΤΕΡ-ΟΥ-ΑΦΑΙ), (that) the (same) crowds (N-ΜΗΗΦΕ) were very distressed (Α-Υ-ΘΑΙΒΕ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) thirst (Π-ΙΒΕ) (and) could not find (NΠ-ΟΥ-2Ε) water (Ε-ΜΟΟΥ) to drink (Ε-CΩ)’ (Mena, Mir. 33a:9-16), ΝΤΕΡΕQCΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΝΟC ΝΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑQCΩΟΥ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΝΝΕQΜΑΤΟΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑQΧΙ ΗΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ‘when the great (Π-ΝΟC) king (N-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Q-СΩΤΗ) (about it), he gathered (Α-Q-CΩΟΥ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ) (and) tallied (Α-Q-ΧΙ) the number (NΠΕ) of them (NMO-ΟΥ)’ (Eud. 44:25-26), ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΑQΡ ΡΡΟ ΕΠΕQΜΑ ΝΟΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ‘it happened (Α-С-ΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ) when God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) had overthrown (ΝΤΕΡΕ ... ΠΩΩΝΕ) the criminal (N-ΑΝΟΜΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Diocletian (N-ΔΙΟΚΛΗΔΙΑΝΟC) (that) the righteous (N-ΔΙΚΑΙΟC) king (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine (ΚΩCΤΑΝΔΙΝΟC) became (Α-Q-Ρ) king (ΡΡΟ) in his place (Ε-ΠΕQ-ΜΑ)’ (Mena, Mir. 7b:2-9).

12.2.2.3 ‘SINCE’-clauses

Temporal ‘SINCE’ and ‘EVER SINCE’ clauses are formed with the temporal preposition ΧΙΝ ‘since, from (starting point)’ plus a complement clause containing a Second Tense. The form ΧΙΝΤΑQCΩΤΗ ‘since he heard’ is derived from the cliticisation of the subordinator ΧΙΝ to the relative marker ΝΤ- of the embedded Second Perfect: ΧΙΝ + ΝΤ-Α- → ΧΙΝΤΑ-, e.g. ΕΙC ΟΥΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΧΙΝΤΑΚΤ ΜΠΕΙCΧΥΜΑ (for ΜΠΕΙCΧΗΜΑ) 2ΙΩΚ ‘look (ΕΙC), how many (ΟΥΗΡ) years (N-ΡΟΜΠΕ) (have passed), since you

put (NΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-†) this (monk's) garment (H-ΠΕΙ-CΧΥΜΑ) on you (ΖΙΩΩ-Κ)?' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 6:30).

a) Past anteriority and unbounded duration

'SINCE' ΧΙΝ-clauses provide a starting point for the main event/situation, with the endpoint obligatorily left implicit. The main situation is understood as being realised *after* the time expressed or implied in the subordinate clause, but it is at the same time interpreted as continuing until up to the present moment with a possible extension into the future. In this way, ΧΙΝ-clauses have a dual function as temporal location adjuncts and as aspectual shifters that stretch out an eventuality over the time axis, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC ΑΚΤΡΕ ΝΕΛΛΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 'and (ΑΥΩ) [since you came (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-ΕΙ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) this city (Ε-ΤΕΙ-ΠΟΛΙC)], you caused (Α-Κ-ΤΡΕ) the blind (Ν-ΒΛΛΕ) to see (ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ)' (KHML I 5:2-4), ΝΑΜΕ ΕΙC ΨΦΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΧΙΝΤΑΙΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΜΠΙΟΝ ΟΥΜΤΟΝ ΝΖΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ 'verily (ΝΑΜΕ) in the seventy (ΨΦΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [since I have become (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-I-P) a monk (ΜΟΝΑΧΟC)], I have not found (ΜΠ-Ι-ΟΝ) a single (Ν-ΟΥΩΤ) day (Ν-ΖΟΥ) of rest (ΟΥ-ΜΤΟΝ)' (AP Chaîne no. 34, 7:1-2).

b) Factivity

The temporal preposition ΧΙΝ has a factive interpretation, meaning that the content of the subordinate clause they initiate is generally taken for granted or is contextually presupposed, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΕΙC ΟΥΗΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΧΙΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ 'and (ΑΥΩ) how much (ΟΥΗΗΡ) time (Ν-ΟΥΟΕΙΩ) (has passed), [since you have come (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-K-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)]?' (Onnophr. 206:33-34), Α[QΜΕΤΑ]ΝΟΙ ΖΗ Π[ΕQΖΗΤ ΧΙ]ΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΟΗ [ΠΨΙΝ]Ε ΨΩΠΕ Ν[ΑQ ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ ΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ] 'he repented (Α-Q-ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ) in (ΖΗ) his heart (ΠΕQ-ΖΗΤ) [since this visit (ΠΕΙ-ΟΗ Π-ΨΙΝΕ) befell (NΧΙ(N)-NT-A ... ΨΩΠΕ) him (ΝΑ-Q) from (ΖΙΤΗ) God (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 1, 1:13-14), ΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΗΝCΑ CΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΧΙΝΤΑCΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΘΕΙΛΗΗ ΖΤΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΗΠΜΑΖCΑΨQ (for ΗΠΜΕΖCΑΨQ) ΑCΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΝΟΙ ΤΡΡΩ ΕΩΠΕ ΝΑC ΝΗΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΘΕΙΛΗΗ ΜΗ CΙΩΝ 'it happened (Α-C-ΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ) after

(ΜΗΝCΑ) six (CΟΟΥ) days (Ν-ΖΟΥ) [since she had come (ΧΙ(N)-NT-A-C-ΕΙ) to Jerusalem (Ε-ΘΕΙΛΗΗ)] (that), (on) the morning (ΖΤΟΥΕ) of the seventh (day) (Μ-Π-ΜΑΖ-CΑΨQ), the queen (Τ-ΡΡΩ) ordered (Α-C-ΟΥΕΖ-CΑΖΝΕ) to arrest (Ε-ΩΠΕ) for her (ΝΑ-C) the Jews (Ν-ΝΙ-ΟΥΔΑΙ) who were living (ΕΤ-ΨΟΟΠ) in (ΖΗ) Jerusalem (ΘΕΙΛΗΗ) and (ΜΗ) Zion (CΙΩΝ)' (Eud. 64:4-6).

c) Present tense ΧΙΝ-clauses

ΧΙΝ-clauses are largely restricted to the occurrence with the Second Perfect, but can occasionally be used with a present tense to express the idea that some event took place "earlier than expected", e.g. ΑΙCΩΤΗ ΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΗ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠCΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΕQΠΙCΤΙC ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΕΙΡΟΤΟΝΕΙ ΗΜΟΙ '[already (ΧΙΝ) when I was in Alexandria (Ε-Ι-ΖΗ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ)], I heard (Α-Ι-CΩΤΗ) about (ΕΤΒΕ) the fame (Π-CΟΕΙΤ) of his (Pachôm's) faith (Ν-ΤΕQ-ΠΙCΤΙC), (even) before I was consecrated (as a bishop) (lit. they consecrated (ΜΠΑΤ-ΟΥ-ΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ) me (ΗΜΟΙ))' (V. Pach. 136:3-4), Α ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΓΑΡ ΧΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΗΝΤΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC ΝΧΙΝ ΕΙΖΗ ΜΗΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ 'because (ΓΑΡ) my father (ΠΑ-ΕΙΩΤ) gained (Α ... ΧΙ) for me (ΝΑ-Ι) the office of a tribune (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC) [when I was (as young as) ten (ΜΗΤΕ) years (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) old (ΝΧΙΝ Ε-Ι-ΖΗ)]' (KHML II 32:28-9), ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΟQ ΧΙΝ ΕQΖΗ ΠΕQCΩΜΑ 'the angels (Ν-ΑΓΓΕΛΟC) will serve (ΝΑ-ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ) him (the hermit) (ΕΡΟQ), [even when he is still alive (lit. in the body (ΧΙΝ Ε-Q-ΖΗ Π-CΩΜΑ))]' (Onnophr. 212:10-11).

d) Temporal location adverbs expanded by a relative clause

To express 'AS SOON AS' in the past, Coptic uses the temporal location adverb Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ 'immediately (lit. in the hour)' plus a restrictive relative clause in the Perfect, e.g. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΕΕQ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΑQΩΨΤ ΑQΝΑΥ ΕΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΕΡΕ ΠΗΗΨΕ CΟΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [the sailor (Π-ΝΕΕQ) had moored (the boat) (ΝΤ-Α ... ΜΟΟΝΕ)], he looked around (Α-Q-ΩΨΤ) (and) saw (Α-Q-ΝΑΥ) Andrew (Ε-ΑΝΔΡΕΑC) with the crowd (Π-ΜΗΗΨΕ) surrounding (ΕΡΕ ... CΟΟΥΖ) him

(ερο-q)' (Ac. A&P 194:1-2), ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥCΑΖΩΟΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΗΖΑΛ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤ[Ι]ΝΟC ΑΥΚΗΜ ΕΤΕΥΟΙΧ ΕΝΕ[Ρ]ΡΩΟΥ ΝΗΠΕΡCΟC 'as soon as (Ν-ΤΕ-ΥΝΟΥ) [the servants (Ν-ΖΗΖΑΛ) of King (Μ-Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine had withdrawn themselves (ΝΤ-Α-Υ-CΑΖΩ-ΟΥ)], he gestured (Α-Υ-ΚΗΜ) with his hand (Ε-ΤΕΥΟΙΧ) to the Persian (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCΟC) kings (Ε-ΝΕ-ΡΡΩΟΥ)' (Eud. 46:27-28).

A related construction is formed with the adverbially used temporal noun Τ-ΑΡΧΗ 'in the beginning', which provides a starting point for the matrix clause situation, e.g. ΑΡΑ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΑΚΖΙCΕ ΤΩΝΟΥ '(in) the beginning (Τ-ΑΡΧΗ) [when you had come (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ)], did you suffer (Α-Κ-ΖΙCΕ) a lot (ΤΩΝΟΥ)?' (Onnophr. 208:20-21).

12.2.3 Cause, reason and purpose clauses

Adjunct clauses that belong to the category of cause, reason and purpose describe the external or internal motivation for why a particular event took place in a particular way. In providing an explanation for the main course of action, cause and reason clauses are therefore commonly found in the backgrounded portions of the narrative.

12.2.3.1 Cause and reason clauses

Cause and reason clauses provide felicitous answers to questions initiated by the interrogative adverb ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ 'for what (reason), why'. In such question-answer sequences, the presupposed part of interrogative clause is generally not reproduced in the following response, e.g. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ †ΖΜΟΟC ΖΜ ΠΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ †ΖΛΠΛΩΠ (...) ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΕΙΩΡΖ ΜΠΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΝΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΚΟΛΛΑCΙC ΕΤΝΑΩΠΕ '»Why (ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ) do I sit (†ΖΜΟΟC) in (ΖΜ) my living quarter (ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΠΕ) (and) be weary (†ΖΛΠΛΩΠ)?« (...) »Because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) you have not yet observed (ΜΠΑΤΕ-Κ-ΕΙΩΡΖ) the relief (Μ-Π-ΗΤΟΝ) that we are hoping (ΕΤ-Ν-ΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ) for (ΕΡΟ-Q) nor (ΟΥΔΕ) the punishment (Τ-ΚΟΛΛΑCΙC) that is about to happen (ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΠΕ)«' (AP Chaîne no. 6, 2:24-26).

12.2.3.1.1 Syntactic characteristics

a) The subordinators ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ and ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ 'because, since'

Adjunct clauses of the cause/reason category take the form of prepositional phrases with a finite declarative clause as a complement. The complement clauses is marked by the standard subordinator ΧΕ 'that', while the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ bring about the more specific cause or reason interpretation, e.g. ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΚΩΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠQΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΤΩΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ 'he (Pachôm's brother) said (ΠΕΧΑ-Q) to him (Pachôm) (ΝΑ-Q) (that) (ΧΕ) »Who (ΝΙΜ) (is it) that you (ΝΤΟΚ) are talking (ΕΤ-Κ-ΩΧΕ) to (ΝΗΜΑ-Q)?«, [because (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) he did not see (ΜΠ-Q-ΝΑΥ) the one who was talking (Π-ΕΤ-ΩΧΕ) to him (ΝΗΜΑQ)]' (V. Pach. 1:5-6), ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ ΖΩ ΛΙΤΡΕΥΝΟΧΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC (for ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC) ΝΤΕ ΤΡΥΦΗ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΚΑΛΤ ΝΩΜΗΟ ΕΠΑΜΑΝΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ 'look (ΕΙC ΖΗΗΤΕ), I myself (ΖΩ) caused you to be thrown out (lit. I caused them to throw you out (Α-Ι-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΝΟΧ-Κ ΕΒΟΛ)) of (ΖΗ) the Paradise (Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) of (ΝΤΕ) Delight (ΤΡΥΦΗ), [because (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) you made me (Α-Κ-ΑΛ-Τ) a stranger (Ν-ΩΜΗΟ) to my residence (Ε-ΠΑ-ΜΑΝΩΠΕ) in (ΖΗ) heaven (Τ-ΠΕ)]' (Abbatôn 240:25-27).

Very often, the initial prepositions ΕΒΟΛ and ΕΤΒΕ are omitted. As a result, the cause or reason interpretation of the subordinate clause is left to be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΧΙΤ ΕΥΜΑ ΕΦΕCΥΧΑΖΕ (for ΕΦΗCΥΧΑΖΕ) ΧΕ ΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΙΩΩΝΕ 'bring me (ΧΙΤ) to a quiet (Ε-Q-ΕCΥΧΑΖΕ) place (Ε-Υ-ΜΑ), [because (ΧΕ) you see (Κ-ΝΑΥ) me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) ill (Ε-Ι-ΩΩΝΕ)]' (Mena, Mir. 27b:17-20), ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ Ω ΑΔΑΜ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΩΠ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΦΑΝΤΕQCΩΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝQΚΤΟΚ ΕΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΝΚΕCΟΠ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤQ ΝΩΡΟΠ ΧΕ ΑQΩΠ ΤΩΩΡΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΟΜΕ ΜΠΑΤQ† ΠΝΑ ΕΡΟΚ 'for your sake (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), oh (Ω) Adam, will the Son (Π-ΩΗΡΕ) of God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) bear (ΝΑ-ΩΠ) all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) these (hardships) (ΝΑΙ) to redeem (ΦΑΝΤΕ-Q-ΩΤΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ) and he will bring you back (Ν-Q-ΚΤΟ-Κ) again (Ν-ΚΕ-CΟΠ) to the Paradise (Ε-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC) to the place (Ε-Π-ΜΑ) where you came (ΝΤ-Α-Κ-ΕΙ) from (ΝΖΗΤ-Q) in the beginning (Ν-ΩΡΟΠ), [because (ΧΕ) he bailed (lit. grasp

(λ-α-φπ) hand (τωρε)) you (μο-κ) out, when you were (ε-κ-ο) clay (ν-ομε), before he gave (ηπατ-α-τ) you (ερο-κ) a spirit (πνλ)]' (Abbatōn 240:7-12).

b) Switch reference

The subject of the lower cause/reason clause is generally different from that of the matrix clause, but same subject sequences are certainly not excluded, as shown by the contrast between ηπε ιϛ εψναζμεϛ εβολ ζν ναδix εβολ xε ην νουτε νσα παπολλον (for παπολλων) ην ταρδμic (for ταρτεμic) 'Jesus (ιϛ) could not save him (Apa Nahrow) (ηπε ... εψ-ναζμε-α) from (ζν) my hands (να-δix), [because (εβολ xε) (there) is no (ην) god (νουτε) besides (νσα) Apollōn (π-απολλον) and (ην) Artemis (τ-αρδμic)]' (KHML I 7:11-13) and πεϛcon δε ντερεϛωτμ εροϛ εϛϛαχε εβολ xε νεϛογνϛ αν ημοϛ πε 'when his brother (πεϛ-con) heard (ντερε-α-ωτμ) him (Pachōm) (ερο-α) talking (ε-α-ϛαχε), [because (εβολ xε) he was not (αν) far away (νε-α-ογνϛ) from him (ημο-α)]' (V. Pach. 1:4-5).

c) Preposed cause/reason adjuncts

Cause and reason clauses typically appear at the end of the main clause in the position of heavy constituents. Akin to other adverbial categories, they may be preposed to an extracausal topic position. Preposed cause/reason adjuncts often have a recapitulative function, referring to the previous stretch of discourse, e.g. εβολ xε ακειρε ηπαι κcζογорт нтoк ουτε νεϛογριον (for νεϛοριον) τηροϛ ηπκαζ '[since (εβολ xε) you have done (α-κ-ειρε) this (η-παι)], you (ηтoк) are cursed (κ-cζογорт) among (ουτε) all (τηρ-οϛ) the animals (νε-ϛογριον) of the earth (η-π-καζ)]' (Abbatōn 238:17-18), but they may also express emphasis and/or contrast, e.g. εβολ γαρ αν xε cεζοbc ερωτн ζαηη ηποοϛ ατετνεπιϛμει ειμε επεϛωρх нт[oo]тн '[not (ан) because (εβολ γαρ xε) they (the achievements of Apa Zenobius) were concealed (cε-ζοbc) from you (ερω-тн) before (ζαηη) today (ηποοϛ)], have you longed (α-τεтн-επιϛμει) to know (ε-ειμε) their exact nature (ε-πεϛ-ωрх) from us (ηтooт-н)]' (Zen. 199:9-10).

12.2.3.1.2 Temporal relations

Cause and reason clauses show some degree of flexibility with respect to temporal order of events. The subordinate situation is usually earlier or simultaneous with the main clause situation, although it is also possible for it to be later. Thus, consider: неcnкoтк де нzoγн ηπεckoитων εттoбc нноуb зi зaт зн неϛexн ηн неϛмeл[ate] (...) εβολ xε πρpo πε нтаϛтaмioϛ нac 'she (Eudoxia) slept (не-c-нкoтк) in (нzoγн) her bed-chamber (η-πεc-κοитων), which was inlaid (εт-тoбc) with gold (η-ноуb) and (зi) silver (зaт) on (зн) its walls (неϛ-exн) and (ηн) its ceilings (неϛ-мeлaтe), [because (εβολ xε) (it was) the king (π-ρpo) who had made it (нт-α-α-тaмio-α) for her (на-c)]' (Eud. 50:6-9), αϛω α παλoс εтoγнz зeн (for зн) ρaкoтe ηн нeтoγнz зeм (for зм) пмaριωтнc ραϛe xε α πноутe σн пшнe ηπεϛλaoc 'and (αϛω) the people (π-λaoc) who lived (εт-ογнz) in (зeн) Alexandria (ρaкoтe) and (ηн) those who lived (η-εт-ογнz) in (зeм) the Mariôtēs (π-мaριωтнc) rejoiced, [because (xε) God (π-ноутe) paid (α ... σн) a visit (π-шнe) to his people (η-πεϛ-λaoc)]' (Mena, Mir. 89a:25-89b:5), νεϛpeимe (for νεϛpимe) де тнpoϛ πε xε oγн oγннтeβeиhн (for oγннтeβeиhн) нaтaзooϛ epшaн пxoεic σн пϛϛeимe (for πεϛϛeимe) (xε) misery (oγ-ηнт-εβeиhн) would come upon them (oγн ... нa-тaзo-οϛ), [when the Lord (π-xoεic) would come (epшaн ... σн) to visit him (Pachōm) (пϛ-ϛeимe)] (i.e. when he would die)]' (V. Pach. 90:28-91:1).

12.2.3.1.3 Contrastive focus

Despite their backgrounded character, cause and reason clauses may be associated with contrastive focus, witness the fact that they can also appear in the asserted (i.e. focused) part of a negated matrix clause, e.g. нтeizε зωωн ннеϛнaкpиe ηмoн ан xε ηпeнaпeнoϛ (for ηпeнeпaпnoϛ) ηппeтoγaб кaтa пxиcε нтeϛaнaσтpофн aλλa xε aнaмeлeи eγoγxai нтeиδoт εтнтpeнoγoнzϛ εβολ επтнpϛ 'similarly (нтeizε) we, too (зωω-н), will not be judged (lit. they will not (ан) judge (ηн-ε-γ-на-κpиe) us (ηмo-н)), [because (xε) we have not

praised (ΜΠΕ-Ν-ΑΙΠΕΝΟΥ) *the saint* (Μ-Π-ΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ) according to (ΚΑΤΑ) the height (Π-ΧΙΣΕ) of his way of life (Ν-ΤΕΦ-ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ), [*but* (ΑΛΛΑ) *because* (ΧΕ) *we have been negligent* (Α-Ν-ΑΜΕΛΕΙ) towards such (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΘΟΤ) salvation (Ε-Υ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) in not revealing it (the salvation) (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΕ-Ν-ΟΥΟΝ2-Φ ΕΒΟΛ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡΦ)]' (Zen. 200:30-32), ΝΤΑΙΝΤΦ ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΛΛΑΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'I have not (ΑΝ) brought it (the wheat) (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΝΤ-Φ) *because of* (ΕΤΒΕ) *anything* (ΟΥ-ΛΛΑΥ) *but* (ΑΛΛΑ) *my salvation* (ΠΑ-ΟΥΧΑΙ) and (ΑΥΩ) also (ΟΝ) [*because* (ΧΕ) *you* (ΝΤΕΤΝ) (are) *men* (ΖΕΝ-ΡΩΜΕ) of (ΝΤΕ) *God* (Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (V. Pach. 138:2-3).

12.2.3.1.4 Semantic differences between cause and reason

Although there are no morpho-syntactic grounds to distinguish cause and reason adjunct clauses, they have slightly different interpretations. Adjunct clauses that belong to the 'CAUSE' category generally describe an external factor for the main course of action, e.g. ΝΕΑΣΒΩΚ [Ε]ΡΗΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΗΚΑ2 ΝΖΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΕ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦΒΩΚ ΝΘΙ ΠΕΣΚΕΚΟΥΙ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΦΩ ΖΑ2ΤΗΦ 'she had departed (ΝΕ-Α-Σ-ΒΩΚ) southwards (Ε-ΡΗΣ) in (ΖΝ) great (ΟΥ-ΝΟΘ) sadness (Ν-ΗΚΑ2 Ν-ΖΗΤ), [*not only* (ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ) *because* (ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ) *Theodore did not meet* (ΜΠΕ ... ΑΠΑΝΤΑ) *her* (ΕΡΟ-Σ)], *but* (ΑΛΛΑ) (also) *because* her other small (ΠΕΣ-ΚΕ-ΚΟΥΙ) son (Ν-ΨΗΡΕ) Paphnoute left (Α-Φ-ΒΩΚ) to stay (Α-Φ-Ω) with him (ΖΑ2ΤΗ-Φ)' (V. Pach. 137:7-9), ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΕΤΗΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΠΣΟΝ ΦΟΣΗ ΕΡΟΚ 'therefore (ΟΥΚΟΥΝ), it (the eagle) did not come (ΕΤ-ΜΠΕ-Φ-ΕΙ) down (ΕΠΕΣΗΤ) *because of* you (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Κ), [*since* (ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ) *the brother* (Π-ΣΟΝ) *is angry* (ΦΟΣΗ) *with you* (ΕΡΟ-Κ)]' (AP Chaîne, no.192, 50:5-6), ΖΑΡΕ2 ΕΠΕΚΩΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΛΛΕ ΧΕ ΠΡΠΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΗ2 ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΦ 'keep (ΖΑΡΕ2) your body (Ε-ΠΕΚ-ΩΜΑ) pure (Ε-Φ-ΟΥΛΛΕ), [*because* (ΧΕ) (it is) *the temple* (Π-ΡΠΕ) of *God* (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *that lies* (ΕΤ-ΟΥΗ2) *in it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Φ)]' (Test. Is. 232:11-12).

By contrast, adjunct clauses belonging to the 'REASON' category describe the internal causes or motives why the subject referent is thinking or acting in a particular way, e.g. ΝΤΑΞΙΝΕ (read ΝΤΑΙΞΙΝΕ) ΝΤΑΦΥΧΗ ΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΣΩΜΑ ΧΕ †ΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΛΜΝΤΕ 'I did, indeed (ΡΩ),

bring (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙΝΕ) my soul (Ν-ΤΑ-ΦΥΧΗ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) of (ΖΝ) the body (i.e. I committed suicide) [*because* (ΧΕ) *I knew* (†-ΣΟΟΥΝ) [that (ΧΕ) you were going (Κ-ΚΝΗΥ) to Hell (Ε-ΛΜΝΤΕ)]]' (Ac. A&P 202:118-119), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΣΩΤΗ [ΕΝΑΙ] ΑΦΡΑΦΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΧΕ Ν[ΕΡΕ] ΤΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ (for ΤΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ) [Ε]Ρ Χ[ΟΕΙΣ] ΕΠΕΦ2ΗΤ 'when he had heard (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΣΩΤΗ) this (Ε-ΝΑΙ), he rejoiced (Α-Φ-ΡΑΦΕ) exceedingly (ΕΜΑΤΕ) [*because* (ΧΕ) *lust* (Τ-ΕΠΕΙΘΥΜΙΑ) *governed* (lit. became (ΝΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ) master (ΧΟΕΙΣ) over)) *his heart* (Ε-ΠΕΦ-ΖΗΤ)]' (Mena, Mir. 28b:4-9), ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΛΟΠΟΝ ΝΕΦΘΟΝΤ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΧΕ ΑΦΘΜΘΟΝ ΝΣΩ[ΒΕ] ΝΣΑ ΝΕΦΘΟΡΟΣ 'for (ΓΑΡ) hereafter (ΛΟΠΟΝ) he (Apa Zenobius) was no longer (ΟΥΚΕΤΙ) very (ΕΜΑΤΕ) angry (ΝΕ-Φ-ΘΟΝΤ) about himself (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-Φ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-Φ), [*because* (ΧΕ) *he could* (Α-Φ-ΘΜ-ΘΟΝ) *laugh* (Ν-ΣΩΒΕ) *about* (ΝΣΑ) *his* (the devil's) *snarcs* (ΝΕΦ-ΘΟΡΟΣ)]' (Zen. 203:29-31).

12.2.3.2 Purpose clauses

There is a close semantic affinity between cause/reason and purpose clauses, since both types of subordinate clauses present a *raison d'être* for a particular course of action. Moreover, purpose often implicates cause, since many situations emerge through the wilful action of some agent. Yet, while purpose clauses always involve agentivity and intent, cause and reason clauses do not.

12.2.3.2.1 Syntactic characteristics

- a) The purposive subordinator ΧΕΚΑΣ 'so that, in order that'
- Purpose clauses are initiated by the subordinating complementiser ΧΕΚΑΣ 'so that, in order that' plus a full clause containing an affirmative or negative future tense, e.g. ΜΠΕΡΖΕΠ ΑΛΛΑΥ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ ΤΑΡΕΦΣΖΑΙΣΟΥ ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΜΝΝΣΩΤΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΜΗΛΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ 'do not hide (ΜΠΕΡ-ΖΕΠ) anything (ΑΛΛΑΥ) from Jacob (Ε-ΙΑΚΩΒ) that he writes them (the teachings) down (ΤΑΡΕ-Φ-ΣΖΑΙ-ΣΟΥ) as an ordinance (Ν-ΟΥ-ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ) for the generations (Ν-Ν-ΓΕΝΕΑ) to come (ΕΤ-ΝΗΥ) after you (ΜΝΝΣΩ-ΤΝ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑΣ) *the God-*

loving (people) (Μ-ΜΑΙ-ΝΟΥΤΕ) will practise (ΕΡΕ ... ΕΡ ΖΩΕ) them (ΝΖΗΤ-ΟΥ)]' (Test. Is. 230:8-9), ΝΣΕΝΟΧΟ[Υ] [Ε]ΧΗ ΠΕΦΤΑΦΟΣ ΝΣΕΖΟΒΣQ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΡΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ 'and they (the inhabitants of Zion) shall throw it (the garbage) (Ν-ΣΕ-ΝΟΧ-Ο[Υ]) on (ΕΧΗ) his (Jesus') tomb (ΠΕΦ-ΤΑΦΟΣ) and cover it (Ν-ΣΕ-ΖΟΒ-Q) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) no man (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) will remember it (lit. make (ΝΝΕ ... Ρ) its remembrance (ΠΕΦ-ΜΕΕΥΕ))] ' (Eud. 58:21-22).

Very often, the purposive conjunction ΧΕΚΑΣ is replaced by the ordinary "THAT"-complementiser ΧΕ, e.g. ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΒΙΤQ (for ΜΠΕΦΦΙΤQ) ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΕΦΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΧΕ ΕΦΕΤΑΛQ ΜΠΕΦΧΟΕΙC 'Ara Jacob was surprised (ΑΦΡ ΨΠΗΡΕ) [because (ΧΕ) he (Ara John) had not taken it (the golden coin) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) from (ΖΗ) the ground (Π-ΚΑΖ) despite (the fact that) (ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΓΕ) he owed (Ε-Φ-ΧΡΕΩΣΤΕΙ) it (ΜΜΟ-Q) [so that (ΧΕ) he could return it (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΤΑΛ-Q) to its owner (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΧΟΕΙC)]] ' (AP Elanskaya 14b:25-31).

b) Switch reference

The central cases of purpose involve intention and design, usually on the part of the agent of the matrix clause. As a result, purpose clauses are for the most part same-subject clauses, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΙΕΝΤΚ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΙΕ† Ψ[i]ΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΖΗ ΤΗΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΙΜΗΗΨΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΗΗΨ ΕΠΑΤΟΠΟΣ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) I have brought you (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΝΤ-Κ) to this place (Ε-ΠΕΙ-ΜΑ) [to (ΧΕΚΑΣ) bring (Ε-Ι-Ε-†) shame (ΨΠΕ) upon you (ΝΑ-Κ) in (ΖΗ) the midst (Τ-ΜΗΤΕ) of all (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) the people (Ν-ΝΕΙ-ΜΗΗΨΕ) who have come (ΕΤ-ΗΗΨ) to my shrine (Ε-ΠΑ-ΤΟΠΟΣ)]' (Mena, Mir. 25b:19-25), ΑΣΒΩΚ ΧΕ ΕΣΝΑΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟQ 'she went (Α-Σ-ΒΩΚ) - [to (ΧΕ) welcome (Ε-Σ-ΝΑ-ΑΣΠΑΖΕ) him (ΜΜΟ-Q)]' (Ac. A&P 194:5).

Different-subject purpose clauses are certainly not excluded; they are particularly common in contexts that involve a switch from positive to negative polarity, e.g. ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΛΥΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΥΛΥ (for ΤΠΥΛΗ) ΖΗ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC 'the Jews (Ν-ΙΟΥΔΑΙ) strengthened (Α-Υ-ΤΑΧΡΕ) the gate (Τ-ΠΥΛΥ) very strongly (ΖΗ ΟΥ-ΤΑΧΡΟ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) the apostles (Ν-ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ) could not

go (ΝΝΕ ... ΕΨ-ΒΩΚ) into (ΕΖΟΥΝ) the city (Ε-Τ-ΠΟΛΙC)]' (Ac. A&P 206:152), ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΦΤΗΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΥΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ (for ΝΝΕΥΕΝΟΧΛΕΙ) ΝΑQ ΜΝ ΤΕΦCΩΝΕ ΖΗ ΛΑΛΥ ΝΖΩΒ 'as for the latter (i.e. the fields), he (Antonius) donated (Α-Φ-ΧΑΡΙΖΕ) them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) to the people (Ν-Ν-ΡΩΜΕ) of his village (Μ-ΠΕΦ-ΤΗΜΕ) [so that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) they would not burden (ΝΝΕ-Υ-ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ) him (ΝΑ-Q) and (ΜΝ) his sister (ΤΕΦ-CΩΝΕ) in (ΖΗ) any respect (ΛΑΛΥ Ν-ΖΩΒ)]' (V. Ant. 4:18-20).

12.2.3.2.2 Future orientation

Purpose clauses are generally future-oriented: the time expressed or implied in the subordinate purpose clause is characteristically later than the time of the superordinate clause. In affirmative purpose clauses, the deontic Third Future Ε-Φ-Ε-CΩΤΗ 'he shall hear' is widely used, e.g. ΟΥΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΨΗΝ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΘΝ ΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΖΑΡΕΖ ΜΠΖΗΤ 'it (ΠΕ) (is) evident (ΟΥ-ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ) that (ΧΕ) we (will) make (ΕΝ-ΕΙΡΕ) every (ΝΙΜ) effort to a tree (Ε-Υ-ΨΗΝ) [so that (ΧΕ) we will find (Ε-Ν-Ε-ΘΝ) its fruit (ΠΕΦ-ΚΑΡΠΟΣ), which is (ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ) the observance (Π-ΖΑΡΕΖ) of the heart (Μ-Π-ΖΗΤ)]' (AP Elanskaya 23a:11-16), ΑΦΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΝΝΕCΝΗΨ ΖΑΤΗQ ΨΟΜΗΤ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΦΨΕΕΡΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΕΘΩ ΕΦΝΑΨ ΕΡΟC ΜΜΗΝΕ 'he (the king) kept (Α-Φ-ΚΑΤΕΧΕ) the brothers (Ν-ΝΕ-CΝΗΨ) with him (ΖΑΤΗ-Q) (for) three (ΨΟΜΗΤ) months (Ν-ΕΒΟΤ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) his daughter (ΤΕΦ-ΨΕΕΡΕ) [in order that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) he could keep (Ε-Φ-Ε-ΘΩ) seeing (Ε-Φ-ΝΑΨ) her (ΕΡΟ-C) daily (ΜΜΗΝΕ)]' (Hil. 12:8-10), ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΛΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΝΗΨ ΑΦΤΩΨ ΝΑΨ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΟΝ (for ΜΠΕΙΚΑΝΩΝ) ΝΤΕΙΜΗΝΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟQ 'when he (Pachōm) saw (ΝΤΕΡΕ-Φ-ΝΑΨ) that (ΧΕ) the brothers (ΝΕ-CΝΗΨ) would gather (Α-Υ-CΩΟΥΖ) to him (ΕΡΟ-Q), he established (Α-Φ-ΤΩΨ) for them (ΝΑ-Υ) this rule (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΚΑΝΟΝ) in such a manner (Ν-ΤΕΙ-ΜΗΝΕ) [that (ΧΕΚΑΣ) every one (ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ) of them (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) (the brothers) would be self-sufficient (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΡΩΨΕ ΕΡΟQ)]' (V. Pach. 4:1-3).

Examples with the non-modalised Second Future Ε-Φ-ΝΑ-CΩΤΗ 'he is going to hear' can, however, also be found, e.g. ΑΥCΜΗ ΠΕΙCΩΩΜΕ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΖΙCΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΚΑΛQ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ

ΝΖΗΤΩ ΕΥΖΗΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ (for ΟΥΠΑΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) ΝΝΕΤΝΑΩΨ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΨΤΗ ΕΡΩΩ 2Ν ΟΥΤ 2ΤΗΩ 'they composed (Α-Υ-СМН) this book (ΠΕΙ-ΧΩΩΜΕ) through (2Ν) their own (ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) labour (ΝΕΥ-2ΙCΕ) (and) placed it (Α-Υ-ΚΑΛ-Ω) in (2Μ) their monastery (ΠΕΥ-ΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑC) *they shall read* (Ε-Υ-ΝΑ-ΩΨ) *from it* (the book) (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) *for the benefit* (Ε-Υ-2ΗΥ) *and* (ΜΝ) *satisfaction* (ΟΥ-ΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ) *of those who will read* (Ν-Ν-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΨ) *from it* (ΝΖΗΤ-Ω) *and* (ΜΝ) *of him who will listen* (Π-ΕΤ-ΝΑ-ΩΨΤΗ) *to it* (ΕΡΩ-Ω) *with* (2Ν) *attention* (lit. giving (ΟΥ-Τ) one's attention (2ΤΗ-Ω))]' (Onnophr. 224:3-5)

Negated purpose clauses are indicated by the Negative Third Future ΝΝΕ-Ω-ΩΨΤΗ 'he shall not hear'. In general, they describe the avoidance of an undesirable outcome or consequence, e.g. ΝΤΟΚ 2ΩΩΚ ΨΩΧΝΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΚ ΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΛΛΩ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΩΨΠΕ 2ΝΟΥΡ 2ΑΛ 'you (ΝΤΟΚ), on your part (2ΩΩ-Κ), take council (ΨΩΧΝΕ), think (ΜΕΕΥΕ), ponder (ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚ-Κ), find out (ΕΙΜΕ) what (ΟΥ) (it is) that you are going to do (ΕΤ-Κ-ΝΑ-ΑΛ-Ω) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *you will not be jocked* (ΝΝΕ-Κ-ΩΨΠΕ 2Ν-ΟΥ-Ρ 2ΑΛ)]' (Camb. 9:12-15), ΑΩΨΩΤΗ ΜΠΡΟ ΑΩΚΩ ΝΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝCΑΤΕ ΕCΡΩΕΙC ΕΠΡΟ ΜΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΩC ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΑΛΛΥ ΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΡΩΩ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΩΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΩΥ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΑΔΑΜ 'he (God) closed (Α-Ω-ΨΩΤΗ) the door (Μ-Π-ΡΟ) (and) placed (Α-Ω-ΚΩ) a power (Ν-ΟΥ-ΔΥΝΑΜΙC) of fire (Ν-CΑΤΕ) watching (Ε-C-ΡΩΕΙC) the door (Ε-Π-ΡΟ) of paradise (Μ-Π-ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΩC) [*in order that* (ΧΕ) *no one* (ΑΛΛΥ) *would enter* (ΝΝΕ ... ΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ) *it* (the paradise) (ΕΡΩ-Ω) *until all* (ΤΗΡ-ΟΥ) *what he had said* (ΝΕ-ΝΤ-Α-Ω-ΧΟΟ-Υ) *was fulfilled* (ΨΑΝΤΕ ... ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ) *on* (ΕΧΝ) *Adam*]' (Abbatōn 240:18-21).

12.2.3.2.3 Implied result reading

Subordinate future tense clauses are sometimes ambiguous between a purpose and a result reading. On the one hand, they describe why a particular course of action was taken by the main clause subject, but at the same time they state the intended result or outcome of that pursuit, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΝ ΤΝΝΑΝΤΩ ΕΩΜΗΡ ΕΠΕΤΝ2ΑΡΜΑ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥ2ΟΡ ΨΑ2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΝΟ6 ΜΠΟΙC ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ ΠΚΑ2 ΤΗΡΩ ΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΜΝ ΡΡΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΕΡCΩC 'and (ΑΥΩ) we (ΑΝΟΝ) will

bring him (Constantine) (ΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΤ-Ω) into (ΨΑ-2ΟΥΝ) the capital (lit. great (Ε-Τ-ΝΟ6)) city (Μ-ΠΟΙC) of the empire (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΩ) bound (Ε-Ω-ΜΗΡ) to your chariot (Ε-ΠΕΤΝ-2ΑΡΜΑ) like (ΝΘΕ < Ν-Τ-2Ε) a dog (Ν-ΟΥ-ΟΥ2ΟΡ) [*so that* (ΧΕΚΑC) *the entire* (ΤΗΡ-Ω) *world* (Π-ΚΑ2) *will come to know* (ΕΡΕ ... ΝΑ-ΕΙΜΕ) [*that* (ΧΕ) (there) *is no* (ΜΝ) *king* (ΡΡΩ) *as powerful* (Ν-ΧΟΕΙC) *as* (ΝΘΕ) (the king) *of the Persian* (Ν-Μ-ΠΕΡCΩC) *empire* (Τ-ΜΝΤ-ΕΡΩ)]]' (Eud. 44:11-14), ΑΛΛΑ 2Μ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ε[Τ][Ο]Ν2 ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΝ Ο[Υ]C2ΑΙ ΧΕΚΑC ΑΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΝΕ2CΕ (for ΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΝΕ2CΕ) ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ ΠΝΟ6 Ν2ΙΝΗΒ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) through (2Μ) the Spirit (ΠΕ-ΠΝΑ) of the living (ΕΤ-ΟΝ2) God (Μ-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) you wish (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΟΥΩΨ) their memory (ΠΕΥ-Ρ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ) to be lasting (Ε-ΤΡΕ ... ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ) by means of (2ΙΤΝ) a script (ΟΥ-С2ΑΙ) [*in order that* (ΧΕΚΑC), (as far as) *we* (ΑΝΟΝ) (are concerned), *you might wake* (Ε-ΤΕΤΝ-ΝΑ-ΝΕ2CΕ) *us* (ΜΜΟ-Ν) (up) *from* (2Μ) *the deep* (Π-ΝΟ6) *sleep* (Ν-2ΙΝΗΒ)]' (Zen. 199:16-18).

12.3 Infinitival clauses

The various classes of complement and adjunct clauses considered so far share many of the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of main clauses, the most important difference being their syntactically subordinate status. We finally turn to non-finite subordinate clauses, which differ from finites with respect to the absence of inflectional tense and the omissibility of the subject. Subordinate infinitival clauses are therefore generally less explicit than their finite counterparts: components of meaning that are directly encoded in finite clauses are left to be derived from the context in which infinitivals occur.

12.3.1 Differences between infinitival and finite subordinate clauses

Subordinate infinitival clauses are distinguished from finite subordinate clause by the following properties:

a) Prepositional subordinators

Most infinitivals, apart from the clausal complements of aspectual or modal verbs, are initiated by a distinct set of subordinators, all of which are morphologically identical to spatial prepositions. The most common verb phrase subordinator is the directional preposition ϵ - 'to': this is then the standard expression for infinitival subordination.

b) Absence of inflectional tense

Infinitivals have no inflectional tense that allows reference to a specific situation. Instead, the matrix verb contributes significantly to the temporal interpretation of the infinitival clause, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon \tau\alpha\psi\chi\eta$ 'I want (ϵ - ι - $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$) [*to save* (ϵ - $\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon$) *my soul* ($\tau\alpha$ - $\psi\chi\eta$)]' (AP Chaîne no.1, 1:1), $\lambda\gamma\omega \mu\pi\epsilon \omicron\gamma\omicron\mu \mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu \tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha \epsilon\rho \pi\epsilon\mu\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ 'and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) no one ($\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu$) of us ($\mu\mu\omicron$ - μ) has dared ($\mu\pi\epsilon \dots \tau\omicron\lambda\mu\alpha$) [*to do* (ϵ - ρ) what you have done (μ - $\epsilon\mu\tau$ - α - κ - $\alpha\alpha$ - ς)]' (Ac. A&P 198:70-71).

c) Infinitives with and without subjects

Whereas the subject is an obligatory sentence constituent of finite clauses, there are no infinitival constructions in which the presence of an overt subject is grammatically required. However, the interpretation of infinitival clauses requires there to be an "understood" subject: the infinitival verb phrase represents a semantic predicate that must be in construction with an argument that it is predicate of. We thus assume that infinitival clauses have an implicit subject (indicated as '___'), whose identity is generally recoverable from the matrix subject, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \epsilon\mu\alpha\gamma \epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\omega\mu\epsilon \mu\pi\alpha\tau\mu\omicron\gamma$ 'I want (ϵ - ι - $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$) [*to see* (ϵ - $\mu\alpha\gamma$) *my sister* (ϵ - $\tau\alpha$ - $\varsigma\omega\mu\epsilon$) before I die ($\mu\pi\alpha\tau$ - $\mu\omicron\gamma$)]' (KHML I 75:20-21).

Where there is a subject, it always occurs as the non-canonical subject of an analytic causative, which intervenes between the causative verb $\tau\pi\epsilon$ and the subordinate infinitival clause, e.g. $\epsilon\mu\phi\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \lambda\mu \epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omega \gamma\mu \tau\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$ (for $\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$) 'and he (the devil) does not want [*them* (the hermits) *to stay* (ϵ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - γ - $\omicron\omega$) in ($\gamma\mu$) the solitude (τ - $\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$)]' (Onnophr. 211:18).

d) Negation

There is a clear contrast between negating the verb of a subordinate finite clause and that of an infinitival clause (also with respect to scope). Infinitival verbs must be negated by the auxiliary $\tau\mu$ 'not to do', which can only take narrow predicate scope over the verb phrase and verb-phrase internal complements and adjuncts (see above, section 9.4.6 of Unit 9), e.g. $\mu\omega\mu\omega\mu$ (for $\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu$) $\gamma\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa \epsilon\tau\mu\pi \mu\omicron\beta\epsilon \epsilon\pi\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon \mu\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\kappa$ 'but ($\mu\omega\mu\omega\mu$) be careful ($\gamma\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma$) [*not to sin* (lit. to commit (ϵ - $\tau\mu$ - ρ) sin ($\mu\omicron\beta\epsilon$)) against the God (ϵ - μ - $\mu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$) who has created you (μ - α - γ - $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron$ - κ)]' (V. Pach. 89:27-28), $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda \epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon \tau\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\theta\epsilon \epsilon\tau\mu\tau\pi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota \epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\mu \epsilon\tau\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma \mu\tau\mu\mu\eta\gamma \lambda\mu \epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\mu (\dots)$ 'but ($\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$) if ($\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon$) you insist ($\tau\epsilon\tau\mu$ - $\mu\theta\epsilon$) upon [*not letting us go* (ϵ - $\tau\mu$ - $\tau\pi\epsilon$ - μ - $\epsilon\iota$) inside ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\mu$) the city (ϵ - τ - $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$)], we do not ($\lambda\mu$) go (μ - $\tau\mu$ - $\mu\eta\gamma$) inside ($\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\mu$)]' (Ac. A&P 196:38-39).

12.3.2 The controlled interpretation of the missing subject

The reference of the missing subject of infinitival clauses is recoverable from one of the main clause arguments. The relation between the "understood" infinitival subject and its controller is a special case of anaphora. As with overt pronouns, the covert subject receives an interpretation via co-reference with an antecedent outside of its clausal domain. The interpretation of the implicit subject may be controlled by the matrix subject or object, but may also be left to be pragmatically inferred.

12.3.2.1 Subject control

This section surveys the most common infinitival constructions in which subject control is required or permitted.

a) Volitional constructions without overt subjects

Verbs of volition, intent or desire provide prototypical exemplars of control structures in which the missing noun phrase of the infinitival complement is co-referential with the matrix subject, e.g. $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\omega\psi \epsilon\chi[\epsilon] \omicron\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa \mu\alpha\rho\chi\omega\mu$ 'I want (ϵ - ι - $\omicron\gamma\omega\psi$) [*to tell you something* (lit. a word ($\omicron\gamma$ - $\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$))], magistrate (μ - $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\mu$)' (KHML II 28:21-29:1), $\kappa\gamma\mu$

СПΑΘΑΡΙΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΩ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΤΑΨΑΛΗ 'Lord (κyρι) knight (CΠAΘAPIE), look (EIC), a lot (OY-MHNIΩE) of times (N-OYOEIΩ) *I wished* (T-EΠIΘYMEI) [*to go* (E-BΩK) *to that* (ETMMAY) *place* (E-Π-MA) *to pray* (TA-ΨAΛH)]' (Hil. 4:29-30), ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΙΡ ΖΝΑΙ ΜΠΩΤ ΝΤΟΟΤQ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ 'but *I* (ΑΝΟΚ) *wished* (Α-I-P ΖΝΑ-I) [*to escape* (M-ΠΩT) *from* (NTOOT-Q) *sin* (M-Π-ΝΟΒΕ)]' (Onnophr. 208:7), ΑΙΕΡΗΤ ΕΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΟΘΗ ΜΗ ΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΘ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ 'I promised (Α-I-ΕΡΗΤ) [*to tell* (E-XΩ) *you* (ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ) *a few* (N-ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) *of* (ΖΝ) *the mighty deeds* (N-ΘΟΗ) *and* (ΜΗ) *wonders* (NΕ-ΨΠΗΡΕ) *of the great* (M-Π-ΝΟΘ) *archangel* (N-ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC) *Gabriel*' (BMisc. 313:8-10), ΑΥΩ ΑΦCΗΝΤC ΕCΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΦΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΑΨΟΥΡ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *he* (the physican) *decided* (Α-Q-CΗΝΤ-C) [*to cut* (E-CΩΛΠ) *off* (ΕΒΟΛ) *his* (the gardener's) *leg* (N-ΤΕΦ-ΟΥΡΗΤΕ) *with* (ΖΝ) *a saw* (ΟΥ-ΒΑΨΟΥΡ)]' (AP Elanskaya 17b:10-13).

The controlling subject of volitional verbs may be interpreted as the semantic patient of the event described by the infinitival verb, the result being a passive interpretation, e.g. ΝΟΥΕΩ (for ΕΝΟΥΕΩ) ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 'we then (ΤΕΝΟΥ) *wished* (E-N-OYEW) [*to be educated* (ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ) *in* (ΖΝ) *the wisdom* (Τ-CΟΦΙΑ) *of God* (M-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (Onnophr. 220:19-20).

b) Aspectual verbs

Subject control is mandatory in the infinitival complements of aspectual verbs. The reason for this is that the aspectual verb and its infinitival complement form a complex predicate with a single subject, e.g. ΕCΨΑΝΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΨΑΛΗ ΝΕΨΑCΨΑΛΗ ΝΗΜΑC 'whenever *she* (Hilaria) *rose* (E-C-ΨAHTΩOYH) [*to pray* (E-ΨAΛH)], *she* used to pray (NΕ-ΨA-C-ΨAΛH) *with her* (her younger sister) (NΗM-A-C)' (Hil. 9:12), ΑΥΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΜΙΩΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ 'they stood (lit. they stood (Α-Y-AZE) (on) their feet (ΡΑΤ-ΟΥ)) [*to fight* (E-MIΩE) *with* (MΗ) *each other* (NΕY-ΕΡΗΥ)]' (Eud. 42:23), ΜΠΟΥΟΥΩZ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΗ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΠΡΡΟ 'they did not again (lit. they did not place (MΠ-OY-OYΩZ) their hands (ΕΤΟΟΤ-OY)) [*rise up* (E-TΩOYH) *against* (ΕΧΗ) *the country* (Π-ΚΑΖ) *in all* (ΤΗΡ-OY) *the days* (N-NΕ-ΖΟΥΥ)

of King (Π-ΡΡΟ) Constantine]' (Eud. 48:18-19), ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΑΦΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΗΟC ΧΕ (...) 'he (Apa Onnophrius) (NTOQ) *began* (Α-Q-ΑΡΧΕΙ) [*to talk* (N-ΨAΧE) *to me* (NΗM-A-I) *saying* (E-Q-XΩ MHO-C) *that* (ΧΕ) (...)]' (Onnophr. 207:2-3).

c) Epistemic modal constructions

Subject control also applies to the infinitival complements of epistemic modal verbs like ΕΩ 'to be able to, can' and ΘΗΘΗ 'to be able to', which indicates dynamic possibility or ability, e.g. ΜΕΥΘΗ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΦΕΩ ΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΠΗ ΤΗΡQ 'they won't blame (lit. find (MΕ-Y-ΘΗ) blame (ΑΡΙΚΕ)) anybody (E-ΛΛΑΥ), because (ΧΕ) *he* was not able (MΠE-Q-EΩ) [*to fully* (ΤΗΡ-Q) *observe* (ΘΕΩΡΕΙ) *the sun* (Π-ΡΗ)]' (Zen. 200:26-27), ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥΘΗΘΗ ΕΚΗΜ ΕΡΟQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕΦΖΕΛΠΙC 'and (ΑΥΩ) because of (ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ) his (Job's) hope (ΤΕΦ-ΖΕΛΠΙC) *they* (the grievances) *could not* (MΠ-OY-ΘΗ-ΘΗ) [*shake* (E-KH) *him* (ΕΡΟ-Q)]' (AP Elanskaya 19b:28-31), ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΤΗΜΕ ΤΗΨΘΗΘΗ ΕΤΩΜΗΤ ΕΡΟQ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ 'such that (ΖΩCΤΕ) *many* (ΖΑΖ) *of* (NTE) *those who were in* (N-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) *the village* (Π-ΤΗΜΕ) *could not* (NTE ... ΤΗ-Ψ-ΘΗ-ΘΗ) [*meet* (E-TΩMHT) *him* (the hermit) (ΕΡΟ-Q) *on many* (N-ΖΑΖ) *occasions* (N-CΟΠ)]' (AP Chaîne no. 210, 54:26-27).

d) Infinitival complements of adjectives

A limited number of adjectival verbs and nouns (including statives) select infinitival clauses as a direct complement. Subject control is, again, mandatory, e.g. ΑΛΛΑ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟQ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ ΕΤΜΠΨΑ ΝΚΛΑΥ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΗΟΙ ΑΥΩ ΕQI ΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΚΩΡΨ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ 'but (ΑΛΛΑ), on the contrary (NΖΟΥΟ ΝΤΟQ), it (is) (NΕ) mine (i.e. my sins) mine (ΝΟΥ-I) *that I deserve* (E-T-MΠΨA) [*to place* (N-KA-A-Y) *in front of* (ΖΙΘΗ) *me* (MHO-I)] and (ΑΥΩ) [*to take* (E-QI) *care* (ΡΟΟΥΨ) *of* (ΖΑΡΟ-OY)] and (ΑΥΩ) [*to beseech* (E-KΩΡΨ) *God* (E-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ) *because of* (ΕΤΒΗΗΤ-OY), (saying) »Forgive (ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ) *me* (N-A-I)!«*]* (AP Elanskaya 21b:6-12), ΜΠΑΤΕΚΡ ΑΖΙΟC ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑQ 'you have not yet become (MΠΑΤΕ-K-P) *worthy* (ΑΖΙΟC) [*to talk* (N-ΨAΧE) *to him* (NΗM-A-Q)]' (KHML Π 30:21-22), ΑΝΟΚ ΤCΕΤΩΤ ΕΤ

ΗΠΑCΩΜΑ ΕΝΒΑCΑΝΟC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΙC ΠΧC 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) *am prepared* (†-CΒΤΩΤ) [___ *to surrender* (ε-†) *my body* (Η-ΠΑ-CΩΜΑ) *to the tortures* (Ε-Ν-ΒΑCΑΝΟC) *for* (ΕΤΒΕ) *the name* (Π-ΡΑΝ) *of Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (Π-ΧC)' (KHML 1 78:30-79:1).

e) Infinitival purpose clauses

Infinitival purpose clauses are widely used as the GOAL arguments of verbs of inherently directed motion. Such purposive infinitivals involve temporal projection into the future and a modal feature of potentiality: they describe situations that have not been actualised by the time that the main clause event took place, e.g. ΤΕCΗΛΛΥ ΔΕ ΝΕΑCΒΩΚ ΠΕ ΕΡ ΖΩΒ 'her mother (ΤΕC-ΗΛΛΥ) *had gone* (ΝΕ-Α-C-ΒΩΚ) [___ *to work* (Ε-Ρ ΖΩΒ)]' (AP Elanskaya 16a:6-8), ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΜΗΝCΑ CΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΓΕΙ (for Ε-ΓΙ) ΗΠΑΤΡΟΦΕΥC ΝΤΟΟΤ 'did you come (ΝΤΑ-Κ-ΕΙ) *to me* (ΝΑ-Ι) *after* (ΜΗΝCΑ) *sixty* (CΕ) *years* (Ν-ΡΟΜΠΕ) [___ *to take* (Ε-ΓΕΙ) *my bread-winner* (Η-ΠΑ-ΤΡΟΦΕΥC) *away* *from me* (ΝΤΟΟΤ)]?' (AP Elanskaya 17a:2-5), ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ 'I have come (ΝΤΑ-Ι-ΕΙ) [___ *to weep* (Ε-ΡΙΜΕ) *about* (ΖΙΧΝ) *my sins* (ΝΑ-ΝΟΒΕ)] *and* (ΑΥΩ) [___ *to worship* (Ε-ΟΥΨΤ) *Jesus* (Ν-ΙC) *Christ* (ΠΕ-ΧC), *the Son* (Π-ΨΗΡΕ) *of the living* (ΕΤ-ΟΝΖ) *God* (Η-Π-ΝΟΥΤΕ)]' (AP Elanskaya 18b:4-8), ΑΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΟΙ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΝΖΛΛΗΝ Ε† ΝΖΝΑΓΑΠΗ (for ΝΖΕΝΑΓΑΠΗ) ΖΝ ΟΥCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ (read ΟΥCΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ) 'once (Ν-ΟΥΘΕΙΩ) *certain* (ΖΟΙΝΕ) *pagans* (Ν-Ν-ΖΛΛΗΝ) *came* (Α-Υ-ΕΙ) [___ *to give* (Ε-†) *alms* (Ν-ΖΝ-ΑΓΑΠΗ) *in* (ΖΝ) *Ostrakiné* (ΟCΤΡΑΤΡΑΚΙΝΗ)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:22-25).

f) Nested infinitivals

Two or more infinitival clauses can be embedded within one another, the result being a stacked or nested infinitival construction. Subject control seems to be obligatory in the highest infinitival clause, while the more deeply embedded infinitival permits control by a non-subject constituent, e.g. ΗΠΕΦΟΥΨ ΕΩΩ ΕΤCΑΒΟ ΕCΖΑΙ 'he (Antony) *did not want* (ΗΠΕ-Φ-ΟΥΨ) [___ *to continue* (Ε-ΩΩ) [___ *to be taught* (Ε-ΤCΑΒΟ) [___ *to write* (Ε-CΖΑΙ)]]]' (V. Ant. 3:7-8), ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΙ ΡΩΨΕ Ε† ΑΦΟΡΜ[Η]

ΝΗCΟΦΟC ΕΡ ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC 'but (ΑΛΛΑ) *these* (ΝΑΙ) (words) *suffice* (ΡΩΨΕ) [___ *to give* (Ε-†) *a starting point* (ΑΦΟΡΜΗ) *for the wise men* (Ν-Ν-CΟΦΟC) [___ *to become wiser* (Ε-Ρ-ΖΟΥΟ CΟΦΟC)]]' (Zen. 201:14).

12.3.2.2 Object control

The missing subject of infinitivals is consistently interpreted as being co-referential with the matrix subject, but infinitival constructions with object control can also be found.

a) Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs appear in subject-different clauses where the different subject of the embedded clause corresponds to the direct object of the main clause. The same anaphoric relation can be found in the infinitival complements of verbs of permission, instruction, and exerting force, whose implicit subject is controlled by the matrix object, e.g. CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΗΠΡΚΑ ΠΚΟCΗΟC ΕΡ ΖΑΛ ΜΗΟΚ 'be zealous (CΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ) (and) *do not allow* (ΗΠΡ-ΚΑ) *the world* (ΠΚΟCΗΟC) [___ *to deceive* (Ε-Ρ ΖΑΛ) *you* (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Onnophr. 219:11-12), ΗΠΟΥΚΑΛΑΝ ΕΒΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ 'they did not allow us (ΗΠ-ΟΥ-ΚΑΛΑ-Ν) [___ *to go* (Ε-ΕΙ) *inside* (ΕΖΟΥΝ)]' (Ac. A&P 206:168), ΝΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΑΓΤCΑΒΟΥΥ ΝCΖΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΖΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΗΜΤΝΟC 'he (King Zênô) *first* (Ν-ΨΟΡΠ) *taught* (them) (his daughters) (Α-Γ-ΤCΑΒΟ-ΟΥ) [___ *to write* (Ν-CΖΑΙ)] *in accordance with* (ΚΑΤΑ) *the norm* (Π-ΑΖΙΩΜΑ) *of high rank* (Ν-Τ-ΜΗΤ-ΝΟC)' (Hil. 2:6-7), ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ) ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΥCΙΑ 'and they forced (Ε-Α-Υ-ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ) *them* (ΜΜΟ-ΟΥ) [___ *to make* (Ε-Ρ) *a sacrifice* (ΘΥCΙΑ)]' (AP Elanskaya 19a:6-7).

The elided direct object of manipulative verbs may act as the controller of the infinitival subject when its reference is retrievable from the preceding context or can be pragmatically inferred, e.g. ΤΗCΩΤΗ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΝ ΚΕΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΕΓ† CΒΩ ΕΤΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΜΗ ΝΕΥΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ 'since (ΓΑΡ) *in* (ΖΝ) (yet) *another epistle* (ΚΕ-ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ) *we hear* (ΤΗ-CΩΤΗ) *him* (Paul) (ΕΡΟ-Φ) *teach* (Ε-Φ-† CΒΩ) (us) [___ *not to remember* (lit. give (Ε-ΤΗ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) *to* the ancient ones (Ν-Ν-ΑΡΧΑΙΟC) *and* (ΜΝ) *also their works* (ΝΕΥ-ΚΕ-ΖΒΗΥΕ)]' (Zen. 200:14-

16), ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ πάντα πάντες ἡν νετοῦλας τῆρου
 εὔσονς ἐνεῶναι ἡν νεγοῦρητε 'he ordered [] to bring (ε-εἶναι) to
 him (κα-φ) Apa Paêse and (ἡν) all (τῆρ-ου) the saints (ν-ετοῦλας),
 (with) their hands (ε-νεῦ-δλ) and (ἡν) legs (νεῦ-οῦρητε) tied up
 (ε-γ-σονς)' (KHML 176:9-11).

b) Infinitival clauses embedded into a noun phrase

Infinitival clauses may function as noun modifiers within the structure of a complex noun phrase. The missing subject is anaphorically related to the possessor noun phrase of that nominal group, e.g. ἀλλὰ εἴπε ποῶν
 ἡπχοεῖς πε χιτν ἐζοῦν ἐρος φναχιτν 'but (ἀλλὰ) if (εἴπε) it (πε)
 (is) the will (π-οῦω) of the Lord (ν-π-χοεῖς) [] to take us (χιτ-ν) inside
 (ἐζοῦν) it (ἐρο-ς) (the city), he will take us inside (φ-να-χιτ-ν)' (Ac. A&P
 196:39-40), τνοδ δε νῶερε ἡπρρο νῆν οὔνοδ προοῶν ζιχως
 ἐερ παρθενος '(as for) the older (τ-νοδ) daughter (ν-ῶερε) of the king
 (ν-π-ρρο), (there) was (νε-γν) upon her (ζιχω-ς) a great (οὔ-νοδ) concern
 (ν-προοῶν) [] to stay (ε-ερ) a virgin (παρθενος)]' (Hil. 2:10-11).

12.3.2.3 Control in impersonal sentence constructions

The expletive subject of an impersonal sentence can never function as the controller of the missing noun phrase of the extraposed infinitival subject clause. Instead, the closest referential noun phrase is selected as an antecedent, typically the indirect object, e.g. πμα δε ετερε πεπῆα
 ἡπχοεῖς νῆντφ σερον ἐπιστεγε ζιοῦσον χε σεπολυτεγε (for
 σεπολυτεγε) μμαγ νοῖ νεφχαρισμα ἐτῶβε 'the place (π-μα) where
 the Spirit (πε-πῆα) of the Lord (ν-π-χοεῖς) is in (ετερε ... νῆντ-φ); it
 is to us (ς-ερο-ν) [] to believe (ε-πιστεγε) at the same time
 (ζι-οῦ-σον) [that (χε) there (μμαγ) his diverse (ετ-ῶβε) gifts
 (νεφ-χαρισμα) prevail (σε-πολυτεγε)]]' (Zen. 201:16-18).

If there is no antecedent at all, the infinitival subject receives a non-controlled interpretation as referring to a plural [+human] antecedent whose identity is left unspecified, e.g. ἀλλὰ νανοῦς ἐτιβωκ ζολως
 ἐβολ νῆντοῦ 'but (ἀλλὰ) it is better (νανοῦ-ς) [] not to go
 (ε-τῆ-βωκ) into them (the misconceptions of the Origenists) (νῆντ-ου) at

all (ζολως)]' (Contra Orig. 407), νῶερε ἂν ελλας ντεῖζε 'it is not (ἂν)
 appropriate (ν-ῶερε) [] to act (ε-λλ-ς) in such a way (ν-τεῖ-ζε)]' (AP
 Elanskaya 21b:4-5).

12.3.3 Complex infinitivals formed with analytic τρε-causatives

Coptic also makes productive use of non-finite clauses of another type that differ from plain subjectless infinitivals in both the morphology of the verb and the presence of an overt subject constituent. Such complex infinitivals are called causative infinitivals in most Coptic grammars, since they contain an analytic τρε-causative construction. As shown in section 6.4.3 of Unit 6, analytic causatives are periphrastic biclausal structures formed with the causative verb τρε followed by an infinitival complement clause. The subject of the lower infinitival clause is the direct object of the higher causative verb and appears in the accusative form. More research is needed to arrive at a fuller understanding of the choice between plain ("subjectless") and complex ("causative") infinitivals, which appear in free variation in a range of subordinate clauses. Here we restrict us to those sentence constructions where the causative infinitive is either required or strongly preferred.

a) The "accusative plus infinitive" construction

The causative infinitive is typically used in ditransitive sentences that contain three arguments: the subject, the direct object, and the infinitival complement clause. In the "accusative plus infinitive" construction, the matrix direct object is the antecedent of the pronominal subject of the following causative infinitive. In this construction, the syntactic structure matches the causative semantics of this construction quite straightforwardly: the matrix subject represents the CAUSER and the matrix object the CAUSEE argument of the subordinate infinitival clause that describes the situation aimed for, e.g. ἄω ἀφ' ἀπακαλαί ννεσνῆγ
 τῆρου ἐτρεῶνλα εχως 'and (ἄω) he (Απα Pambô) asked
 (α-φ-απακαλαί) all (τῆρου) the brothers (ν-νε-σνῆγ) [to pray
 (ε-τρε-γ-ωνλα) for her (Hilaria) (εχω-ς)]' (Hil. 8:17-18), ἄω ἀφ' ἑωρ
 ἐπεπρεσβύτερος ἐτρεῶσοροῦ ννεσνῆγ 'and (ἄω) he (the

nobleman) *requested* (α-q-κwpw) *the presbyter* (ε-πε-πρεσβυτερος) [to distribute it (the money) (ε-τρε-q-cop-oy) among the brothers (n-ne-cnyy)]' (AP Elanskaya 16b:2-4), *αυτε* ογζαλλο *ετρεφχι* *νηνχημα* (for *νηενχημα*) *ετβε* *νεφχρια* *μημιν* *μημο* *q* 'a (certain) *old man* (oy-ζαλλο) *was asked* (lit. *they asked* (α-γ-τβζ)) [to take (ε-τρε-q-χι) some money (n-ζn-χημα) for (ετβε) his own (μημιν) *μημο*-q) needs (νεφ-χρια)]' (AP Elanskaya 15b:3-6), *αγω* *απααρακαλει* *μημο* *ετρεφχω* (for *ετρεφχω*) *εροι* *μηπεφραν* 'and (αγω) I *asked* (α-ι-παρακαλει) *him* (Ara Onnophrius) (μημο-q) [to tell (ε-τρ-q-χω) me (ερο-ι) his name (η-πεφ-ραν)]' (Onnophr. 210:16-17).

b) Volitional constructions with overt subjects

Infinitival clauses with and without overt subjects differ systematically from one another in volitional constructions. While plain infinitives are selected when the matrix subject acts as a controller for the missing noun phrase, the syntactically more complex causative version must appear in their place in different-subject infinitival clauses. Thus, compare: *αλλα* *εψωπε* *κογωψ* *εειρε* *νηενκογι* *νηαλλο* *αρισου* *νακ* *μηβολ* *νηπολις* *ψαντηρ* *πεζοογ* *cnaγ* 'but (αλλα) if (εψωπε) you want (κ-ογωψ) [to do (ε-ειρε) a few (n-ζεν-κογι) healings (n-ταλλο), do them (αρι-σογ) outside (η-π-βολ) the city (n-τ-πολις) at a distance (lit. until you make (ψαντ-κ-ρ)) of two (cnaγ) days (πε-ζοογ)]' (Ac. A&P 196:33-34) vs. *παλειωτ* *ειογωψ* *ετρεκβαπτιζε* *μημο* 'My Father (πα-ειωτ), I *want* (ε-ι-ογωψ) [you to baptize (ε-τρε-κ-βαπτιζε) me (μημο-ι)]' (Mena, Mir. 31a:34-31b:2), *μηχοεις* *ογωψ* *αν* *ετρεφλο* *μηπειμα* *ψα* *εαν* 'the Lord (η-χοεις) *does not* (αν) *want* (η- ... ογωψ) [it (the inscription of Jesus' cross) to leave (ε-τρε-q-λο) this place (η-πει-μα) until (ψα) the end (εαν < τ-ζαν)]' (Eud. 76:18).

c) Infinitival adjunct clauses of temporal location

Causative infinitives are widely used in adjunct clauses of temporal location. The normal subordinator ε- is replaced by the locative-temporal preposition *μηννα* 'after' to form the infinitival version of 'AFTER'-clauses, e.g. *μηννα* *τρε* *ογςυγχωρησις* *δε* *ψωπε* *πεχε* *πρρο* *ναπα*

θεοφιλος *χε* (...) 'after (μηννα) *consent* (ογ-συγχωρησις) *was given* (τρε ... ψωπε), the king (π-πρo) *said* (πεχε) to Apa Theophilos that (χε) (...) (Eud. 74:17), *αψωπε* *δε* *μηννα* *τρεφναγ* *επζορομα* (...) *τοτε* *νηο* *μη* *πεφcon* *αγαρχει* *νογωψς* *εβολ* *μημα* *ετεγογηζ* *νηητ* *ετρεγχηνητ* *νογχογι* *νηοογζς* 'it happened (α-ψωπε) [after (μηννα) *he* (Pachôm) *had seen* (τρε-q-ναγ) the vision (ε-π-ζορομα)], then (τοτε) *he* (Pachôm) and (μη) his brother (πεφ-con) *began* (α-γ-αρχει) [to expand (n-ογωψς) the place (η-π-μα) where (νηητ-q) they were living (ετε-γ-ογηζ) [to set it up (ε-τρε-γ-χηνητ-q) as a small (n-ογ-κογι) convent (n-κοογζς)]' (V. Pach. 1:8-13).

Infinitival 'WHEN'-clauses are initiated by the locative preposition *ζη* 'in'; the infinitival complement takes the form of a definite noun phrase, e.g. *ζη* [πτρ] *εφωψ* *δε* [εις] *πηαγιος* *απα* [η] *η[να]* *αφαζε* *ρατ* *q* [εχ] *ω[q]* *ζη* *ογζο[ρο]μα* '[when (ζη) *he* (the camel-herd) *dozed off* (π-τρε-q-ωψ)], look (εις) the holy (π-αγιος) Apa Mena stood (α-q-αζε *ρατ*-q) before him (εχω-q) in (ζη) a dream (ογ-ζορομα)' (Mena, Mir. 12a:2-6), *αγω* *ζη* *πηρατηον* *ζωβ* *μη* *ααγ* *†* *νασβραζτ* *αγω* *πηαθος* *ναλλο* *νηητ* 'and (αγω) [when (ζη) I *do not have* (π-τρα-τη-ον) anything (ζωβ) (to do) with (μη) anyone (ααγ)], I will find peace (†-να-σβραζτ) and (αγω) the passion (π-παθος) will leave (να-λο) me (νηητ)' (AP Chafne no. 48, 10:17-18), *νηε* *νογχωψε* *εαφκοτ* *επεφνη* *ζη* *πηρεφχρο* *ζη* *πηολυμος* (for *πηολεμος*) 'like (νηε η-) a hero (ογ-χωψε) who returned (ε-α-q-κοτ-q) to his house (ε-πεφ-νη) [after (ζη) *having been victorious* (π-τρε-q-χρο) in (ζη) the war (π-πολυμος)]' (KHML II 50:15-16).

d) Infinitival purpose clauses

Like propositional complements of volitional verbs, complex infinitivals are consistently used in different-subject purpose clauses, e.g. *ναπσωμα* *νην* *αφχωρηει* *ναν* *μηρη* *ετρεφρ* *ογοειν* *ερον* *μηεζοογ* '(as for) those (scil. the eyes) of the body (να-π-σωμα), *he* (God) provided (α-q-χωρηει) us (να-η) with *the sun* [to shine (lit. to make (ε-τρε-q-ρ) light (ογειν)) for us (ερο-η) by day (η-πε-ζοογ)]' (Hil. 1:7-8),

ΝΤΑQCΕΖ ΠΑΙ ΝΛΑOC ΝΙΗ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΥΝΟC 'he (Paul) had written (ΝΤ-Α-Q-CEZ) this (ΠΑΙ) to every (ΝΙΗ) nation (Ν-ΛΑOC) [*that they remember* (lit. make (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-Ρ) remembrance (Π-ΜΕΕΥΕ) of)] their great (leaders) (Ν-ΝΕΥ-ΝΟC)]' (Zen. 200:13-14), ΧΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΚΗΜΕ ΝCΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΩQE CΝΟΟΥC ΖΝ [Τ]ΕΥΗΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΝCΕΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ 'send (ΧΟΟΥ) to Egypt (Ε-ΚΗΜΕ) after (ΝCΑ) *the holy men* (Ν-ΕΤ-ΟΥΛΛΒ) who are (lit. make (Ε-Υ-ΕΙΡΕ)) seventy-two (Ν-ΩQE CΝΟΟΥC) in (ΖΝ) number (ΤΕΥ-ΗΠΕ) [*that they come* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΙ) and baptize (Ν-CΕ-ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ) you (ΜΜΟ-Κ)]' (Eud. 42:2-4).

The causative infinitive seems to be strongly preferred when the main clause subject has undergone inversion for focalisation purposes, e.g. ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟQ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΗΠΕΡCOC ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΜΜΟQ 'and (ΑΥΩ) *the chariots* (Ν-ΖΑΡΜΑ) of the Persians (Ν-Η-ΠΕΡCOC) surrounded (Α-Υ-ΚΩΤΕ) him (Constantine) (ΕΡΟ-Q) [*to kill* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΟΥΟΥΤ) him (ΜΜΟ-Q)]' (Eud. 42:25), ΑΥΒΩΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΝΕCΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΑΤΗC ΝΤΕ ΤCΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΝΤQ 'the *generals* (ΝΕ-CΤΡΑΤΗΛΛΑΤΗC) of (ΝΤΕ) the army (Τ-CΟΜ) came (Α-Υ-ΒΩΚ) immediately (ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ) [*to get him* (Constantine) (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΕΝΤ-Q)]' (Eud. 38:5-6), ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΓΑΜOC [ΑΥ]ΧΙ CΒΩ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΕΤΡΕQΗ ΠΕQCΚΕOC (for ΠΕQCΚΕΥOC) ΖΝ ΟΥΤΒΟ ΜΗ ΟΥΤΗΗ '(as for) those who are married (lit. who are in (Ν-ΕΤ-ΖΗ) marriage (Π-ΓΑΜOC)), *they* were taught (lit. they received (Α-Υ-ΧΙ) instruction (CΒΩ)) *each one* (Π-ΟΥΑ Π-ΟΥΑ) [*to bear* (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Q-Ν) his vessel (ΠΕQ-CΚΕOC) in (ΖΝ) purity (ΟΥ-ΤΒΟ) and (ΜΗ) honour (ΟΥ-ΤΗΗ)]' (Zen. 203: 34-35).

Under conditions that are not yet well understood, complex infinitivals are available as a marked option in same-subject purpose clauses with first person singular reference, e.g. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΛΙΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΡΑΝΗCΤΕΥΕ 'I (ΑΝΟΚ) went (Α-Ι-ΒΩΚ) out (ΕΒΟΛ) into the desert (Ε-Π-ΤΟΟΥΕ) [*to fast* (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΝΗCΤΕΥΕ)]' (Ac. A&P 200:95-96), [Α]ΥΩ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΤΡΑΧΙΤQ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ 'and (ΑΥΩ) I had already gone (ΝΤ-Α-Ι-ΕΙ) [*to take it* (the golden coin) (Ε-ΤΡΑ-ΧΙΤ-Q) from you (ΝΤΟΟΤ-Κ) as an act of charity (Ν-ΑΓΑΠΗ)]' (AP Elanskaya 14b:19-21).

e) Infinitival result clauses

Complex infinitivals may be used to express a resulting or subsequent situation. The resultative interpretation of complex infinitivals is often made explicit by means of the consecutive conjunction ΖΩCΤΕ 'such that', e.g. ΝΓQΙ ΜΠΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΝCΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΑCΩΝΤ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΗΤ 'and take (Ν-Γ-QΙ) away (ΕΒΟΛ) this fleshy (Ν-CΑΡΞ) thought (Μ-ΠΕΙ-ΜΕΕΥΕ) from me (ΜΜΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I won't become angry (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-CΩΝΤ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ) in (ΖΗ) my heart (ΠΑ-ΖΗΤ)]' (V. Pach. 2:4-6), Α ΤΑCΟΜ ΕΙ ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΗΤΡΑΛΙCΘΑΝΕ ΕΠΤΗΡQ ΧΕ ΤΖΚΟΕΙΤ Η ΤΟΒΕ 'my strength (ΤΑ-CΟΜ) came back (Α ... ΕΙ) to me (ΕΡΟ-Ι) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) I did not notice (Ε-ΤΗ-ΤΡΑ-ΛΙCΘΑΝΕ) at all (ΕΠΤΗΡQ) [whether (ΧΕ) I was hungry (Τ-ΖΚΟΕΙΤ) or (Η) thirsty (Τ-ΟΒΕ)]]' (Onnophr. 209:26-27), ΝΕΦΑΡΕ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΕΝΤΤΟΝ (for ΝΤ ΤΩΝ) ΕΙ ΕΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ[Η]ΚΑΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ 'some minor (ΖΕΝ-ΚΟΥΙ) quarrels (ΕΝ-ΤΤΟΝ) came (ΝΕ-ΦΑΡΕ ... ΕΙ) into their midst (Ε-ΤΕΥ-ΜΗΤΕ) [*such that* (ΖΩCΤΕ) they got upset (Ε-ΤΡΕ-Υ-ΜΚΑΖ) with (ΜΗ) one another (ΝΕΥ-ΕΡΗΥ) many (Ν-ΖΑΖ) times (Ν-CΟΠ) because of (ΕΤΒΕ) this (ΠΑΙ)]' (Zen. 201:37-39).

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. $\eta\pi\omega\psi\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon \ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \gamma\epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\eta \ \eta\epsilon \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \gamma\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$ 'it is sufficient ($\eta\pi\omega\psi\epsilon$) [to just ($\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$) state ($\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) » these ($\eta\alpha\iota$) (are) errors ($\gamma\epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) contrary ($\gamma\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to the truth ($\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon$)]' (Contra Orig. 408).	§12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like $\gamma\alpha\pi\text{-}\epsilon$ 'it is necessary, must' and $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}\epsilon$ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations.	§12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \ \pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ (for $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ 'you know ($\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$), my lord ($\pi\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), [that ($\chi\epsilon$) this race ($\pi\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$) called ($\chi\epsilon$) Christians ($\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) bears ($\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon$) the tortures ($\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28).	§12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\eta \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \chi\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'he said ($\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\eta$) to me ($\eta\alpha\iota$) [(that ($\chi\epsilon$) » Yes ($\lambda\gamma\epsilon$), I suffered ($\lambda\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) a lot ($\tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$)]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. $\lambda\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\eta\mu\alpha\eta \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon \ \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\pi\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \alpha\pi\alpha \ \mu\eta\eta\alpha \ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\eta \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'he (the archbishop) told ($\lambda\eta\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) him (the brick-maker) ($\eta\eta\mu\alpha\eta$) [to make ($\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\eta\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon$) bricks ($\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$) for the shrine ($\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$) of the holy ($\eta\pi\gamma\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ($\psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\eta \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2).	§12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \ \eta\epsilon\epsilon\delta\omicron\eta\tau\eta \ \epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \ \tau\eta\eta\lambda\chi\iota \ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ '[when they come ($\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$) and find us ($\eta\epsilon\epsilon\delta\omicron\eta\tau\eta$)] awake ($\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma$), we will be glorified (lit. receive ($\tau\eta\eta\lambda\chi\iota$) glory ($\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$)]' (AP Chaine no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon \ \pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \eta\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \eta\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\beta\omega\kappa \ \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \eta\eta\eta\omicron\eta$ '(if) the Lord ($\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) were ($\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon$) in this place ($\eta\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$), I would go ($\eta\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\beta\omega\kappa$) and appeal ($\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to him ($\eta\eta\eta\omicron\eta$)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101).	§12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

πεχαί^a χε εἰνατῳῡν ταῳδτ^b μμοι. λιρ ῳορπ εροϋ^b εαμντε^c.
 αϋει εζραι επειμα αϋϋι ννειψυχοοϋε τηροϋ αϋῳωϋ^d ναμντε
 ῳατν ταψυχη μαλαα. α νεννοϋτ^c ναμντε ριμε εζοϋν
 επιαβολοα εϋχω μμοα χε εκρ ο[ϋ] εκῳοϋῳοϋ μμοκ εκχω
 μμοα χε ανοκ πε πρρο αϋω μν κεοϋα νβαλαι. τενοϋ δε
 ανειμε δε ντοκ αν πε πρρο εβολα χε α πετο νχοεια εροκ ει
 αϋϋιτοϋ ντοοτκ τηροϋ. τοτε πεχε παιαβολοα μπεντο εβολ
 ννεϋενεργια (for ννεϋενεργεια)^f τηροϋ χε ω ναδομ τηροϋ
 ετετννεεϋε χε οϋχωῳρε πε παρλον; μμον αλλα επειδη^g αϋει
 επειμα αλλα εις κεψυχη μμαλϋ μπεϋεῳδμδον εϋιτς. τοτε ιϋ
 αϋμοϋτε εμικαηα πενταϋντϋ νμμαϋ επεσιτ ναμντε πεχαϋ
 ναϋ χε ανι τεψυχη νιοϋδαα εζραι χεκαα ννε παιαβολοα ον
 λοιδε εχω (read εχωι). αϋει νοι μικαηα αϋντ εζραι. μννσα ν[αι
 α μικα][ηα] ῳῳ εβολα χε χι ῳιπε νακ πχαχ[ε] νδῳβ^h. [η][ννσα]
 ναι πεχε πχοεια [η]μικαηα χε [κτο] ντεψυχη ενταρταροα
 ναμντε. αϋριμε νοι ιοϋδαα χε εκναβωκ νγκλατ ζν νεικολααα;ⁱ
 νταεινε (read νταεινε) νταψυχη ρῳ εβολα ζν σῳηα χε ιϋοοϋν
 χε κνηϋ εαμντε νγϋι ννειψυχοοϋε τηροϋ χε εκεϋι τῳι ζῳ.
 αϋοϋῳῳβ νοι ιϋ πεχαϋ νιοϋδαα χε πταλαπῳροα^k ντακρ οϋ
 τενοϋ ῳαντκπαζτ νγοϋῳῳτ μπαιαβολοα; πεχε ιοϋδαα ναϋ χε

πχοει[ς] νταϋει εχωι μπεσμοτ νοϋδρακῳν^l ερε ρῳ[ϋ] οϋῳν
 εϋοϋῳῳ εομκτ λιρ ζοτ[ε] [αιοϋῳ]ῳ[τ] ναϋ. πεχε [ιϋ] ναϋ χε ω
 πταλαπῳροα [η]πναϋ ντ[αϋ]ει [ῳ]αροκ ενε [ντ]ακ[χ]οοα χε ιϋ
 βο[η]ει^m εροι νεκναοϋχαι αλλα ακρ πκεβωκⁿ ακειρε νοϋζῳβ
 ερε πνοϋτε μοστε μμοϋ εακμοϋοϋτ μμοκ μαϋαακ. ετβε παι
 εκεῳῳπε ζν νταρταροα ῳα πεζοοϋ μπζαπ ετερε πχοεια ναϋ
 ζαπ εροκ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. αμντε 'the West, Hell' d. ῳῳϋ 'to lay waste, destroy' e. μνοϋτ 'porter' f. ενεργια 'force' g. επειδη 'indeed, really' h. ὀβ 'weak' i. ταρταροα 'the Tartarus' j. κολααα 'torture, punishment' k. ταλαπῳροα 'miserable' l. δρακῳν 'dragon' m. βοηει 'to help' n. ακρ πκεβωκ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

νεϋν οϋαζιμε δε ερε πεσμοϋ ζαροα νοϋνοα νοϋοειῳ αϋῳ
 ντερεσσῳτν χε ερε απα διονηαααοα ναβωκ ῳα πρῳμε
 μπνοϋτε απα παζῳμ αατῳοϋν ααβωκ ῳαροϋ ααααοϋ^a μμοϋ
 εαχω. χε ιϋοοϋν χε πεκῳβηρ πε πρῳμε μπνοϋτε απα παζῳμ.
 ιοϋῳῳ ετρεκχιτ νμμακ ταηαϋ εροϋ. ιϋιααεϋε γαρ χε
 ειῳανηαϋ εροϋ μμααε πχοεια ναϋ ναι μπταλδο. ντοϋ δε
 αϋπιθε (for αϋπειθε)^b ζν πζῳβ εβολα χε ιϋοοϋν ντμααααα^c
 εαζιχωα. ντεϋνοϋ αϋταλοα εϋχοι αϋει εζητ ῳα πενεαῳτ. απα
 διονηαααοα δε αϋβωκ εζοϋν ῳαροϋ αϋῳ μννσα τρεϋοϋῳ
 εϋῳααε νμμαϋ ετβε νεααηϋ ενταϋπορχοϋ εβολα μννσῳα
 αϋαααοϋ μμοϋ εϋχω μμοα χε ιοϋῳῳ ετρεκτωοϋν ντνβωκ
 εβολα επμα μπρο ετβε πειζῳβ ναναγκαιον^d. ντοϋ δε αϋτωοϋν
 αϋοϋαααα νσῳϋ αϋει εβολα αϋῳ αϋζμοοα αϋῳααε μν νεϋερηϋ.
 τεαζιμε δε ααει ζιπαζοϋ μμοϋ ζραι ζν τεααοα μπιαααα.
 ντερεαααα μμααε ενεϋαααα ντενοϋ αααααοα. πρῳμε δε
 μπνοϋτε απα παζῳμ νεααμκααα νηητ ζν πζῳβ ῳα ζραι επμοϋ
 εβολα χε νοϋοειῳ νημ νεϋοϋῳῳ αν εαα εοοϋ εβολα ζιτν
 νρῳμε. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

Key Terms:

Impersonal sentences	contain a semantically empty expletive pronoun in the canonical subject position, with the clausal subject being extraposed to the postverbal position, e.g. $\eta\omega\psi\epsilon \ \delta\epsilon \ \epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon \ \epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \chi\epsilon \ \gamma\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\eta \ \eta\epsilon \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \lambda\gamma\omega \ \gamma\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\epsilon \ \epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$ 'it is sufficient ($\eta\omega\psi\epsilon$) [to just ($\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$) state ($\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\epsilon$) [that ($\chi\epsilon$) » these ($\eta\alpha\iota$) (are) errors ($\gamma\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\eta\eta$) and ($\lambda\gamma\omega$) contrary ($\gamma\epsilon\eta\chi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) to the truth ($\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$)]' (Contra Orig. 408). §12.1.1.1
Mandative constructions	typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives. Coptic impersonal verbs like $\gamma\alpha\tau\text{-}c$ 'it is necessary, must' and $\eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\text{-}c$ 'it is good, better' introduce mandative constructions with various degrees of modal strength, ranging from requests, directions, and instructions to advice, persuasions, and recommendations. §12.1.1.2
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ 'to know' presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause, e.g. $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta \ \eta\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \eta\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \chi\epsilon \ \chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\eta\epsilon$ (for $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\eta\epsilon$) $\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$ 'you know ($\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$), my lord ($\eta\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), [that ($\chi\epsilon$) this race ($\eta\epsilon\iota\gamma\epsilon\eta\omicron\varsigma$) called ($\chi\epsilon$) Christians ($\chi\eta\eta\varsigma\tau\iota\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) bears ($\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\omicron\eta\epsilon$) the tortures ($\epsilon\eta\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$)]' (Mena, Enc. 55b:23-28). §12.1.2.1

Direct vs. indirect reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}q \ \eta\alpha\iota \ \chi\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\epsilon \ \lambda\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon \ \tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$ 'he said ($\eta\epsilon\chi\alpha\text{-}q$) to me ($\eta\alpha\text{-}i$) [(that) ($\chi\epsilon$) » Yes ($\lambda\gamma\epsilon$), I suffered ($\lambda\text{-}i\text{-}\gamma\iota\varsigma\epsilon$) a lot ($\tau\omega\eta\omicron\gamma$)!«]' (Onnophr. 208:21-22) vs. $\lambda\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon \ \eta\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}q \ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon \ \tau\omega\beta\epsilon \ \epsilon\iota\tau\eta\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \eta\eta\gamma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma \ \lambda\eta\alpha \ \eta\eta\eta\alpha \ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}q \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ 'he (the archbishop) told ($\lambda\text{-}q\text{-}\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon$) him (the brick-maker) ($\eta\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}q$) [to make ($\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon\varsigma\eta\eta\alpha\tau\epsilon$) bricks ($\tau\omega\beta\epsilon$) for the shrine ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\tau\eta\omicron\eta\omicron\varsigma$) of the holy ($\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\gamma\alpha\eta\omicron\varsigma$) Apa Mēna [until they finished it ($\psi\alpha\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\text{-}\chi\omicron\kappa\text{-}q \ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$)]]' (Mena, Mir. 75a:24-75b:2). §12.1.3
Open vs. remote conditionals	Open conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability, e.g. $\epsilon\gamma\psi\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota \ \eta\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta \ \epsilon\eta\eta\eta\varsigma \ \tau\eta\eta\alpha\chi\iota \ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$ '[when they come ($\epsilon\gamma\text{-}\psi\alpha\eta\text{-}\epsilon\iota$) and find us ($\eta\text{-}\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\tau\eta\text{-}\eta$) awake ($\epsilon\text{-}\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\varsigma$)], we will be glorified (lit. receive ($\tau\eta\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\chi\iota$) glory ($\epsilon\omicron\omicron\gamma$))]' (AP Chaîne no. 44, 9:17). Remote conditionals, on the other hand, put forward a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible, e.g. $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon \ \eta\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \eta\eta\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha \ \eta\epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa \ \tau\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota \ \eta\eta\eta\omicron\text{-}q$ '(if) the Lord ($\eta\text{-}\alpha\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) were ($\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) in this place ($\eta\text{-}\eta\epsilon\iota\text{-}\mu\alpha$), I would go ($\eta\epsilon\text{-}i\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\beta\omega\kappa$) and appeal ($\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$) to him ($\eta\eta\eta\omicron\text{-}q$)' (Ac. A&P 200:100-101). §12.2.1

Control is a special case of anaphoric relation §12.3.2 between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and noun phrase it is co-referenced with.

Selected texts

Below are six annotated Sahidic Coptic texts from different literary genres.

APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

THE DESCENT OF JESUS CHRIST INTO THE NETHERWORLD

πεχαί^a χε εἰνατῳγν τᾱωδτ μμοι. λιρ ῥορπ εροq^b εἰμντε^c.
 λqει εζραι επειμα λqφι ννειψυχοογε τηρογ λqψωq^d ναμντε
 ψατν ταψυχν μαγας. α νειμνογτ^e ναμντε ριμε εζογν
 επιδιαβολος εγχω μμος χε εκρ ο[γ] εκψογψογ μμοκ εκχω
 μμος χε ανοκ πε πρρο αγω μν κεογα νβαλαι. τενογ δε
 ανειμε δε ντοκ αν πε πρρο εβολ χε α πετο νχοεις εροκ ει
 λqφιτογ ντοοτκ τηρογ. τοτε πεχε παιαβολος ηπειντο εβολ
 ννεqενηργια (for ννεqενηερτεια)^f τηρογ χε ω ναδον τηρογ
 ετετνμεεγε χε ογχωρε πε παρον; μμον αλλα επειδη^g λqει
 επειμα αλλα εις κεψυχν ημαγ ηπεqεψομδον εqιτς. τοτε ιc
 λqμνογτε εμιαηα πενταqντq ημναq επεcнт ναμντε πεχαq
 ναq χε ανι τεψυχν νιογδας εζραι χεκας ννε παιαβολος δν
 λοιδε εχω (read εχωι). λqει νδν μιχαηα λqнт εζραι. ηννca ν[αι
 α μιχα][ηλ] ψψ εβολ χε xi ψιπε νακ πχαχ[ε] νδωβ^h. [η][ηννca]
 ναι πεχε πχοεις [η]μιχαηα χε [κτο] ντεψυχν ενταρταρος
 ναμντε. λqριμε νδν ιογδας χε εκναεωκ νγκαат ζν νεικολαcιc;ⁱ
 νταεινε (read νταεινε) νταψυχν ρω εβολ ζν cωμα χε ιcοογν
 χε κνηγ εἰμντε νqφι ννειψυχοογε τηρογ χε εκεqι τωι ζω.
 λqογωψβ νδν ιc πεχαq νιογδας χε πταλπιωρος^k ντακρ ογ
 τενογ ψανтκπαζт νгоγωψт ηπδιαβολος; πεχε ιογδας ναq χε

πχοει[c] νταqει εχωι ηπεcнот νογδρακων^l ερε ρω[q] ογων
 εqογωψ εομκτ λιρ ζοτ[ε] [αιογω]ψ[т] ναq. πεχε [ic] ναq χε ω
 πταλπιωρος [η]πναγ νт[αq]ει [ψ]αροκ ενε [νт]ακ[χ]οοc χε ic
 βο[η]ει^m εροι νεκναογχαι αλλα ακρ πεεωκⁿ ακειρε νογζωβ
 ερε πνογτε μοcте ημοq εακμογογт ημοκ μαγας. εтβε παι
 εκεψωπε ζн νταρταρος ψα πεζοογ ηπζап εтере πχοεις ναт
 ζап εροκ. (Ac. A&P 202:102-128)

NOTES: a. The speaker is Judas Iskariot b. Jesus Christ c. αμντε 'the West, Hell' d. ψωq 'to lay waste, destroy' e. ημνογт 'porter' f. ενεργια 'force' g. επειδη 'indeed, really' h. cωβ 'weak' i. ταρταρος 'the Tartarus' j. κολαcιc 'torture, punishment' k. ταλπιωρος 'miserable' l. δρακων 'dragon' m. βοηει 'to help' n. ακρ πεεωκ 'you took a different route'

HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE VITA OF SAINT PACHÔMIUS

νεγн ογcζιμε δε ερε πεcнoq ζαρος νογνoб νογoειψ αγω
 нтepecсωтн χε ερε αпа διoнcиoс ναεωκ ψα πρωμε
 ηπноγте αпа παζωн αcтwoγн acβωк ψapoq acαζиoγ^a ημοq
 εcχω χε ιcοογн χε πεκψβнр πε πρωμε ηπноγте αпа παζωн.
 ιoγωψ εтpeкxит ημναк тапaγ εpoq. ιпicтeyε γαρ χε
 ειψaηпaγ εpoq ημaтe πχοεις ναт ναι ηпταλдо. нтoq де
 λqπиe (for λqπeиe)^b ζн пζωβ εβολ χε qcοoγн нтнacтix^c
 εтζиxωc. нтeyнoγ ayтaлoс εγχοι αγει εζнт ψα пeneиωт. αпа
 διoнγcиoс де λqβωк εζoγн ψapoq αγω ηннca тpeqoγω
 εqψaxε ημναq εтβε неcннγ εнтaqпopxoγ εβολ ηннcωc
 λqαзиoγ ημοq εqχω ημοc χε ιoγωψ εтpeктwoγн нтнeωк
 εβολ eпнa ηпpo εтβε пeиζωβ нaнaгkaиoн^d. нтoq де λqтwoγн
 λqoγaзq нcωq αγει εβολ αγω ayзmooc ayψaxε ηн neγepнγ.
 тecζиme де acει зпaзoγ ημοq зpaи ζн тecнoб ηпicтic.
 нтepecчoз ημaтe eнeqзoитe нтeнoγ acтaлдо. πρωme де
 ηпноγте αпа παζωн neλqмkaз нзнт ζн пζωβ ψa зpaи eпнoγ
 εβολ χε νογoειψ нн neqoγωψ an exи eooγ εβολ зитн
 нрωme. (V. Pach. 139:4-23)

NOTES: a. αἰτοῦ 'to ask' b. πῶς 'to agree on' c. μαστιξ 'whip, metaph. scourge, plague' d. ἀναγκαῖον 'urgent'

MONASTIC LITERATURE

FROM THE APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS")

Α ΟΥΣΟΝ ΧΗΕ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΑΨΤ ΝΚΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ ΝΖΗΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΨΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΙΟ ΖΗ ΠΕΨΖΗΤ ΦΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΑΨ ΝΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΣΟΝ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΠΙΟ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΑΛΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΧΠΙΕ ΤΕΨΦΥΧΗ ΖΗ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΖΑΠΣ ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΧΟΟΣ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΖΡΟΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΗ ΡΩΜΕ; ΕΡΨΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΑΙ ΣΝΗΥ ΝΑΨ ΝΟΙ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. (AP Chaîne no. 3, 2:7-14).

ΑΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΕΨΗΤ ΜΗ ΖΗΧΡΗΜΑ (for ΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ)^a ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΞΕΝΗ^b ΑΥΩ ΑΨΚΩΡΨ ΕΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ^c ΕΤΡΕΨΟΡΟΥ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ Ρ ΧΡΙΑ^d ΑΝ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΨΧΙΤΩ ΝΧΝΑΖ^e ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΑΨΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΤΒΑΙΡΕ^f ΕΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΖΙΩΨΣ ΖΙΡΗ ΠΡΟ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΕΨΧΙ. ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝΤΩ^g ΕΡΟΥ. ΖΗΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΨΤ ΡΩ ΕΧΩΟΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΨΝΤΟΥ ΧΕ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΚΑΓΑΠΗ^h. ΒΩΚ ΝΓΤΑΨ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΨΤ ΖΗΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΨΒΩΚ. (AP Elanskaya 16a:33-16b:27)

NOTES: a. χρημα 'money' b. τε-ξενη 'abroad' c. πρεσβύτερος 'priest' d. ρ χρία 'to be in need (of)' e. χι νχναζ 'to force somebody' f. βαίρε 'basket' h. ζντ= 'to approach' g. αγαπη 'alm'.

ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ ΨΗΡΕ ΣΝΑΨ ΕΖΝΣΟΝ (for ΕΖΕΝΣΟΝ) ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΞ^a ΕΨΩΡ^b ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΥΖΕΘΟΣ^c (for ΠΕΥΗΘΟΣ). ΑΥΣΕΡ (for ΑΥΣΩΡ)^d ΝΨΝΕ^e ΝΑΖΜΕ ΜΗΛΙΟΝ^f ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΘΝΤΟΥ ΜΠΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΨΝΕ ΝΕ ΕΥΕΘΟΠΟΥ^g ΝΣΕΖΟΤΒΟΥ ΖΗ ΝΚΟΝΤΟΣ.^h ΑΥΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ ΜΗ ΠΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣⁱ ΣΝΑΨ. ΑΥΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥΡΜΝΒΩ (ΕΥΡΜΝΩ)^j ΠΕ ΕΨΖΑ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΨΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΠΗΡΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ. ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΠΝΑ^k ΑΧΙΣ ΕΡΟΝ. ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΑΝΓ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΨΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΕΡΙΜΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΟΥΨΤ ΝΙΣ ΠΕΧ^l ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΣΑ ΠΡΗ ΜΗ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΜΗ ΠΜΟΥ – ΕΝΕΥΨΜΨΕ^k ΓΑΡ ΝΑΨ – ΑΛΛΑ Ψ ΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΝΓΘΥΣΙΑΖΕ^l ΝΑΨ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΠΑΛΑ.^m ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΖΗΝΣΩΝΤ (for ΖΕΝΣΩΝΤ)ⁿ ΝΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗ Ε-ΤΡΕ-ΤΕΤΝ-ΚΕΤ-ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΟΥΨΝΩ. ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΣΩΝΤ ΝΝΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΣΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΨΔΑΙΟΥ^o ΑΥΩ ΑΥ^pΡΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ; ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΖΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΕΛΨ^qΡΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΑΨΖΩΤΒ ΜΠΝΟΥ. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ. ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ^p ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΚΕΣΝΑΨ ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ (for ΕΑΥΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ)^q ΜΜΟΥ ΕΡ ΘΥΣΙΑ. ΠΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΣΝΑΨ ΑΥΨΕΙ (for ΑΥΨΙ) ΝΤΕΥΑΠΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΑΥΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΖΗΖΟΥΟΥ (for ΝΖΕΝΖΟΥΟΥ) ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ. ΕΠΖΑΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΑΥΔΟΞΕΥΕ (for ΑΥΤΟΞΕΥΕ)^r ΕΡΟΥ. Α ΟΥΑ ΝΗΧ (for ΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕΟΥΑ ΖΗ ΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΨΖΗ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ. ΠΖΑΛΟ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ^s ΑΤΕΤΝΨΕΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΜΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΩΖΤ^t ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΣΝΟΥ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΕ ΠΕΙΝΑΨ ΠΑΙ ΝΡΑΣΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΜΑΨ ΝΑΡ ΑΨΨΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΨ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΣΝΟΥ ΝΑΠΩΖΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΤΝΣΟΤΕ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΩΤΗ. ΑΥΣΩΨ^u ΔΕ ΜΠΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΨΩΡ^v ΜΠΕΨΡΑΣΤΕ ΑΥΩ Α ΟΥΑ ΝΝΙΕΟΥΑ^v Ρ ΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΨΨΗ ΑΨΨΤ ΔΕ ΝΣΩΨ ΧΕ ΕΥΝΑΘΟΠΩ ΑΥΝΗΧ (for ΑΥΝΕΧ) ΣΟΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΡΕΖΤ^w ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΜΜΗΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΜΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΖΑΛΟ. (AP Elanskaya 18a:19-19b:8)

NOTES: a. con κατά σαρξ 'blood brother' b. ωρς 'to hunt' c. ζωος 'custom, habit' d. ωρ 'to spread out' e. ψνε 'net' f. ναζμε μιλιον '(at a

distance) of about forty (H-A-2ME) miles (H-MILION) g. BWNE 'to seize, catch' h. KONTOC 'pike, pole' i. MAETHIC 'disciple' j. PMN-BW 'hairy man' k. WMWE 'to serve, worship' l. EYCIAZE 'to sacrifice' m. PALANA 'to deceive, mislead' n. CWT 'creation' o. (T)BA(E)IO 'to condemn' p. BACANIZE 'to torture' q. ANAGTAZE 'to force s.o.' r. DOZEYE 'to shoot with the bow' s. EPIAN 'since' t. PWZT EBOA 'to pour out' u. CWYQ 'to despise' v. (E)IOYA 'hind, deer' w. PWZT 'to strike, hit'

HISTORIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

FROM THE CAMBYSES NOVEL

NQAIWINE DE ENTAFXOYCO[Y NDI NABOYX]ODONOCOP^a NTEROYEI
EPAT[τ]q AY[TAMOQ (?)]^b [E][Z]WB NIM ENTAYWWE MMOY AYW AY↑
NAQ NNEP[ic]TOLOOYE. NTEREQOYUOY DE AQWOTPT. AQXOY DE
AQMOYTE ENEPPEQXI WOXNE^d AQWAXE NMAY EQXW MMOC XE
OY PETNNAAA[q] EBOA XE ATETNCWTM EOE ENTAYAZE NBOA EROI
NDI NETWOTOP] ZN MMA NYA MPRH^e EYXW MMOC XE
NTNNAZYOTACE^f NAK AN ETBE TDOM NKHME XE CWOOP
NMMA. TETNOYWW O[E] ETRENTAAN EZPAI EPOOY NWOP
NTNNTATACE^g MMOY ZN OYTAPO NCHQE AYW KHME THPQ
CENACWTM NCER ZOTE (...). NEYWOOP[π] [DE NH]MAQ NDI CAWQ
NPEQXI WOXNE EP E[OYA] [NM]OY [E]PE PEQWAXE OMOM.
PEXA[q] [MPEMTO] [M]PPPO XE PPPO WNZ WA ENEZ. CWTM [DE]
[EPWOX]NE MPEKZMZA OYTE MPRTAAK E[ZPAI EPO]OY MPR[τ]
MPEKZO EBOK EZOYN (...). PAI DE NT[OQ] [PE] [ΦWB] ETKNAALQ.
XOY NZEN[q]WINE EBOA ZITN] KHME T[h]PQ MPAN MΦ[APAW]^h
AYW M]PRAN NZAPEⁱ PEYNOYT[E] [ZN] ZENWAX[E] ENECWOY
ZWCTE ETPE[YCWOY2 E]ZOYN EYWA^j MN OYZOOP NPPPO [AYW
ETPEY]EI ZN OYAMELIA^k MN OYZHT NA[TPO]OYW ENN PO[λ]EMOC
NZHTQ. ZOTAN^l OE EYWANCWOY2 EZOYN QNANAY NDI PEYXOEIC
XE A KEMNTXOEIC AMAZTE EXWOY NQP ZOTE EMATE NQT MPKAZ
EZPAI ENEKOX. EWWPE NMOM KNAWP ZICE EMATE KATA OE ENTAP
WOP XOOQ NAK.^m NIM GAP PETNAAZE P[AT]Q ENIWE MN
NEIOYZOOP H NIM PETNA↑ TWN HN NIAPX NIM NTOQ PETNACWP
EBOA ENIWE MN ZENMOYI AXN WOXNE ZI CBW ZI MNTPMNZHT

XEKA CQEAMAZTE EXWOY; EIC PAWOXNE AIXOQ MPEKMTO EBOA
PAWOIC [π]P[PO] TENOY OE MAREP ANAK. KCOOYN [DE ZWOK]
NPPMKHME (for NPPMKHME) THPOY XE ZENPEQ[MIWE NE] AYW
NEYZOME ZENPEQNECH [W]NE NE Z[N] [OYCFEN]DONHⁿ AYW EYXPO
MNEYWHPE [EYTCABO] MMOY EPOLEMEI (...). (Camb. 7:7-8:25)

NOTES: a. NABOYXODONOCOP 'Nebukadnezar' b. The reconstruction of this passage is uncertain c. EP[ic]TOLOOYE *pl* 'letters' d. PEQ-XI WOXNE 'counselor' e. MMA NYA MPRH 'the places (H-MA) of sun (H-PI-PI) rise (H-WA)' (*metaph.* for the East) f. ZYOTACE 'to be obedient' g. PATACE 'to beat, strike' h. ΦAPAW 'Pharaoh' i. ZAPE '(the god) Apis' j. WA 'feast' k. AMELIA 'inattention' l. ZOTAN 'when' m. KATA OE ENTAPWOP XOOQ NAK 'in (KATA) the manner (OE < T-ZE) that I have already (ENT-A-I-P-WOP) told (XOO-Q) you (NA-K)' n. CFENDONH 'sling'

The inflectional paradigms of Sahidic tense-aspect-mood markers

PRESENT TENSES					
	FIRST PRESENT	SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE PRESENT	PRETERIT PRESENT	
1 st sing.	†-	ḡ-I-	ḡ-I-	Nḡ-I-	
2 nd sing. masc.	K-	ḡ-K-	ḡ-K-	Nḡ-K-	
2 nd sing. fem.	ṭḡ(p)-	ḡ-pḡ-	ḡ-pḡ-	Nḡ-pḡ-	
3 rd sing. masc.	q-	ḡ-q-	ḡ-q-	Nḡ-q-	
3 rd sing. fem.	C-	ḡ-C-	ḡ-C-	Nḡ-C-	
1 st plural	TN-	ḡ-N-	ḡ-N-	Nḡ-N-	
2 nd plural	TḡTN-	ḡ-TḡTN-	ḡ-TḡTN-	Nḡ-TḡTN-	
3 rd plural	Cḡ-	ḡ-Y-	ḡ-Y-	Nḡ-Y-	
FUTURE TENSES					
	FIRST FUTURE	SECOND FUTURE	THIRD FUTURE	PRETERIT FUTURE	NEGATIVE FUTURE
1 st sing.	†-NA-	ḡ-I-NA-	ḡ-I-ḡ-	Nḡ-I-NA-	NNA-
2 nd sing. masc.	K-NA-	ḡ-K-NA-	ḡ-K-ḡ-	Nḡ-K-NA-	NNḡ-K-
2 nd sing. fem.	ṭḡp-NA-	ḡpḡ-NA-	ḡ-p-ḡ-	Nḡpḡ-NA-	NNḡ-
3 rd sing. masc.	q-NA-	ḡ-q-NA-	ḡ-q-ḡ-	Nḡ-q-NA-	NNḡ-q-
3 rd sing. fem.	C-NA-	ḡ-C-NA-	ḡ-C-ḡ-	Nḡ-C-NA-	NNḡ-C-
1 st plural	TḡN-NA-	ḡ-N-NA-	ḡ-N-ḡ-	Nḡ-N-NA-	NNḡ-N-
2 nd plural	TḡTN-NA-	ḡ-TḡTN-NA-	ḡ-TḡTN-ḡ-	Nḡ-TḡTN-NA-	NNḡ-TN-
3 rd plural	Cḡ-NA-	ḡ-Y-NA-	ḡ-Y-ḡ-	Nḡ-Y-NA-	NNḡ-Y-
PERFECT TENSES					
	FIRST PERFECT	SECOND PERFECT	RELATIVE PERFECT	PRETERIT PERFECT	NEGATIVE PERFECT
1 st sing.	ʾ-I-	NT-ʾ-I-	ḡ-ʾ-I-	Nḡ-ʾ-I-	ḡNḡ-I-
2 nd sing. masc.	ʾ-K-	NT-ʾ-K-	ḡ-ʾ-K-	Nḡ-ʾ-K-	ḡNḡ-K-
2 nd sing. fem.	ʾ-pḡ-	NT-ʾ-pḡ-	ḡ-ʾ-pḡ-	Nḡ-ʾ-pḡ-	ḡNḡ-
3 rd sing. masc.	ʾ-q-	NT-ʾ-q-	ḡ-ʾ-q-	Nḡ-ʾ-q-	ḡNḡ-q-
3 rd sing. fem.	ʾ-C-	NT-ʾ-C-	ḡ-ʾ-C-	Nḡ-ʾ-C-	ḡNḡ-C-
1 st plural	ʾ-N-	NT-ʾ-N-	ḡ-ʾ-N-	Nḡ-ʾ-N-	ḡNḡ-N-
2 nd plural	ʾ-TḡTN-	NT-ʾ-TḡTN-	ḡ-ʾ-TḡTN-	Nḡ-ʾ-TḡTN-	ḡNḡ-TN-
3 rd plural	ʾ-Y-	NT-ʾ-Y-	ḡ-ʾ-Y-	Nḡ-ʾ-Y-	ḡNḡ-oy-

HABITUAL TENSES					
	HABITUAL FIRST PRESENT	HABITUAL SECOND PRESENT	RELATIVE HABITUAL	HABITUAL PAST	NEGATIVE HABITUAL
1 st sing.	ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲓ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲓ-
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲱⲗⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲣⲉ-	ⲙⲉ-
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲕ-
1 st plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲛ-
2 nd plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-
3 rd plural	ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲛⲉ-ⲱⲗ-ⲱ-	ⲙⲉ-ⲱ-
RELATIVE TENSES					
	TEMPORAL	TERMINATIVE	CONJUNCTIVE	NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE	
1 st sing.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲓ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ, ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲁ	(ⲛ)ⲧⲗ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲕⲱⲧⲛ	
2 nd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	
2 nd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-	
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲛ-ⲕ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲕ-	
1 st plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲛ-	
2 nd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧⲉ-ⲧⲛ-	
3 rd plural	ⲛⲧⲉⲣ-ⲱ-	ⲱⲗⲛⲧ-ⲱ-	ⲛ-ⲕⲉ-	ⲙⲡⲗⲧ-ⲱ-	
MOODS					
	JUSSIVE	CONDITIONAL	INFERENTIAL		
1 st sing.	ⲙⲗⲣ(ⲉ)-	ⲉ-ⲓ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣ-ⲓ-		
2 nd sing. masc.	imperative	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣⲉ-ⲕ-		
2 nd sing. fem.		ⲉ-ⲣ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣⲉ-		
3 rd sing. masc.	ⲙⲗⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣⲉ-ⲕ-		
3 rd sing. fem.	ⲙⲗⲣⲉ-ⲕ-	ⲉ-ⲕ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣⲉ-ⲕ-		
1 st plural	ⲙⲗⲣ(ⲉ)-ⲛ-	ⲉ-ⲛ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣ-ⲛ-		
2 nd plural	imperative	ⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣⲉ-ⲧⲛ-		
3 rd plural	ⲙⲗⲣ-ⲱ-	ⲉ-ⲱ-ⲱⲗⲛ-	ⲧⲗⲣ-ⲱ-		

Sahidic Coptic words

Sahidic Coptic words are listed according to their root consonants. Lexical items that share the same sequence of root consonants are ordered with respect to vowels. Tense-aspect-mood markers are cited together with their 2nd person singular feminine form. The relevant paragraphs of the grammar are given in brackets. Lexical items with a word initial † (< τ + ι) and ⲉ (< τ + Ϸ) are listed under the letter τ. Abbreviations: Arabic numbers indicate grammatical person (1, 2 or 3), *act* 'active', *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *aux* 'auxiliary verb', *cl* 'clitic pronoun', *comp* 'complementiser', *conj* 'conjunction', *det* 'determiner', *f* 'feminine', *imp* 'imperative', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *num* 'numeral', *pass* 'passive', *pcl* 'particle', *px* 'pronominal prefix', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *pron* 'personal pronoun', *ptcp* 'participle', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *sg* 'singular', *sfx* 'pronominal suffix', *supp.* 'suppletive', *TAM* 'tense-aspect-mood marker', *vb* 'verb'. Stem patterns: *nominal state* (verb-), *pronominal state* (verb=), *stative* (verb†)

ⲗ

ⲗ- *pcl* approximately

ⲗ *TAM* PERFECT (§7.3.4)
2: *sg:f* *apc*

ⲗⲗ= *vb* see ⲉⲣⲉ 'to do'

ⲗⲗⲗ *vb* to grow, increase

ⲗⲉⲱ *nf* drag net

ⲗⲉⲱⲱⲉ *pl*

ⲗⲗⲉ *vb* to climb, to mount,
ⲗⲗⲙⲱ† to go on board

ⲗⲗⲟ= *imp* stop! See ⲗⲟ

ⲗⲙⲉ *nm* shepherd

ⲗⲙⲙⲱ(ⲉ) *pl*

ⲗⲙⲱⲱ Come! See ⲉⲓ

suppl. *imp:sg:m*

ⲗⲙⲙ

imp:sg:f

ⲗⲙⲙⲉⲓⲧⲛ

imp:pl

ⲗⲙⲛⲧⲉ *nm* Netherworld, Hell

ⲗⲙⲣⲉ *nm* baker

ⲗⲙⲣⲙⲱ *pl*

ⲗⲙⲗⲧⲉ *vb* to rule, prevail,
grasp, detain

ⲗⲛ *adv* not (in double
negative ⲙ ... ⲗⲛ)
See §9.3

ⲗⲛⲗ= to be pleasing,
ⲣ ⲗⲛⲗ= *vb* please

ⲗⲛ(ⲉ)ⲓⲛⲉ *imp* Bring! See ⲉⲓⲛⲉ

ⲗⲛⲟⲕ I (§2.4.3)

free pron 1:sg

ⲗⲛⲱ

cl 1:sg

ⲗⲛⲟⲛ we (§2.4.3)

free pron 1:pl

ⲗⲛⲛ, ⲗⲛ

cl 1:pl

ⲗⲛⲕⲙⲉ *nf* school

ⲗⲛⲕⲙⲉ

ⲗⲛⲗⲱ *nm* oath

ⲗⲛⲗⲱⲱ *pl*

ⲗⲛⲗⲱ *imp* Look! See ⲛⲗⲱ

ΑΠΑ <i>nm</i>	Apa
ΑΠΕ <i>nf</i>	head
ΑΠΗ <i>nm</i>	chief, leader
ΑΠΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΠΟΤ <i>nm</i>	cup
ΑΠΗΤ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>nm</i>	blame, fault
ΟΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ <i>vb</i>	to find fault, blame, reproach
ΑΡΗΥ <i>adv</i>	perhaps, maybe
ΑΡΩΗΝ <i>nm</i>	lentils
ΑΡΙ <i>imp</i>	Do! See ΕΙΡΕ
ΑΣΠΕ <i>nf</i>	language, speech
ΑΥΩ <i>conj</i>	and
ΑΟΥΩΝ <i>imp</i>	Open! See ΟΥΩΝ
ΑΨ <i>adj</i>	which?, what kind of?
ΑΨΑΙ <i>vb</i>	to become many, multiply
ΟΨ†	
ΑΨΗ <i>nf</i>	multitude, many
ΑΦ, ΑΒ <i>nm</i>	flesh, meat
ΑΖΕ <i>nm</i>	length, limit of life
ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤ= <i>vb</i>	to stand
ΑΖΟ <i>nm</i>	treasure
ΑΖΩΩΡ <i>pl</i>	
ΑΖΟΜ <i>nm</i>	sigh, groan
ΑΨ ΑΖΟΜ <i>vb</i>	to sigh
ΑΖΡΟ= <i>adv</i>	why?, how come?
ΑΧΙ= <i>imp</i>	Speak! See ΧΩ
ΑΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	without
ΑΧΝΤ=	

ΑΒΡΗΝ <i>nf</i>	barren (female)
Β	
ΒΗΒ <i>nm</i>	cave, hole
ΒΩΚ <i>vb</i>	to go, depart
ΒΗΚ†	
ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ	to enter
ΒΕ(Ε)ΚΕ <i>nm</i>	wage, reward
ΒΥΚΕ	
ΒΕΚΗΥΕ <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΛ <i>nm</i>	eye
ΒΩΛ <i>vb</i>	to loosen, untie
ΒΕΛ-, ΒΟΛ=, ΒΗΛ†,	
ΒΑΛ <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ	to melt, dissolve
ΒΑΛΖΗΤ <i>adj</i>	innocent, naive
ΒΑΛΕ <i>nm</i>	blind (person)
ΒΑΛΗ <i>nf</i>	
ΒΑΛΕΕΥ(Ε) <i>pl</i>	
ΒΑΧΕ <i>nm</i>	pottery
ΒΑΛΗΠΕ <i>nm</i>	ram, goat
ΒΩΩΝ(Ε) <i>adj</i>	evil, bad
ΒΟΟΝΕ <i>nf</i>	evil, misfortune
ΒΗΝΕ <i>nf</i>	date, date palm-tree
ΒΙΡ, ΒΑΙΡΕ <i>nm</i>	basket
ΒΩΩΡΕ <i>vb</i>	to push, drive, fend off, repel
ΒΕΕΡΕ-, ΒΟΟΡ=, ΒΟΟΡΕ†	
ΒΡΡΕ <i>adj</i>	new, young
ΒΩΤΕ <i>vb</i>	to pollute, hate, abominate
ΒΕΤ-, ΒΗΤ†	
ΒΟΤΕ <i>nf</i>	abomination

ΒΩΨ <i>vb</i>	to loosen
ΒΕΨ-, ΒΟΨ=, ΒΗΨ†	
ΒΑΦΟΥΡ <i>nf</i>	saw
ΒΟΥΖΕ <i>nm</i>	eyelid
Ε	
-Ε <i>sg:f</i> 2:sg:f	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
Ε-, 2:sg:f ΕΡΕ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§§7.2, 11.1)
Ε-, ΕΡΟ- <i>prep</i> 2:sg:f ΕΡΟ, 2:pl ΕΡΩ-ΤΗ	to, against, compared to
ΕΒΙΩ <i>nm</i>	honey
ΕΒΟΛ <i>pcl</i>	out, forth
ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ <i>comp</i>	since, because
ΕΒΗΗΝ <i>nm/nf</i>	poor, wretched person
ΕΒΟΤ <i>nm</i>	month
(Ε)ΚΙΒΕ <i>nf</i>	breast
ΕΛΟΟΛΕ <i>nm</i>	grape
ΕΜΗΤ <i>nm</i>	the west
ΕΝΕ <i>Q-pcl</i>	introduces yes-no questions
ΕΝΕΖ <i>adv</i>	(for)ever, never
ΕΡΗΤ <i>vb</i>	to vow, promise
ΕΡΩΤΕ <i>nm</i>	milk
ΕΡΗΥ <i>pron</i>	each other
ΕΧΗΤ <i>nm</i>	ground
ΕΠΕΧΗΤ <i>pcl</i>	down, under

ΕΣΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	sheep
ΕΤ-, ΕΤΕ-, ΕΤΕΡΕ-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.1)
ΕΤΒΕ <i>prep</i>	for, about, as
ΕΤΒΗΗΤ=	for, because of
ΕΤΗΜΑΥ <i>det</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE (§4.1.1) that, those
ΕΤΝ- <i>prep</i>	to (the hand) of, to
ΕΤΟΟΤ=	
ΕΤΟΥΝ- <i>prep</i>	beside, with
ΕΤΟΥΩ=	
ΕΤΠΩ <i>nf</i>	burden
ΕΟΟΥ <i>nm</i>	honour, glory
† ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to glorify
ΧΙ ΕΟΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to be glorified
ΕΨΩΠΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΨΧΕ <i>conj</i>	if, when
ΕΖΕ <i>interj</i>	yes
ΕΖΟΥΝ <i>pcl</i>	inside
ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε-	into
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	above, up
ΕΖΡΑΙ <i>pcl</i>	below, down
ΕΖΟΥΕ	more than
Ε- <i>adv</i>	See ΖΟΥΟ
ΕΧΝ- <i>prep</i>	upon, over
ΕΧΩ=	against
Η	
Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	house
ΡΜΝ-Η(Ε)Ι <i>nm</i>	superintendent
ΗΠΕ <i>nf</i>	number
ΗΡΠ <i>nm</i>	wine

(Ε)Ι	
-ι sfx 1:sg	I (§2.4.2)
ΕΙ vb	to come, go
ΝΗΟΥ† (supp. stat)	
ΑΜΟΥ (supp. imp)	
ΕΙ ΕΡΑΤ=	to come to
ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ	to come forth
ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ	to enter
ΕΙΕ Q-pcl	introduces non-biased yes-no questions
ΕΙΩ nm	donkey
ΕΙΒΕ vb	to get thirsty
ΟΒΕ†	
ΕΙΕΒΤ nm	the east
ΕΙΟΥΛ nm/f	hind
(Ε)ΙΟΗ nm	sea, Fayyûm
ΕΙΝΕ vb	to know
ΕΙΝΕ vb	to bring, bear
(Ε)Ν-, (Ε)ΝΤ=	
ΑΝ(Ε)ΙΝΕ imp	
ΕΙΝΕ Ν- vb	to resemble, be like
ΕΙΟΠΕ nf	craft, art
ΡΕϞ-Ρ-ΕΙΟΠΕ nm	craftsman
ΕΙΟΟΡ nm	canal
ΧΙΟΟΡ vb	to ferry over
(< ΧΙ-ΕΙΟΟΡ)	
ΕΙΡΕ vb	to make, do,
(Ε)Ρ-, ΛΑ=	act
Ο†, Ω†	to be
ΑΡΙ-, ΑΡΙ= imp	
ΕΙΩΡΖ vb	to perceive,
ΕΙΕΡΖ-,	see

(Ε)ΙΡΟΖ=	
ΕΙC interj	Behold, Look!
(Ε)ΙΩΤ nm	father
ΕΙΟΤΕ pl	
ΕΙΤΝ nm	rubbish, trash
ΕΙΨΕ vb	to hang,
ΑΨΤ-, ΕΨΤ-,	suspend
ΑΨΤ=, ΑΨΕ†	
ΕΙΩΖΕ nm	field
ΕΙΑΖΟΥ pl	
Κ	
Κ-, -Κ (-Γ)	you (man)
pfx, sfx 2:sg:m	(§2.4.2)
ΚΕ det, pron	(an)other,
ΣΕ, ΚΕΤ sg:m,	different
ΚΕΤΕ sg:f,	(also used as
ΚΟΟΥΕ pl	focus pcl) also,
	too (§4.3.4)
ΚΩ vb	to place,
ΚΑ-, ΚΑΑ=,	set down
ΚΗ†	to lie
ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ	to release,
	dismiss
ΚΒΑ nm	vengeance
ΚΒΟ vb	to become cool
ΚΗΒ†	be cool
ΚΟΥΙ adj	small, little
ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ adv	a little
ΚΑΙCΕ nf	shroud
ΚΩΚ ΑΖΗΥ vb	to strip, make
	naked
ΚΑΚΕ nm	darkness
ΚΕΛΩΛ nm	pitcher, jar

ΚΛΟΟΛΕ nf	cloud
ΚΛΟΗ nm	crown, diadem
ΚΕΛΕΝΚΕΖ nm	elbow
ΚΩΛΖ vb	to strike, knock
ΚΑΖ-, ΚΟΛΖ=,	
ΚΟΛΖ†	
ΚΗΗ vb	to move, be
ΚΕΜΤ-, ΚΕΜΤ=	moved
ΚΗΟΗ vb	to become black
ΚΗΗ†	be black
ΚΑΜΕ, -Η adj	black
ΚΗΗΕ nm	Egypt
ΚΗΝΕ vb	to be fat
ΚΩ(Ω)ΝC vb	to slay, wound
ΚΕΝC-,	
ΚΟ(Ο)ΝC=	
ΚΟΝC†	
ΚΝΟ(Ο)C vb	to stink, rot
ΚΟΝC†	
ΚΩΠ vb	to hide
ΚΗΠ†	
ΚΗΠCΕ nf	vault, cellar
ΚΡΟ nm	shore, bank
ΚΡΜΡΗ vb	to murmur, be
	vexed
ΚΩΡΨ vb	to request,
ΚΕΡΨ-,	persuade,
ΚΟΡΨ=	entreat
ΚΡΟϞ nm	guile, ambush
ΚΑC nm	bone
ΚΑΑC, ΚΕΕC pl	
ΚΑΚΚC vb	to whisper

ΚΩΤ vb	to build, form
ΚΕΤ-, ΚΟΤ=,	
ΚΗΤ†	
ΚΤΟ vb	to turn,
ΚΤΕ-, ΚΤΟ=,	surround,
ΚΤΗΥ†	go around
ΚΩΤΕ vb	to turn, go
ΚΕΤ-, ΚΟΤ=,	around
ΚΗΤ†	
ΚΑΖ nm	earth, soil
ΚΩΖ vb	to envy
ΚΗΖ†	be zealous
ΚΑΖΚΖ vb	to hew out,
ΚΕΖΚΕΖ-,	smoothen
ΚΕΖΚΩΖ=,	
ΚΕΖΚΩΖ†	
ΚΩΖΤ nm	fire
Λ	
ΛΟ vb	to cease, stop
ΛΟ= imp	
ΛΑC nm	tongue,
	language
ΛΑΛΥ pron	some/anyone,
	some/anything
	(§4.3.3)
ΛΙΒΕ vb	to rage
ΛΟΒΕ†	be mad
ΛΟΙΒΕ nf	cause, excuse
Η	
ΗΑ nm	place
ΗΑ imp:sg supp	Give! See †
ΗΑΟ adj	rich
Ρ(Ε)Η(Η)ΛΟ	

ME TAM 2:sg:f MEPE-	NEGATIVE HABITUAL (\$9.4.2)
ME vb MEPE- , MEPT- , MAI ptc:act MEPT ptc:pass MEPATE pl	to love loving beloved
ME nf	truth, justice
MO imp:sg supp MHIGITN suppl. imp:pl	Take! See XI
MIO= interj	be hale, thanks
MAGIN nm	sign, mark
MOGIT nm	road, path
MOY vb MOOYT†	to die
MAAB, -E num	thirty
MOKMEK vb	to think, pounder
MOKZ nm	neck
MOYKZ vb MEKZ- , MOKZ=	to afflict, oppress
MAKZ, MOKZ† MAKZ NZHT	to be painful, be grieved
MOKZC nf	pain, grief
MEAWT nf MEAAE pl	ceiling
MOYAZ nm	wax
MMO= prep	See N-
MMHNE adv	daily

MHIN pcl (MMO=)	own (\$4.3.5)
MHON interj	No!
MIMATE adv	very much
MMAV adv	there
(M) M(E)N vb	(there) is not
MN-, prep MMMA=	with, and
MOYN vb MHN†	to remain, continue
MANE, MAN-	herdsman
MINE nf NTEIMINE adv	manner, kind in this way, thus
MOONE vb MENE- , MANOY= MANOOUT†	to pasture, land
MOYNK, vb MOYNT MEK-, MONK= , MON†	to form, make
MNNCA - prep MNNCW=	after
MNOYT nm	door-keeper
MNTPE, nm METPH MNTPEEY pl	witness, testimony
MPE TAM	NEGATIVE PERFECT (\$9.4.1)
MTPW interj	No, certainly not!
MIMATE TAM	UNEXPECTED NEGATIVE PERFECTIVE (\$9.4.3)

(E) MPWA vb	to be worthy
MPW nf	harbour
MOYP vb M(E)P- , MAP= , MOP= , MHP†	to bind, tie, gird
MAPE TAM	JUSSIVE (\$8.2.2)
MEPE n	midday
MORT nf	beard
MAC nm	young
MACE nm	young bull, calf
MICE vb MECT(T)- , MACT= , MECT= , MOCE†	to bear, deliver
MECIO nf	midwife, nurse
MOCTE vb	to hate
MECTE- , MECTW=	
MCAZ nm MCOOZ pl	crocodile
MTO nm MPHTO	presence
EBOL prep	before
(E) MTW nf	depth of sea
MHT, -E num	ten
MATE vb	to reach, obtain
MITE nf	middle, midst
MOTE nm	neck
MOYTE vb	to speak, call
MATOI nm	soldier

(E) MTON vb MOTN†	to be at ease, rest, relax
MOYTN vb METN- , MOTN=	to set at, rest
MOTNEC nf	contentment, ease
MAAY nf	mother
MOOY nm	water
MAAAL= adv	alone, single (\$4.3.5)
MEEYE vb P MEEYE vb	to think to remember
MOYI nm	lion
MOYOYT vb MEYT- , MOOYT=	to kill
MHHWE nm	crowd, troop
MWE vb	to fight, quarrel
MOOWE vb	to walk, go
MEWAK adv	perhaps, maybe
MOYZ vb MEZ- , MEZ- , MAZ= , MOZ= , MHZ† , MEZ†	to fill
MAZE nm	ell, cubit
(E) MZIT nm	north
MAAXE nm	ear, handle
II	
N- prep	LINKAGE MARKER (\$§3.1.3, 3.1.4)
N- TAM	NEGATIVE PREFIX (in double negative N ... AN) See §9.3

N- TAM <i>1:sg (N)TA-</i> , <i>2:sg:f NT-</i> , <i>2:sg:f NTE-</i> , <i>3:pl NCE-</i>	CONJUNCTIVE (§8.1.4)
N-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
-N sfx 1:pl	we, us (§2.4.2)
N(ε)- det:pl	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2.1)
N- prep NHO=	in, as (also used as direct object marker)
H-, NA= prep <i>2:sg:f NE</i> , <i>2:pl NH-TN</i>	for, to
N- prep NZHT= <i>1:sg NZHT</i> , <i>2:sg:f NZHTε</i> , <i>2:pl NZHTTHYTH</i>	in, inside
NA- aux	FUTURE MARKER (§7.3.3)
NA- pron:pl	POSSESSIVE PREFIX they of (§4.1.2.2)
NAA-, NAA= vb	to be great
NA(λ), NAε vb	to have pity
NA(ε)IAT- vb	blessed is
NAI pron 3:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE these (§4.1.1.2)
NE- det:pl	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
<i>1:sg NA-</i> <i>2:sg:f NOY-</i>	my your (woman)
NE- TAM	PRETERIT (§7.3.5)

<i>2:sg:f NEPE-</i>	
NE cl 3:pl	they (§2.4.3)
NOY- <i>pron:3:pl</i>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
<i>2:sg:f NOY</i>	yours (woman)
NH(H)BE vb	to swim, float
NOYB nm	gold
NOBE nm	sin
NEA- prep NEAAA=	beyond, except besides
N(ε)I- det:pl	DEMONSTRATIVE ARTICLE these (§4.1.1.1)
NOEIK nm	adulterer
NKA nm	thing, property
(ε)NKOTK vb	to sleep
NIM pron HEWE NIM	who?, which of? so-and-so (§4.2.1.2)
NIM adj	every, all (§4.3.1)
NAME adv	verily, truly
NNE- TAM	NEGATIVE THIRD FUTURE (§9.4.4)
NAANOY- vb NAANOY=	to be good, fair
NOYN nm	abyss (of Hell)
NOYNE nf	root, radish
NCA- prep NCW= <i>2:pl NCATHYTN</i>	behind, except
NECE- vb NECW=	to be beautiful

NECBW= vb	to be intelligent
(ε)NT-	RELATIVE MARKER (§11.1.2)
NTE- prep NTA=	LINKAGE MARKER (§3.1.4)
NTO <i>free pron 2:sg:f</i> NTE <i>cl 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.3)
NAHT adj	merciful
NOYTE nm ΠNOYTE	god God
NTOK <i>free pron 2:sg:m</i> NTK <i>free pron 2:sg:m</i> <i>cl 2:sg:m</i>	you (man) (§2.4.3)
NTN- prep NTOOT=	in, by hand of, by, with, from
NTεP(ε)- TAM	TEMPORAL (§8.1.2)
NTOC <i>free pron 3:sg:f</i> NTWTN <i>free pron 2:pl</i> NTETN <i>cl 2:pl</i>	she (§2.4.3) you (plural) (§2.4.3)
NTOOY <i>free pron 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.3)
NTEYNOY adv	immediately see OYNOY
NTOQ <i>free pron 3:sg:m</i>	he (§2.4.3)
NAY vb ANAY imp	to see, look
NAY nm	hour, time
NAWE- vb NAW=	to be many, much
NOYεWN- prep	without
(ε)NWOYOT vb NAWT†	to be hard, strong, difficult
NEEQ nm	sailor, ferryman
NKε vb NEQT=	to blow, breathe
NOYKε adj	sweet
NEZ nm	oil
NOYZ nm	rope, cord
NOYZ(ε) vb NEZ-, NAZ= , NHZ†	to shake, cast off, set apart
NOYZE nf	sycamore
NOYZH vb NEZH-, NAZH- , NAZH(ε)= , NAZH†	to save, preserve
NAZPN- prep NAZPA=	in front of, before
NEZCE vb	to awake, arise
NAZTE vb NZET-, NZOYT†	to trust, believe
NEZ-ψAQ nm	terror
NOYX adj	lying, false
NOYXE vb NEX-, NOX= , NHX†	to throw, cast
NOG adj	big, large, great

ნოი <i>focus pcl</i>	marks the inverted subject noun (§10.1.5)
ნეω(ω)= <i>vb</i>	to be ugly
ნოδნეო <i>vb</i>	to reproach,
ნეδნეო-,	mock
ნეδნოყ=	
ნოყც <i>vb</i>	to make angry
ნოც†	be angry
□	
ო† <i>vb</i>	to be <i>See</i> εipe
ოβζε <i>nf</i>	tooth
οεικ <i>nm</i>	bread, loaf
ομε <i>nm</i>	clay, mud
ον <i>pcl</i>	also, too
οοζ <i>nm</i>	moon
π	
π(ε)- <i>det:sg:m</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.2)
πλ- <i>pron: sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX he of (§4.1.2.2)
πλ	
πλ <i>pron 3: sg:m</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
πε- <i>det sg:m</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg πλ-	my
2:sg:f πოγ-	your (woman)
πε <i>cl 3:sg:m</i>	he (§2.4.3)
πε <i>nf</i>	heaven, sky
πιγε <i>pl</i>	

π(ε)ι-	DEMONSTRATIVE
det: sg:m	ARTICLE this (§4.1.1.1)
π(ε)ι <i>nf</i>	kiss
πω-	POSSESSIVE
pron:3:sg:m	PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f πω-	yours (woman)
πω(ω)ნε <i>vb</i>	to change, turn
πενε-,	
πονε=,	
πλανε=,	
πονε†	
πλποι <i>nm</i>	bird, chicken
πωπτε <i>vb</i>	to knead (clay),
πλπε-,	make bricks
πλπω=,	
πρω <i>nf</i>	winter
π(ε)ιπε <i>vb</i>	to come forth (of
πορε†,	light), shine
πρειωγ†	
πωρψ <i>vb</i>	to spread
π(ε)ρψ-,	
πορψ=,	
πορψ†	
πωρψ εβολ	to spread out
πωρψ <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
π(ε)ρψ-,	
πορψ=,	
πορψ†	
πικ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to cook, melt
π(ε)ც(τ)-,	
πест=,	
ποც†	
πλτ <i>nf</i>	knee

πωτ,	to run, flee, go
πнт†	
πλψε <i>nf</i>	division, half
πωψ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to divide, separate
πეψ-, πოψ=,	
πнψ†	
πωψс <i>vb</i>	to amaze, turn
πωсψ,	aside, leave
πесψ-,	
ποψс=, πλсψ=,	
ποψс†, ποсψ†	
πωζ <i>vb</i>	to reach
π(ε)ζ-,	
πнζ†	
πλζε <i>nm</i>	drug, medicine
πωζт <i>vb</i>	to bend
πезт-,	
πλзт=,	
πλзт†	
πωζт <i>vb</i>	to pour, flow
πезт-,	
πλзт=,	
πλзт†	
πωζт εβολ	to pour out
πλζოყ <i>nm</i>	hind parts, back
нπλζοყ <i>prep</i>	behind
πехε- <i>vb</i>	said
πехл=	
πωδε,	to break
ποδ=, ποг=,	
ποге†	
Р	
рн <i>nm</i>	sun
рл <i>nf</i>	cell, room

рo <i>nm</i>	mouth, door, gate
рw=	
рw <i>pcl</i>	even, indeed
(ε)рвε <i>nf</i>	enclosure
рлр <i>nm</i>	pig, boar
рoεic <i>vb</i>	to watch,
рнс†	be awake
рike <i>vb</i>	to bend, turn
рект-,	
ракт=, рект=,	
раке†, роке†	
рwкз <i>vb</i>	to burn
рекз-,	
рокз=, роқз=,	
роқз†	
р(ε)имε <i>vb</i>	to weep, cry
рмειн <i>nf</i>	tear
рμειοοყε <i>pl</i>	
рwмε <i>nm</i>	man, human
рomпе <i>nf</i>	year
рμποοყε <i>pl</i>	
рλн <i>nm</i>	name
рнт=	
рнн-рλн <i>nm</i>	dignitary
рπε <i>nm</i>	temple
рпнყε <i>pl</i>	
рро <i>nm</i>	king
ррw <i>nf</i>	queen
(ε)ррwοყ <i>pl</i>	
рнс <i>nm</i>	south
раcte <i>nm</i>	tomorrow, the
	next day
рат= <i>nm</i>	foot

РWT vb	to grow
РЕТ-, РИТ†	
РООУΨ vb	to care for, be concerned about
ϣΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ	to take care
ΡΑΨΕ vb	to rejoice
ΡΩΨΕ vb	to suffice,
ΡΕΨΤ-, ΡΑΨΤ-, ΡΑΨ(Τ)=	content
ΡΨΩΝ nm	coat
ΡΟΥΖΕ nm	evening
ΡΩΖΕ vb	to wash
ΡΑΖΕ†	be clean
ΡΩΖΤ vb	to strike, cast
ΡΕΖΤ-, ΡΑΖΤ=, ΡΑΖΤ†	
ΡΑΖΤΟΥ nm	monastic garment
С	
С-, -С	she (§2.4.2)
pfx, sfx 3:sg:f	
СA nm	side, part
(N)CACA NIM	on every side
NCA prep	after
СA nm	beauty
СЕ-, -СЕ	they (§2.4.2)
pfx, sfx 3:pl	
СЕ interj	yes
СЕ num	sixty
С(Е)ᵢ vb	to be filled,
СНΥ†	enjoy

CO nm	refrain, pardon
† CO	
-COY sfx 3:pl	they (§2.4.1)
СΩ vb	to drink
СЕ-, СA-, COO=	
СБΩ nf	doctrine,
СΒООУΕ pl	teaching
† СБΩ vb	to teach
XI СБΩ vb	to be taught
СABЕ adj sg:m	wise, prudent
СABH sg:f	
СABEEY(Е) pl	
СΩБЕ vb	to laugh, mock
СОВ(Е)Т nm	wall, fence
СОВТЕ vb	to make ready,
СВТЕ-, СБТΩТ=, СБТΩТ†	prepare, set in order
СABIE adj	beautiful,
СA(Е)IH	handsome
СABIN nm	doctor, physician
СОВИТ nm	fame, report
СΩК vb	to draw, gather,
С(Е)К-, СAK-, СOK=, СAK=, СOK†	move swiftly
СΩАП vb	to break, burst
С(Е)АП-, СOАП=, СOАП†	
СΩАП ΕΒΟΛ	to cut off
СOACI vb	to comfort,
СACI-, СACΩA=, СACΩA†, СACOAT†	encourage

СНН nf	voice
СНОУ vb	to bless
СНАМA(N)Т†	
СНМЕ vb	to appeal
СНМЕ vb	to set right,
СНН-, СННТ=, СНОНТ†	construct, establish
СНОТ nm	form, character, pattern, likeness
СОН nm	brother, fellow monk
СΩНЕ nf	sister
СННУ pl	
СИНЕ vb	to pass by, leave
С(Е)N-, СNT=	
СΩНТ vb	to create, found
С(Е)NT-, СONT=, СONT†	
СNTE nf	foundation
СNAY num sg:m	two
С(Е)NTE sg:f	
СA(A)NΨ vb	to make live,
СAANΨ-, CANOYΨ=	nourish
СНОQ nm	blood
СΩN2 vb	to bind,
СON2=, СON2†	be bound
СNΔ2 nm	bondage, fetter
СNAY2 pl	
СОН nm	occasion, time
С(Е)П- NOYCOП adv	once
СЕЕΠЕ vb	to remain, be left

СНР nm	rib
СΠΡΟΟΥΕ pl	
СОНСП vb	to entreat, pray
СΠСП-, СΠCΩΠ=, СЕΠCΩΠ†	
СΩР vb	to scatter,
СЕР-, СОР=, СНР†	spread
СΟΥРЕ nm	thorn, spike
СΩРН vb	to mislead,
СЕРН-, СОРН=, СОРН†	lead astray
СРQE vb	to be at lease
СРОQТ†, СРОВТ†	
СРОQPEQ vb	to let fall,
СРЕQРΩQ=	dissipate
CAPAΩOYΨ nm	hare
CATE nf	fire
CITE vb	to throw, sow
СЕТ-, CИТ-, CAT=, СЕТ=, CИТ†	
СOTE nm	arrow, dart
COOTE pl	
CTOI nm	smell, scent
C†-NOYQE	fragrance,
СΩTH vb	to hear, listen
СΕTH-, COTME=	
СΩTH vb	to choose
СΕTH-, COTTE=, COTTH†	
СOTTH†	be better
CTPTP vb	to tremble

PWT <i>vb</i>	to grow
PET- , PHT [†]	
POOY <i>vb</i>	to care for, be concerned about
QI POOY	to take care
PAWE <i>vb</i>	to rejoice
PWYE <i>vb</i>	to suffice,
PEWT- , PAWT-	content
PAW(T)=	
PWON <i>nm</i>	coat
POYZE <i>nm</i>	evening
PWZE <i>vb</i>	to wash
PAZE [†]	be clean
PWZT <i>vb</i>	to strike, cast
PEZT- ,	
PAZT= , PAZT= ,	
PAZT [†]	
PAZTOY <i>nm</i>	monastic garment
C	
C- , -C	she (§2.4.2)
<i>prfx, sfx 3:sg:f</i>	
CA <i>nm</i>	side, part
(N)CACA <i>nm</i>	on every side
NCA <i>prep</i>	after
CA <i>nm</i>	beauty
CE- , -CE	they (§2.4.2)
<i>prfx, sfx 3:pl</i>	
CE <i>interj</i>	yes
CE <i>num</i>	sixty
C(ε)I <i>vb</i>	to be filled,
CHY [†]	enjoy

CO <i>nm</i>	refrain, pardon
† CO	
-COY <i>sfx 3:pl</i>	they (§2.4.1)
CW <i>vb</i>	to drink
CE- , CA- ,	
COO=	
CBW <i>nf</i>	doctrine,
CKOOYE <i>pl</i>	teaching
† CBW <i>vb</i>	to teach
XI CBW <i>vb</i>	to be taught
CABE <i>adj sg:m</i>	wise, prudent
CABH <i>sg:f</i>	
CABEEY(ε) <i>pl</i>	
CWBE <i>vb</i>	to laugh, mock
COB(ε)T <i>nm</i>	wall, fence
COBTE <i>vb</i>	to make ready,
CBTE- ,	prepare, set in
CBTWT= ,	order
CBTWT [†]	
CAGE <i>adj</i>	beautiful,
CA(ε)IH	handsome
CAGIN <i>nm</i>	doctor, physician
COEIT <i>nm</i>	fame, report
CWK <i>vb</i>	to draw, gather,
C(ε)K- , CAK- ,	move swiftly
COK= , CAK= ,	
COK [†]	
CWΛT <i>vb</i>	to break, burst
C(ε)ΛT- , COΛT= ,	
COΛT [†]	
CWΛT EBOΛ	to cut off
COΛCA <i>vb</i>	to comfort,
CACA- ,	encourage
CACWΛ= ,	
CACWΛ [†] , CACOΛT [†]	

CHH <i>nf</i>	voice
CHOY <i>vb</i>	to bless
CHAMAA(N)T [†]	
CHHE <i>vb</i>	to appeal
CHINE <i>vb</i>	to set right,
CHN- ,	construct,
CHNT= ,	establish
CHONT [†]	
CHOT <i>nm</i>	form, character, pattern, likeness
CON <i>nm</i>	brother, fellow monk
CWNE <i>nf</i>	sister
CHHY <i>pl</i>	
CINE <i>vb</i>	to pass by, leave
C(ε)N- , CNT=	
CWNT <i>vb</i>	to create, found
C(ε)NT- ,	
CONT= , CONT [†]	
CNTE <i>nf</i>	foundation
CNAΥ <i>num sg:m</i>	two
C(ε)NTE <i>sg:f</i>	
CA(Λ)NHY <i>vb</i>	to make live, nourish
CAANW- ,	
CANOWY=	
CNOQ <i>nm</i>	blood
CWNZ <i>vb</i>	to bind,
CONZ=	be bound
CONZ [†]	
CNAZ <i>nm</i>	bondage, fetter
CNAΥZ <i>pl</i>	
COIT <i>nm</i>	occasion, time
C(ε)IT-	
NOYCOIT <i>adv</i>	once
CEETE <i>vb</i>	to remain, be left

CMP <i>nm</i>	rib
CMPPOYE <i>pl</i>	
COICIT <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray
CPCIT- , CPCWIT= ,	
CEPCWIT [†]	
CWP <i>vb</i>	to scatter,
CEP- , COP= ,	spread
CHP [†]	
COYRE <i>nm</i>	thorn, spike
CWPH <i>vb</i>	to mislead,
CEPH- , COPH= ,	lead astray
COPH [†]	
CPHE <i>vb</i>	to be at lease
CPOQT [†] ,	
CPOBT [†]	
CPOCPESQ <i>vb</i>	to let fall,
CPECPWQ=	dissipate
CAPACWOWY <i>nm</i>	hare
CATE <i>nf</i>	fire
CITE <i>vb</i>	to throw, sow
CEI- , CIT- ,	
CAT= , CEI= ,	
CHT [†]	
COTE <i>nm</i>	arrow, dart
COOTE <i>pl</i>	
CTOI <i>nm</i>	smell, scent
CT-NOYQE	fragrance,
CWTH <i>vb</i>	to hear, listen
CETH- ,	
COTHE=	
CWTH <i>vb</i>	to choose
CEIT- ,	
COTIT= ,	
COTIT [†]	be better
CTPTP <i>vb</i>	to tremble

CTWT <i>vb</i>	to tremble
CHY <i>nm</i>	time, season
COY-	day of month
CIOY <i>nm</i>	star
COOY <i>num sg:m</i>	six
CO <i>sg:f</i>	
COYO <i>nm</i>	corn, wheat
COOYN <i>vb</i>	to know
COY(ε)N-, COYWN=	
CIOYP <i>nm</i>	eunuch
COOYT _N <i>vb</i>	to straighten,
COYT _N -, COYTWN=, COYTWN†	stretch
CWOY ₂ <i>vb</i>	to gather,
CEY ₂ -, COOY ₂ -, COOY ₂ †	collect
COOY ₂ C <i>nf</i>	congregation
COO ₂ E <i>nf</i>	egg
CWε <i>vb</i>	to be like gall,
CWε†	bitter
CWQ <i>num sg:m</i>	seven
CWQε <i>sg:mf</i>	
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to despise,
CEWQ-, COWQ=, COWQ†	condemn
CXQ <i>nm</i>	yesterday
CXQε <i>nf</i>	sword, knife
CWQ <i>vb</i>	to pollute,
CEEQ-, COOQ=, COOQ†	defile

CA ₂ <i>nm</i>	writer, teacher
COO ₂ E <i>vb</i>	to set up
CA ₂ E-, CA ₂ W=	
C ₂ A ₁ <i>vb</i>	to write
CE ₂ -, CA ₂ T=, C ₂ AIT=, CH ₂ †	
C ₂ IME <i>nf</i>	woman
Ḳ ₁ OME <i>pl</i>	
CA ₂ NE <i>nm</i>	order
OYε ₂ CA ₂ NE	to command
CA ₂ OY(ε)	to curse
C ₂ OY(ε)P-, C ₂ OYWP=, C ₂ OYOPT†	
CWε <i>vb</i>	to paralyse
CEε-, COε=, CHε†	be lame
COON <i>nm</i>	ointment
COPAZT <i>vb</i>	to rest, pause
T	
-T <i>sfx 1:sg</i>	me (§2.4.1)
T(ε)- <i>det:sg:f</i>	DEFINITE ARTICLE the (§2.1.1)
TA- <i>pron: sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE PREFIX she of (§4.1.2.2)
TA ₁ <i>pron 3: sg:f</i>	DEMONSTRATIVE this (§4.1.1.2)
TE- <i>det sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE ARTICLE (§4.1.2.1)
1:sg TA-	my
2:sg:f TOY-	your (woman)
TE <i>cl 3:sg:f</i>	she (§2.4.3)

-TE <i>sfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
TEI-, Ḳ-	DEMONSTRATIVE
<i>det sg:f</i>	ARTICLE this (4.1.1.1)
TE(P)- <i>pfx 2:sg:f</i>	you (woman) (§2.4.2)
Ḳ- <i>pfx 1:sg</i>	I (§2.4.2)
Ḳ, T ₁ <i>vb</i>	to give
Ḳ-, TAA=, TO†, TW†	
MA <i>supp. imp:sg</i>	
Ḳ EBOA	to sell
TW- <i>pron 3:sg:f</i>	POSSESSIVE PRONOUN (§4.1.2.3)
2:sg:f TW-	yours (woman)
TBA <i>num</i>	ten thousand
THHEE <i>nm</i>	finger
TWBE <i>nf</i>	brick
TW(ω)BE <i>vb</i>	to repay, requite
TEBE-, TOOB=	
TEBO <i>vb</i>	to make pure,
TEBE-, TEBO=, TEBH†	purify
TENH <i>nm</i>	cattle
TENOoyε <i>pl</i>	
TWEC <i>vb</i>	to incite, stimulate
T(ε)EC-, TOEC=	motivate, urge, admonish
TET <i>nm</i>	fish
TWε ₂ <i>vb</i>	to entreat, pray,
TE ₂ -, TOE ₂ =	console

TA(ε)IO <i>vb</i>	to honour, pay
TAεIE-, TAεIO=, TA(ε)HY†	respect
TO(i)(ε) <i>nf</i>	part, share
TAIBE <i>nf</i>	chest, coffin
TAKO <i>vb</i>	to destroy, perish
TAKE-, TAKO=, TAKHY(T)†	
TALO <i>vb</i>	to lift, set on
TAAE-, TAO=, TAAHY†	
TWAM <i>vb</i>	to defile, besmirch
TOAM=, TOAM†	
TALBO <i>vb</i>	to heal
TALBE-, TALBO=, TALOKHY†	
T(ε)M- <i>aux</i>	do not (used to negate infinitivals and relative tenses) (§9.4.6)
TOM <i>nm</i>	mat
TAMO <i>vb</i>	to tell, inform
TAME-, TAMO=	
ḲHE <i>nm</i>	village, small town
TIME	
TAMIO <i>vb</i>	to make, create
TAMIE-, TAMIO=, TAMHY†	
TMMO <i>vb</i>	to feed, nourish
TH(M)E-, TH(M)O=, TMMHY†	

τωmc,	to bury
τ(ε)mc-,	
τοm(ε)c=,	
τοmc†	
τωmnt vb	to meet, befall
τοmnt†	
τ(ε)n-	we (§2.4.2)
pfx 1:pl	
-τn	you (plural)
sfx 2:pl	(§2.4.2)
των adv	where?
†των vb	to dispute, quarrel
τnnooy vb	to send, summon
τn(n)ey-,	
τn(n)ooγ(τ)=	
τn2 nm	wing
ταν2oyt vb	to trust, believe
ταν2ετ-,	
ταν2oyt=,	
ταν2hyt†	
ταπpo nf	mouth
τpe- aux	CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE (§6.4.3)
τηp= adj	all, whole, every
επτηp adv	entirely, at all
ταpe TAM	INFERENTIAL
l:sg τapι	(§8.2.4)
τwe nf	hand, handle
τοot=	
ψ(ε)π τwe vb	to undertake, stand bail
†(n)τοot= vb	to give hand, help

τwpit vb	to seize, rob
τ(ε)pit-, τopit=	
τpip nf	oven
τppe vb	to be afraid
τpeioy†	
τco vb	to give to drink
τce-, τco=,	
τchy†	
τcabo vb	to teach, instruct
τcabe-, τcabo=,	
τcaby(τ)†	
τca(ε)io vb	to decorate, make beautiful
τcaie-,	
τcaio=,	
τcahy†	
(τ)cto vb	to return, bring back
(τ)cte-,	
τcto=,	
(τ)cthy†	
τwt vb	to agree to, persuade
τet-, τot=,	
τht†	
τetn- pfx 2:pl	you (plural)
	(§2.4.1)
τα(ο)yo vb	to send, put forth, produce,
τα(ο)ye-,	
τα(ο)yo=	
†oy, †e num	five
τα(ε)ioy num	fifty
τοoy nm	mountain, monastery
pmntooy nm	monk, hermit
τοoye nm	shoe

twoyn vb	to rise, carry
toyn-, twoyn=	
toynoc vb	to wake, raise, set up
toyno(y)c-,	
toynoc=	
toywt nm	idol, statue, pillar
-thyт(ε)n	you (plural)
sfx 2:pl	(allomorph of -тn) (§2.4.1)
twy vb	to limit, fix, determine
tey-, toy=,	
thy†	
toy, twy nm	district
taoy vb	to increase
taoye-, taoyo=	
εbeyo vb	to humiliate
εbeye-, εbeyo=,	
εbeyhy†	be humble
emko vb	to afflict
emke-, emko=,	
emkhy†	
ta2o vb	make to stand, reach, befall
ta2e-, ta2o=,	
ta2hy†	
tw2m vb	to summon
te2m-, ta2m=,	
ta2m†	
te2ne nf	forehead
tw2c vb	to anoint, pour, smear upon
т(ε)2c-,	
ta2c=, to2c=,	
ta2c†	
toyxoy vb	to save
toyxey-, toyxoy=,	
toyxhy†	
taxpo vb	to make
taxpe-, taxpo=,	strong, firm,
taxphy†,	be strong
taxpaeit†	
twose vb	to fix, join, plant
tes-, tek-,	
took-, tooc=,	
to(o)k=,	
thot†, thkt†	
twose nm	plant
(т)ca(ε)io vb	to disgrace, condemn
(т)ca(ε)ie-	
(т)ca(ε)io=,	
(т)ca(ε)ihy†	
twoc vb	to bleach, dye
twoc=, taoc=,	
tooc†	
taoce nf	foot-sole
oy	
oy- det:sg	INDEFINITE ARTICLE
	a (certain)
	(§2.2.2.2)
-(o)y sfx 3:pl	they (§2.4.2)
oy pron	what?
oya pron	one
sg:f oyey	
oya oya	one by one
poya poya	each one
poya ...	the one ...
pkoya	the other
oya nm	blasphemy

ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲃ	to speak blasphemy
ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲥ†	to depart, be distant
ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲃ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ	to cease, stay he is already dead
ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲙ (ⲉ)ⲣ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲃ	news, report to reply
ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- <i>prep</i> ⲟⲩⲃⲛⲓⲥ	opposite, against
† ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- ⲛⲃ	to fight
ⲟⲩⲛⲛⲃ ⲛⲙ	priest <i>See</i> ⲟⲩⲟⲡ
ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲱ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱ†	to become white, be white
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ <i>interj</i> ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ ⲛⲙ	woe! rush, course
† ⲛⲡⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ ⲛⲃ	to advance, go forward
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓⲉ ⲛⲙ ⲟⲩⲉ(ⲉ)ⲛⲛ ⲛⲓ	peasant, cultivator
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲙ	light
ⲟⲩⲉⲉⲓⲉⲛⲛ <i>adj</i>	Greek
ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲙ	time, occasion
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲙ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲓ	to eat, bite
ⲟⲩ(ⲉ)ⲛ ⲛⲃ	(there) is
ⲟⲩⲟⲛ <i>pron</i>	some/anyone
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲛⲛ†	to open
ⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲱⲛ <i>imp</i>	
ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲃ	to pass by

ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ <i>nf</i> ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ <i>pl</i>	hour
ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲛ <i>nf</i>	right hand
ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ- ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ	to have
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲱ ⲛⲙ	wolf
ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲃ	to rejoice
ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲓⲥⲓ, appear, show ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲓⲥ†	to reveal, appear, show
ⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ† ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ	to be pure, holy the holy
ⲟⲩⲛ(ⲛ)ⲣ <i>adj</i>	how great?, how many?, how much?
ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲛⲃ ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ†	to be glad
ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲛⲧⲉ <i>nf</i>	foot
ⲟⲩⲥⲧⲛ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲧⲱⲛ†	to broaden, be broad
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ <i>adj</i>	single, alone
ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲧ-, ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲓ	to be green, fresh
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲟⲩⲉⲧ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ†	to be green pallid
ⲟⲩⲟ(ⲟ)ⲧⲉ ⲛⲙ	greens, herbs
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ- <i>prep</i> ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲓ	between, among
ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲧⲉⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲧ(ⲉ)ⲃ†	to change, pass through, remove

ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲙ	fruit
ⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲱ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲓ	to want, wish
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ <i>nf</i> ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ <i>adv</i>	night by night
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲉ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲉ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲱⲉⲓ	to answer, respond
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲛ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲛ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲛ†	to knead, bruise
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲩ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲩⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲩ†	to broaden be at ease
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲛⲃ	to worship, greet
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲩ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲱⲩⲓ, ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲩ†	to crush, perish
ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲓ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲥⲓ, ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲥ†	to put, set, lie
ⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲓ	to repeat, do again
ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ-, ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ†	to repeat, answer
ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲣ ⲛⲙ ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲣ ⲛⲓ	dog
ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲧ†	to be whole, safe
ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲡ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲡ ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲡ-, ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲡⲓ, ⲟⲩⲟⲟⲡ†, ⲟⲩⲟⲁⲡ†	to break

ⲱ	
ⲱⲓⲥ, -ⲧⲉ ⲛⲙ	nine
ⲱ	
ⲱⲉⲱ ⲛⲃ ⲉⲃⲱ-, ⲟⲩⲉⲱⲓ, ⲟⲩⲉⲱ†	to forget, sleep
ⲱⲕⲙ ⲛⲃ ⲉⲕⲙ-, ⲟⲕ(ⲉ)ⲙ†	to be dark,
ⲱⲗ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲗ-, ⲱⲗ-, ⲟⲗⲓ, ⲛⲗ†	to hold, contain, gather
ⲱⲙⲕ ⲛⲃ ⲉⲙⲕ-, ⲟⲙⲉⲕⲓ	to swallow
ⲱⲙⲥ ⲛⲃ ⲉⲙⲥ-, ⲟⲙⲥⲓ ⲟⲙⲥ†	to sink, dip
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲙ	stone
ⲱⲛⲕ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲛⲕⲓ, ⲟⲙⲕⲓ	to leap (reflexive)
ⲱⲛⲓ, ⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲛⲓⲥ†	to live be alive
ⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲃ ⲉⲛⲧ-, ⲟⲛⲧⲓ, ⲛⲛⲧ†	to count, esteem
ⲱⲣⲕ ⲛⲃ ⲱⲣⲕ-, ⲟⲣⲕⲓ	to swear oath
ⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲃ (ⲉ)ⲣⲁ-, ⲟⲣⲁⲓ, ⲟⲣ(ⲉ)ⲁ†	to be firm, secure
ⲱⲥⲕ ⲛⲃ ⲟⲥⲕ†	to delay, be prolonged
ⲱⲥⲓ ⲛⲃ	to reap <i>See</i> ⲱⲓⲥ

ωππ <i>vb</i>	to shut, enclose,
εππ-, οππ-, οππ†, οππ†	imprison
ωππ <i>vb</i>	to load
οππ-, οππ-, οππ†	
ωψ <i>vb</i>	to cry, announce,
εψ-, οψ-	read
ωζε, οζε <i>vb</i>	to stand, stay
λζε-, λζε†	
λζε (ε)πατ-	to stand (on foot)
ωζc, ωcζ <i>vb</i>	to reap, mow
εζc-, ωcζ-, οζc-, οcζ-	
ωχν <i>vb</i>	to cease, perish,
ωχν-, οχν-	destroy
ωστ <i>vb</i>	to choke, strangle
εστ-, οστ-	
ω	
(ε)ω- <i>aux</i>	to be able to, can
ωλ- <i>prep</i>	to, towards
ωλρο-	
ωλ <i>TAM</i>	HABITUAL ASPECT
2:sg:f ωλρε-	(§7.3.6)
ωλ <i>nm</i>	festival
ωε <i>nm</i>	wood
ωε <i>num</i>	hundred
ωε <i>interj</i>	(in swearing) by
ωι <i>vb</i>	to measure, weigh
ωι-, ωιτ-	
ωιγ†	
ωο <i>num</i>	thousand

ωωβ <i>vb</i>	to shave, clip
ωβ-, ωεϥτ-	
ωοβ-, ωοϥ-, ωηβ†	
ωιβε <i>vb</i>	to change
ωβ-, ω(ε)βτ-, ω(ε)βτ-, ωεϥτ-, ωο(ο)βε†, ωο(ο)ϥε†,	
ωβηρ, ωβρ <i>nm</i>	friend
ωβεερ <i>pl</i>	
ωεει <i>vb</i>	to come and go, wander
ωικε <i>vb</i>	to dig
ωεκτ-, ωακτ-, ωοκε†	
ωκακ <i>nm</i>	cry, shout
χι ωκακ εβολ	to cry out
ωικζ <i>nm</i>	depth, pit
ωωλ <i>vb</i>	to spoil,
ω(ε)λ-, ωωλ-	destroy
ωωλ- <i>ptcp:act</i>	
ωωηλ <i>vb</i>	to pray
ωελεετ <i>nf</i>	bride
ωωη <i>adj</i>	small, little
ωωη <i>nm</i>	summer
ωωηο <i>nm</i>	stranger
ωωογν <i>num sg:m</i>	eight
ωωογνε <i>sg:f</i>	
ωωη(ν)τ <i>num sg:m</i>	three
ωωητε <i>sg:f</i>	
ωωωε <i>vb</i>	to serve,
ωωωε-, ωωωητ-	worship
ωωε, ωωη <i>nm</i>	net
ωωηγ(ε) <i>pl</i>	

ωωλ <i>TAM</i>	CONDITIONAL (§8.2.3)	ωωβλ <i>nm</i>	scorching heat
ωωη <i>nm</i>	tree	ωωρη <i>num sg:m</i>	first
ω(ε)ινε <i>vb</i>	to seek, ask	ωωρηε <i>sg:f</i>	
ωεν(τ)-, ωητ-		νωωρη <i>adv</i>	at first
οη πωινε	to visit	ωωρη <i>vb</i>	to be early
ωωνε <i>vb</i>	to become sick	ω(ε)ρ(ε)π-,	do first
ωο(ο)νε†	be sick, ill	ωωρη-	
ωωονε <i>vb</i>	to be mericful	ωωρηωρ <i>vb</i>	to upset, destroy,
ω(ε)ν-,		ωωρηωρ-,	
ωωλ- <i>ptcp:act</i>		ωωρηωρ†, ωωρηωρ†	
ωωη <i>nm</i>	linen	ωωη <i>nm</i>	shepherd
ωωη <i>TAM</i>	TERMINATIVE (§8.1.3)	ωωη, ωωη <i>pl</i>	
1:sg ωωη†-,		ωωη(ε)ν <i>vb</i>	to annoy, fatigue
ωωηλ-		ωωη†	be disheartened
2:sg:f ωωητε-		ωωη <i>vb</i>	to demand,
ωωηε <i>vb</i>	to embarras	ωωη-, ωωη-,	extort
ωωη <i>vb</i>	to receive, take	ωωη-, ωωη(λ)τ-,	
ω(ε)π-, ωωη-,	contain, suffer	ωωη <i>num</i>	two hundred
ωωη†		ωωη(ω)τ <i>vb</i>	to cut, slay, be
ωωη <i>nm</i>	moment, instant	ω(ε)τ-,	cut short, needy
2ωωηωπ(ε)	all of a sudden	ωωη(λ)τ-,	
νωωη <i>adv</i>		ωωη†	
ωωηε <i>vb</i>	to become, happen, befall	ωωηε <i>nf</i>	well, cistern, pit
ωωη†	to be, live (at)	(ε)ωωηε <i>nm</i>	prison
ωωηρε <i>nf</i>	wonder, amazement	ωωηεωωη <i>pl</i>	
ωωη <i>nm</i>	skin	ωωη <i>vb</i>	to shut
ωωηε <i>pl</i>		ω(ε)τη-,	
ωωηε, ωωη- <i>nm</i>	son, child	ωωη†	be shut
ωωηε <i>nf</i>	daughter	ωωη <i>nf</i>	garment, tunic
ωωηε ωωη	small child, lad	ωωηωτ <i>vb</i>	to disturb,
ω(ε)ιρε <i>adj</i>	small	ωωηωτ-,	trouble,
2(ε)ρ-ωωηε <i>nm</i>	young servant	ωωηωτ†	
		ωωη <i>nm</i>	use, value

ψοογ(ε) <i>nm</i>	incense, perfume
ψοογε <i>vb</i>	to dry out,
ψογωγ†	be dry
ψογο <i>vb</i>	to flow, pour
ψογω=, ψογο=,	
ψογεπ†	to be empty, idle
ψψε <i>vb</i>	to befitting
ψωψ <i>nf</i>	antelope
ψωψ <i>vb</i>	to spread, scatter
ψεψ-, ψοψ=,	
ψηψ†	
ψογψογ <i>vb</i>	to boast
ψωq <i>vb</i>	to waste, destroy
ψεq-, ψοq=,	
ψηq†	be deserted
ψqe <i>num</i>	seventy
ψαqτε <i>nm</i>	impious person
ψαξε <i>vb</i>	to speak, talk
ψοxνε <i>vb</i>	to take counsel
ψωxπ <i>vb</i>	to remain,
ψεxπ-, ψοxπ=,	
ψοxπ†	be left over
ψωωδε <i>vb</i>	to hurt, wound
ψε(ε)δε-, ψο(ο)δ=,	
ψο(ο)δε†	
q	
q-, -q	he (§2.4.1)
<i>pfx, sfx 3:sg:m</i>	
q(ε)ι <i>vb</i>	to bear, carry
q(ε)ι-, qιτ=,	
qιιγ†,	
<i>ptcp:act qαι</i>	
qαι-ψινε <i>nm</i>	messenger

qω, εω <i>nm</i>	hair
q(ε)NT, ENT <i>nm</i>	worm
qωτε <i>vb</i>	to wipe,
qετ-, qοτ=	obliterate
qωτε εβολ	exterminate
qτοογ <i>num sg:m</i>	four
qτοε <i>sg:f</i>	
qωδε <i>vb</i>	to leap, move
qεδ-, qοδ=,	hastily
εηδ†	
2	
2λ- <i>prep</i>	under, in, at
2λπο=	
2λε <i>num sg:m</i>	final, last
2λη <i>sg:f</i>	
2λεεγ <i>pl</i>	
επ2λε <i>adv</i>	at last
2ε <i>nf</i>	manner
ηθε <i>adv</i>	in the manner,
(< N-T-2ε)	like
2ε <i>vb</i>	to fall, find
2ηγ†	
2η <i>nf</i>	forepart
2αην <i>prep</i>	in front of
2ατεq2η	
2ι- <i>prep</i>	on, at, in
2ιω=	
2ιναι <i>adv</i>	thus
2ιην <i>prep</i>	to, at front
2ο <i>nm</i>	face
2πα=	
2ω <i>vb</i>	to suffice
2ω(ω)= <i>pron</i>	-self, also, too,

2ωε <i>nm</i>	thing, matter
2βηγε <i>pl</i>	
P 2ωε <i>vb</i>	to work
2βογρ <i>nf</i>	left hand
2α(ε)ρεε <i>nf</i>	shadow
2ωε(ε)ς <i>vb</i>	to cover, protect
2(ε)εε-,	
2οεε=,	
2οεε†	
2βο(ο)ς <i>nmf</i>	garment
2βωως <i>pl</i>	
2βςω <i>nf</i>	garment
2βςοογε <i>pl</i>	
2η <i>nf</i>	road, path
2ηοογε <i>pl</i>	
2αι <i>nm</i>	husband
2οειν <i>nm</i>	wave
2ημε <i>pl</i>	
2οινε <i>pron</i>	some
2ο(ε)ιτε <i>nmf</i>	linen garment
2κο <i>vb</i>	to hunger,
2καειτ†,	be hungry
2κοειτ†	
2η(η)κε <i>adj</i>	poor
2ακ <i>adj</i>	sober, prudent
2ω(ω)κ <i>vb</i>	to gird, brace
2εκ-,	
2ο(ο)κ=,	
2ηκ†	
2ω(ω)κ(ε) <i>vb</i>	to scrape, shave
2εκ-, 2οοκ=,	
2οοκε†	
2αλ <i>n</i>	betrayal
P 2αλ	to deceive

2αλο, <i>nm</i>	old man, senior monk
2αλω <i>nf</i>	old woman
2ωωλε <i>vb</i>	to slip, fall down
2ολε†	
2λοπα(ε)π <i>vb</i>	to make weary,
2απαωπ=,	plague, distress
2λεπαωπ†	
2λοστ(ε)ν <i>nm</i>	mist
2αλητ <i>nm</i>	bird
2αλα(α)τε <i>pl</i>	
2λοδ <i>vb</i>	to be sweet
2ολε†	
2με <i>num</i>	forty
2αμοι <i>interj</i>	would that
2μογ <i>nm</i>	salt
2μον,	to become hot
2ηη†	be hot
2ημε <i>nf</i>	heat, fever
2ημε <i>vb</i>	to steer, guide
2ημεν <i>num</i>	eighty
2οηντ <i>nm</i>	copper, bronze
2μοος <i>vb</i>	to sit, dwell
2μοτ <i>nm</i>	grace, gift
2η2αλ <i>nmf</i>	servant, slave
2η2η <i>vb</i>	to roar, neigh
2ηx <i>nm</i>	vinegar
2η- <i>prep</i>	in, at, on, with
η2ητ=	
2εν- <i>det:pl</i>	INDEFINITE ARTICLE (§2.2.2.2)

2NE- *n* will, desire
 2NA=
 P 2NA= *vb* to be willing, desire
 2ON *vb* to approach, come
 2N-, 2ON=,
 2HN†
 2ON *vb* to bid, command
 2ON=
 2INH *vb* to sleep, doze
 2NT= *vb* to move forward
 2ENEETE *nf* monastery
 2NA(A)Y *nm* vessel, pot
 2AT *nm* judgement, inquest
 2AT-C it is necessary, must
 2O(O)π *nm* (marriage) feast
 2ON *vb* to hide
 2EP-, 2OP=
 2HN†
 2IP *nm* road, street
 2POK *vb* to cease, be still
 2OPK†
 2APN- *prep* beneath, before
 2APO=
 2IPN- *prep* at, upon
 2IPW=
 2OPIT *vb* to drench
 2(E)PIT-, 2OPIT=,
 2OPIT†
 2POOY *nm* voice, noise
 2POY-BAI *nm* thunder
 2POY *vb* to be heavy, slow
 2(E)PΩ-, 2OPΩ†
 2APΩ *ptcp:act*

2APΩ N2HT patient
 2APE2 *vb* to keep, guard
 2ICE *vb* to trouble, toil
 2ACT-, 2ACT=,
 2OCET†
 2ICE *nm* labour, weariness,
 trouble, grief
 † 2ICE *vb* to give trouble
 2IT 2ICE *vb* to take trouble,
 suffer
 2AT *nm* silver, coin, money
 2HT *nm* heart, mind,
 2TH=
 † 2TH= *vb* to observe
 2TO *nm* horse
 (E)2TΩWP *pl*
 2OT *nm* opposite
 2WT *n* sail
 P 2WT *vb* to sail
 2OTE *nm* fear
 P 2OTE *vb* to be afraid
 2WTB, to kill
 2ETB-, 2OTB=,
 2OTB†
 2ITN- *prep* by, through
 2ITOOT=
 2TOOYE *nm* dawn, morning
 2HY *nm* profit
 2OOY *nm* day
 (E)MPOOY today
 2OOY *vb* to be bad, evil
 2IOYE *vb* to strike, cast,
 2I-, 2IT= smite

2OYO *nm* greater part
 (E)P 2OYO *vb* to be more, exceed
 2PE2OYO *adv* greatly, very, more
 N2OYO *adv* most of all
 2OOYT *nm* male, husband
 2OQ *nm* serpent
 2QW *nf*
 2A2 *adj* many, most
 2WX *vb* to be in straits
 2EX-, 2HX†
 2IXN- *prep* on, upon
 2IXW=
 2OX2(E)X *vb* to compel,
 2(E)X(2)X-, straighten
 2EX2WX=,
 2EX2WX† be distressed
 X
 XE *comp* that
 EBOA XE because
 ETBE XE because
 XE *pcl* called
 XI *vb* to take, get
 XI-, XIT=,
 XHY†,
 XAI- *ptcp:act*
 MO suppl. *imp:sg*
 MHHEITN *imp:pl*
 XO, XW *vb* to sow, plant
 XE-, XO-,
 XO=, XHY†
 XO, XW *vb* to put, send forth
 XE-, XI-, XO= spend
 XO(E) *nf* wall
 EXH *pl*

XW *vb* to say, speak
 XE-, XOO=,
 AXI- *imp*
 XW= *nm* head
 XA(E)KE *nm* desert
 XO(E)I *nm* ship
 EXHY *pl*
 XOEIC (X̄C) lord, master
 XICOOYE *pl*
 XOEIT *nm* olive tree, olive
 XWK EBOA *vb* to complete,
 XEK-, XAK-, accomplish
 XOK=, XHK†
 XWKH *vb* to wash, clean
 XEKH-, XOKH=,
 XOKH†
 XEKA(A)C *comp* in order that
 XWAM *vb* to make merry
 XOLH† to get busy
 XOWME *nm* papyrus roll,
 book
 X(E)N *conj* or
 XI(H)- *prep* from, since
 XNOY *vb* to ask, question
 XNE-, XNOY=
 X(E)IT- hour
 XPO *vb* to beget, bring
 XPE-, XPO=, forth, acquire
 XPAEIT†
 XPIO *vb* to blame
 XPIE-, XPIO=,
 XPIHT†

χρο vb	to be strong
χραειτ†	
χωρε adj	strong
χηρ vb	to be wanton
χερο vb	to burn, blaze
χε(ε)ρε-, χερο=, χερω=	
χιοορ vb	to ferry over See ειοορ
χροπ nm	obstacle
χιεε vb	to exalt,
χεετ-, χιετ=, χοεε†	be high
χαιι ptcip:act	
χαιι-ζητ	arrogant
χατρε nm	reptile
χοογ vb	to send
χεγ-, χοογ-, χοογ=	
χιογε vb	to steal
νχιογε adj	secretly
χογωτ num sg:m	twenty
χογωτε sg:f	
χω2 vb	to touch
χε2-, χη2†	
χω2 vb	to smear,
χε2-, χα2=	anoint
χη2†	
χω2μ vb	to defile,
χε2μ-, χα2μ=, χα2μ†	pollute
χα2χ2 vb	to strike, beat,
χε2χω2=	gnash
χαχ nm	sparrow

χαχε nmf	enemy
χιχεεγ(ε) pl	
ο	
οε pcl	then, therefore, but, again
οε det	other See κε
οω vb	to continue, stay,
οεετ†, οηητ†	remain, persist
οωε adj	weak
οωβε nf	leaf
οε-	
οεοι nm	arm
οολ nm	lie
χι οολ vb	to tell lies
οο(ε)λε vb	to visit, deposit
οαε-, οαλω=, οαληγ†, οαλωγ†	
οαε nm	lame, crippled
οαεεγ pl	person
οωλπ vb	to uncover, reveal
ο(ε)λπ-, οολπ=, οολπ†	
οωλχ vb	to entangle, wrap
ο(ε)λχ-, οολχ=, οολχ=, οολχ†, οολχ†	entwine
ολοσ nm	bed
οομ nf	power, strength, mighty deed
οη οομ vb	to be able
οωμ nm	garden, vineyard
οοομ pl	

ομε nm	gardener,
ομηγ, ομεεγ pl	vinedresser
οαμογλ nm	camel
οαμογγλε nf	she-camel
οαμαγλε pl	
οινε vb	to find
οη-, οη-, ο(ε)ητ=	
οηον vb	to become smooth,
οηη†, οον†	be soft, weak
οονc nm	violence
χι οονc vb	to use violence
οωντ, οοντ†	to rage be angry
οινογχα nm	ship
οεπη vb	to hasten
οοπε n	small quantity
οωπ(ε) vb	to seize, take
ο(ε)ητ-, οωπ-, οοητ-, οοητ=, οαητ=, οηη†	
ορηπε nf	diadem
ορω2 vb	to be in need
οωρε vb	to waylay, hunt
οορε†	
οορεc nf	ambush, snare
οοοc(ε)c vb	to dance
οοτ nf	size, age, form
ητειοοτ adv	of this sort, such
οοογνε nf	hair-cloth, sack

οωογc vb	to be twisted,
οωογc†	crooked
οωωτ vb	to look, see
οωωτ†	
οιχ nf	hand

Glossary of Greek

loan words

Greek loan verbs are given in their 1st person singular Present Indicative Active or Middle citation form. Copto-Greek nouns generally take the same grammatical gender specification as the Greek model; neuter gender of the Greek model noun is usually rendered by masculine gender in the corresponding Coptic target noun. Abbreviations: *adj* 'adjective', *adv* 'adverb', *conj* 'conjunction', *f* 'feminine', *interj* 'interjection', *m* 'masculine', *n* 'noun', *nt* 'neuter', *pcl* 'particle', *pl* 'plural', *prep* 'preposition', *Q-pcl* 'question particle', *vb* 'verb'.

α.

ΑΓΑΘΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγαθός, -ή, -όν	good
ΑΓΑΠΗ <i>nf</i> ἀγάπη	love, act of charity
ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀγαπητός, -ή, -όν	beloved
ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀκανακτεῖ	to become angry
ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγγελικός, -ή, -όν	angelic
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἄγγελος	angel
ΑΓΕΛΗ, ΑΓΕΛΕΙ <i>nf</i> ἀγέλη	herd
ΑΓΡΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀγριος, -α, -ον	wild, savage
ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀγωνίζε	to fight
ἀγωνίζομαι	

ΑΓΩΝ <i>nm</i> ἀγών	combat, contest
ΑΕΤΟΣ, ΑΙΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀετός	eagle
ΑΘΛΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀθλητής	athlete
ΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ <i>vb</i> αἰσθάνομαι	to perceive, realise
ΑΙΤ(Ε)Ι, ΕΤΕΙ <i>vb</i> αἰτέω	to ask for
ΕΝΙΓΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἰνίγμα <i>nt</i>	'dark' saying, riddle
ΑΙΤΗΜΑ <i>nm</i> αἴτημα <i>nt</i>	request, demand
ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> αἰχμαλωτεύω	to enslave, take as a prisoner
ΑΙΩΝ, ΕΩΝ <i>nm</i> αἰών	millennium, world era
ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκάθαρτος, -ον	unclean person, leper
ΑΚΑΙΡΕΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκέραιος, -ον	unharmed, unravaged
ΑΚΡΙΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> ἀκριβής, -ές	exact, accurate
ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀληθινός, -ή, -όν	true, truthful
ΑΛΗΘΩΣ <i>adv</i> ἀληθῶς	actually, really, verily
ΑΛΛΑ <i>conj</i> ἀλλά	but, rather
ΑΜΕΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀμελέω	to neglect, be careless
ΑΜΕΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀμέλεια	negligence, carelessness
ΑΝΑΓΓΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀναγκάζω	to force

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀναγκαῖος, -α, -ον	necessary, urgent
ΑΝΑΓΚΗ <i>nf</i> ἀνάγκη	necessity
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀνάγνωσις	Scripture reading
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀνάστασις	resurrection
ΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ <i>nf</i> ἀναστροφὴ	behaviour, mode of life
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀναχωρῶ	to depart, live as a hermit
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀναχωρητής	hermit
ΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀναχωρισίς	solitude, seclusion
ΑΝΕΧΕ, ΑΝΙΧΕ <i>vb</i> ἀνέχω	to hold up, bear
ΑΝΟΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀνομία	crime, sin
ΑΝΟΜΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἄνομος, -ον	lawless, criminal
ΑΝΩΘΙΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀνόσιος, -ον	unholy, profane impious
ΑΝΟΧΗ <i>nf</i> ἀνοχή	holding back, stopping
ΑΝΔΙΑΓΕ <i>vb</i> ἀντιλέγω	to contradict, protest
ΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀντίτιμενος	opponent, adversary
ΑΝΤΙΤΙΜΕΝΟΣ ἀντικείμενος	
ΑΞΙΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἄξιος, -α, -ον	worthy

ΑΞΙΟΥ <i>vb</i> ἄξιόω	to esteem, ask, request
ΑΞΙΩΜΑ <i>nm</i> ἄξιωμα <i>nn</i>	rank, position, principle
ΑΠΑΝΤΑ <i>vb</i> ἀπαντάω	to meet, encounter
ΑΠΕΙΘΕ <i>vb</i> ἀπειθέω	to defy, disobey
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἀπολογία	speech
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀπολογίζομαι	to reckon, justify
ΑΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i> ἀποτάσσω	to renounce, part
ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀπόστολος	apostle
ΑΡΑ <i>conj</i> ἄρα	thus (also used as a Q-pcl)
ΑΡΓΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἀργός, -ή, -όν	lazy, idle
ΑΡΕΤΗ <i>nf</i> ἀρετή	virtue
ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀριθμός	number, military unit
ΑΡΞ <i>nm</i> ἄρξ	—bear
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἀρχαῖος	old, ancient
ΑΡΧΕΟΣ ἀρχαῖος, -α, -ον	
ΑΡΧΗ <i>nf</i> ἀρχή	beginning
ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχάγγελος	archangel

ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιεπίσκοπος	archbishop
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιερεὺς	highpriest
ΑΡΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιπροφήτης	archprophet
ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιμανδρίτης	Archimandrite
ΑΡΧΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρχιστράτηγος	commander-in- chief
ΑΡΧΩΝ <i>nm</i> ἄρχων	ruler, governor
ΑΣΕΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> ἄσεβής, -ές	impious, godless
ΑΣΚΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἀσκέω	to practise, go into training
ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἀσκήσις	exercise, ascetic life- style
ΑΣΚΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀσκητής	hermit, monk
ΑΣΠΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἀσπάζομαι	to kiss, greet
ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἀσπασμός	greeting
ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> αὐγουστος (lat. <i>augustus</i>)	Augustus
ΑΥΛΗ <i>nf</i> αὐλή	court, courtyard
ΑΥΞΑΝΕ <i>vb</i> αὐξάνω	to increase, grow
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ <i>nm</i> αὐτοκράτωρ	Emperor

ΑΦΟΡΜΗ <i>nf</i> ἀφορμή	starting point
ΑΨΥΧΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἄψυχος, -ον	lifeless
Β	
ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> βαπτίζω	to baptize
ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ <i>nm</i> βάπτισμα <i>nn</i>	baptism
ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> βάρβαρος	barbarian
ΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> βασανίζω	to torture
ΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> βάσανος	torture
ΒΗΜΑ <i>nm</i> βῆμα <i>nn</i>	tribunal, raised seat
ΒΙΟΣ <i>nm</i> βίος	life
ΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ <i>adj</i> βιωτικός, -ή, -όν	of this world
ΒΟΗΘΕΙ <i>vb</i> βοηθέω	to help, rescue
ΒΟΗΘΟΣ <i>nm</i> βοηθός	saviour
Γ	
ΓΑΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> γάμος	wedding, marriage
ΓΑΡ <i>pcl</i> γάρ	since, for
ΓΕΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> γένος <i>npl</i>	race, origin, generation
ΓΕΝΕΛ <i>npl</i> γένεος <i>nn</i>	

ΓΝΩΜΗ <i>nf</i> γνώμη	opinion, advice	ΔΗΚΕΙ <i>vb</i> διήκω	to pervade, guide
ΓΡΑΦΗ <i>nf</i> γραφή	Scripture	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, -ΟΝ δίκαιος, -α, -ον	righteous
Δ		ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ <i>nf</i> δικαιοσύνη	righteousness
ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ δαιμόνιον <i>nn</i>	evil spirit, demon	ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΣΤΑΖΕ, ΤΙΣΤΑΖΕ διστάζω	to hesitate
ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΔΕΜΩΝ <i>nm</i> δαίμων	evil spirit, deimon	ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> δοκιμάζω	to test, assay
ΔΕ <i>pcl</i> δέ	topic-indicating pcl	ΔΟΥΞ <i>nm</i> δούξ (lat. <i>dux</i>)	commander
ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> δεσπότης	lord	ΔΡΑΚΩΝ <i>nm</i> δράκων	dragon
ΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ <i>nm</i> δημιουργός	creator, producer	ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ <i>nf</i> δύναμις	power
ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ <i>nm</i> ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ διάβολος	devil	ΔΩΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> δῶρον <i>nm</i>	gift
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ <i>nf</i> διαθήκη	testament	Ε	
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ <i>nf</i> διακονεία	service	ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> ἐγκώμιον <i>nn</i>	praise, eulogy
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> ΔΙΑΚΩΝΕΙ διακονέω	to service, to minister	ΕΞΗΓΙΕΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> εξηγέομαι	to tell at length
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> διακονητής	servant	(2) ΕΘΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἔθνος	pagan
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> διάκονος	deacon	ΕΙΔΟΣ <i>nm</i> εἶδος <i>nm</i>	property, thing
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> διάκρισις	examination, evaluation	ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ <i>nm</i> εἰδωλον <i>nn</i>	idol
ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i> διαφορά	distinction, difference	ΕΙΜΗΤ(Ε)Ι <i>prep</i> εἰμητ εἰμήτι	unless
		(Ε)ΙΡΗΝΗ <i>nf</i> εἰρήνη	peace

ΕΙΤΕ ... ΕΙΤΕ <i>conj</i> εἴτε ... εἴτε	either ... or	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΔΗ <i>conj</i> ἐπειδή	for, since
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐκκλησία	church	ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπιθυμεί	to wish, desire
ΕΚΣΤΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> ἔκστασις	vision	ΕΠ(Ε)ΙΘΥΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπιθυμία	desire
ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐλάχιστος, -η, -ον	humble	ΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐπικαλέω	to call upon, summon
ΕΛΕΓΧΕ <i>vb</i> ἐλέγξω	to reveal, expose	ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπίσκοπος	bishop
ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ <i>adj</i> ἐλεφάντινος, -η, -ον	ivory	ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιστολόωγε <i>pl</i> ἐπιστολή	letter
ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐνεργέω	to effect	ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐπ(ε)ιτήνια ἐπιτιμία	reprimand, punishment
ΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐνέργεια	cosmic force	ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐργασία	profession
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐντολή	authorisation, order	ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> ἀρκατής ἐργάτης	worker
ΕΝΩΧΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> ἐνοχλέω	to trouble, burden	ΕΡΗΜΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐρημία	desert
ΕΞΗΓΙΕΘΑΙ <i>vb</i> ἐξηγέομαι	to expose, to explain	ΕΡΗΜΟΣ <i>adj</i> ἐρήμος, -ον	deserted, lonely
ΕΞΩΡΙΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἐξορίζω	to banish, get rid of	ΕΤΙ, ΑΙΤΕΙ <i>pcl</i> ἔτι	yet, still
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἐξουσία	power, strength	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγέλιον <i>nn</i>	Gospel
ΕΠΑΙΝΕΩ <i>vb</i> ἐπαινέω	to praise, applaud	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> εὐαγγελιστής	Evangelist
ΕΠΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i> ἐπαρχος	governor	ΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐγενής, -ές	noble
ΕΠΕΙΒΟΛΗ <i>nf</i> ἐπιβουλή	plot, snare		

ΕΓΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> εὐεργεσία	good deed, kindness
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ <i>adj</i> εὐσεβής, -ές	pious
Ζ	
ΖΩΟΝ <i>nm</i> ζῷον <i>nn</i>	living being, animal
Η	
Η <i>conj</i> ἢ	or
ΕΥΧΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> ἡσυχάζω	to be quiet
ΕΥΧΙΑ <i>nf</i> ἡσυχία	silence, stillness
Θ	
ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ <i>nf</i> θάλασσα	sea
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ <i>nm</i> θέατρον <i>nn</i>	theatre
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> θεραπεύω	to heal
ΘΕΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i> θεωρέω	to see, observe
ΘΗΡΙΟΝ, ΘΥΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θηρίον <i>nn</i>	beast, wild animal
ΘΛΙΒΕ <i>vb</i> θλίβω	to afflict, distress
ΘΛΙΨΙΣ <i>nf</i> θλίψις	trouble, obstacle
ΘΡΟΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> θρόνος	throne

ΘΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i> θυσία θυσία	sacrifice
ΘΥΣΙΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> θυσιάζω	to sacrifice
ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i> θυσιαστήριον <i>nn</i>	altar
Ι	
(Ε)ΙΟΥΔΑΙ <i>nm</i> ἰουδαῖος	Jews
ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ) Ἰησοῦς	Jesus
Κ	
ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> καθαρός, -ά, -όν	pure, clean
ΚΑΘΗΚ(Ε)Ι <i>nf</i> καθηγέομαι	instruction
ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ <i>nf</i> καθολικός	Catholic (Church)
ΚΑΙΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> καιρός	time, period
ΚΑΙΤΟΙ <i>pci</i> καί τοι	and indeed, and yet
ΚΙΝΗ <i>nf</i> καινός	The New Testament
ΚΑΚΩΣ <i>adv</i> κακῶς	badly
ΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i> κάλω	to call, invite
ΚΑΛΩΣ <i>adv</i> κάλως	well, rightly
ΚΑΝ <i>conj</i> κάν	even if

ΚΑΝΟΝ <i>nm</i> κανών	rule
ΚΑΡΠΟΣ, ΓΑΡΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> καρπός	fruit
ΚΑΤΑ <i>prep</i> καταρ= κάτα	according to
ΚΑΤΑΛΛΙΑ <i>nf</i> καταλαλία	slander
ΚΑΤΕΧΕ <i>vb</i> κατέχω	to withhold, keep
ΚΑΤΩΡΘΩΝΑ <i>nm</i> κάτορθωμα <i>nn</i>	achievement, success
ΚΕΛΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κελεύω	to command, order
ΚΕΣΤΩΝΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i> κεστωνάριος (lat. <i>quaestonarius</i>)	torturer, executioner
ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ <i>nm</i> κινδύνος	danger, hazard
ΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ <i>nm</i> κλγρικός κληρικός	cleric
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κληρονόμος	heir
ΚΛΗΡΟΣ <i>nm</i> κλήρος	heritage
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοινωνέω	to live together
ΚΟΙΤΩΝ <i>nm</i> κοιτών	bed-chamber
ΚΟΛΑΖΕ <i>vb</i> κολάζω	to punish
ΚΟΛΑΚΕΥΕ <i>vb</i> κολακεύω	to flatter

ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κόλασις	punishment
ΚΟΝΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κοντός	pike, pole
ΚΟΣΜΕΙ <i>vb</i> κοσμέω	to rule, to equip
ΚΟΣΜΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i> κοσμικός, -ή, -όν	worldly
ΚΟΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόσμος	world
ΚΟΥΜΠΟΣ <i>nm</i> κόμβος	girth
ΚΡΑΤΟΣ <i>nm</i> κράτος <i>nn</i>	power, might
ΚΡΙΝΕ <i>vb</i> κρίνω	to judge
ΚΡΙΣΙΣ <i>nf</i> κρίσις	decision, judgement
ΚΡΙΤΗΣ <i>nm</i> κριτής	judge
ΚΥΠΗ <i>nf</i> κύπη	basement, vault
ΚΥΡΙ <i>nm</i> κύριος	Lord
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ <i>nf</i> κυριακή	Sunday
ΚΩΛΥ <i>vb</i> κωλύω	to withhold, hinder
ΚΩΜΙΚ, ΚΟΜΙΚ <i>nm</i> κόμης (lat. <i>comes</i>)	governor

λ	
ΛΑΟΣ <i>nm</i>	people
λαός	
ΛΙΒΙΤΟΝ <i>nm</i>	garment
λεβίτων	
ΛΙΨΑΝΟΝ <i>nm</i>	remains, corpse
λείψανον <i>nm</i>	
ΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	frankincense
λίβανος	
ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΛΩΓΟΣ <i>nm</i>	account, apology
λόγος	
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ <i>adv</i>	furthermore, also
λοιπόν	
ΛΥΠΕΙ, ΛΗΠΕ <i>vb</i>	to be sad, grieved
λυπέω	
Η	
ΜΑΓΙΑ <i>nf</i>	magic
μαγεία	
ΜΑΓΟΣ <i>nm</i>	wizard, enchanter
μάγος	
ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	disciple
μαθητής	
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to bless, congratulate
μακαρίζω	
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ, -Α <i>adj</i>	blessed
μακάριος ος, -α, -ον	
ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ <i>adv</i>	most of all, especially
μάλιστα	
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ <i>adv</i>	more, rather
μᾶλλον	
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ <i>nf</i>	testimony, martyrdom
ματυρία	

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	shrine of a martyr
μαρτύριον <i>nm</i>	
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	martyr
μάρτυρος	
ΜΑΣΤΙΞ <i>nf</i>	whip
μάστιξ	
ΜΕΛΕΤΑ, ΜΕΛΗΤΑ <i>vb</i>	to attend to, study
μελετάω	
ΜΕΛΟΣ <i>nm</i>	body part, limb
μέλος	
ΜΕΝ <i>prcl</i>	indeed
μέν	
ΜΕΤΑΝΟ(Ε)Ι <i>vb</i>	to repent
μετανοέω	
ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ <i>nf</i>	repentance, remorse
μετάνοια	
ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ <i>nf</i>	capital city
μητροπόλις	
ΜΗ <i>Q-prcl</i>	involves a bias towards a negative response in affirmative interrogatives, and vice versa.
μή	
ΜΗΠΩΣ <i>conj</i>	that not
μήπως	
ΜΙΛΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	mile
μίλιον <i>nm</i>	
ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	monastery
μονή	
μοναστήριον <i>nm</i>	
ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ <i>nm</i>	monk
μωναχος, μονοχος	
μοναχός	

ΜΟΝΟΝ, ΜΩΝΩΝ <i>adv</i>	only
μόνον	
ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	mystery, divine secret
μυστήριον <i>nm</i>	
Ν	
ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Nazarene
ναζωραίος	
ΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ <i>nf</i>	fast
νηστία	
ΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to fast
νηστεύω	
ΝΗΦΕ <i>vb</i>	to be self-controlled, sober
νήφω	
ΝΟΙ <i>vb</i>	to perceive, think, know
νοέω	
ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ <i>nm</i>	solidus (a golden coin)
νόμισμα <i>nm</i>	
ΝΟΜΟΣ, ΝΩΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	law
νομός	
Ξ	
ΞΕΝΟΣ, -Η	foreign
ξένος, -α, -ον	
ΞΕΣΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	pint
ξέστης	
(lat. <i>sextarius</i>)	
Ο	
ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ <i>nf</i>	world
οικουμένη	
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ <i>nf</i>	service
οικονομία	

ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	steward
ΕΙΚΩΝΩΜΟΣ	
οίκονόμος	
ΟΝΤΩΣ <i>adv</i>	really, verily
όντως	
ΟΠΤΑΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	appearance, vision
όπτασία	
ΟΡΓΗ <i>nf</i>	anger, wrath, impulse
όργή	
ΟΡΦΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	orphan
όρφανός	
ΟΥΔΕ, ΟΥΤΕ <i>conj</i>	and not
οὐδέ	
ΟΥΚΕΤΙ <i>adv</i>	no more, no longer
οὐκέτι	
ΟΥΚΟΥΝ <i>adv</i>	certainly not
οὐκούν	
ΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	state of being, essence
οὐσία	
Π	
ΠΑΘΟΣ <i>nm</i>	emotion, grief, passion
πάθος	
ΠΑΙΔΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to educate
παιδεύω	
ΠΑΛΑΙΑ <i>nf</i>	The Old Testament
παλαιός	
ΠΑΛΑΤΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	palace
παλάτιον <i>nm</i>	
(lat. <i>palatium</i>)	
ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ <i>nm</i>	Almighty
ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ	
παντοκράτωρ	
ΠΑΝΤΩΣ <i>adv</i>	entirely, altogether
πάντως	

(Η)ΠΑΡΑ <i>prep</i>	against,	Π(Ε)ΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	temptation,
ΠΑΡΑΡΟ=	compared	πειρασμός	trial
παρά	with	ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ <i>nm</i>	leader of a
ΠΑΡΑΒΑ <i>vb</i>	to transgress,	πεντηκόνταρχος	company of
παραβαίνω	overstep		fifty
ΠΑΡΑΓΕ <i>vb</i>	to pass by	ΠΕΡΠΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vainglorious,
παράγω		πέρπερος	braggart
ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΛΕ <i>vb</i>	to give order,	ΠΕΡΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Persian
παραέλλω	summon	πέρσης	
ΠΑΡΑΔ(Ε)ΙΣΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Paradise,	ΠΕΤΡΑ <i>nf</i>	rock
ΠΑΡΑΪΣΩΣ	Eden	πέτρα	
παράδεισος		ΠΗΓΗ, ΠΥΓΗ <i>nf</i>	fountain, well
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to summon,	πηγή	
παρακαλέω	beseech	ΠΙΝΑΞ <i>nm</i>	plate, dish
ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ <i>adj</i>	lawless,	πίναξ	
παράνομος, -ον	criminal	ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to believe,
ΠΑΡΤΑΛΗΣ <i>nf</i>	panther	πιστεύω	have faith
πάρδαλις		ΠΙΚΤΙΣ <i>nf</i>	faith
ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ <i>nf</i>	virgin	πίστις	
παρθένος		ΠΙΣΤΟΣ <i>adj</i>	faithful,
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	presence,	πιστός, -ά, -όν	trustworthy
παρουσία	stay	ΠΛΑΝΑ <i>vb</i>	to mislead
ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ <i>nf</i>	free speech	πλανη	lead astray
παρησία		ΠΛΑΝΗ <i>nf</i>	deceit,
ΠΑΤΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to beat, strike	πλάνη	imposture
πατάσσω		ΠΛΑΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vagabond,
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ <i>nm</i>	Patriarch	πλάνος	imposter
πατριάρχης		ΠΛΑΞ <i>nm</i>	flat stone
Π(Ε)ΙΘΕ <i>vb</i>	to persuade,	πλάξ <i>nf</i>	
πείθω	agree with	ΠΛΑΣΜΑ <i>nm</i>	form, figure,
Π(Ε)ΙΡΑΖΕ <i>vb</i>	to put to test,	πλάσμα <i>nn</i>	
ΠΗΡΑΖΕ, ΠΥΡΑΖΕ	to seduce	ΠΛΑΣΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to form,
πειράζω		πλάσσω	create

ΠΑΛΗΓΗ, ΠΑΓΗ <i>nf</i>	wound	ΠΟΡΝΙΑ <i>nf</i>	fornication
πληγή		πορνεία	
ΠΑΛΗ <i>conj</i>	except, save	ΠΟΣΩ <i>adv</i>	how much?
πλήν		πόσῳ	
ΠΑΥΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ <i>nf</i>	certainty,	ΠΟΤΕ <i>adv</i>	when?,
πληροφορία	fullness of	πότε	at what time?
	assurance	ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	palace of the
ΠΝΕΥΜΑ (ΠΝΑ) <i>nm</i>	spirit, ghost	πραιτώριον <i>nm</i>	governor
πνεῦμα <i>nn</i>		(lat. <i>praetorium</i>)	
ΠΝΙΚΩΝ <i>adj</i>	spiritual	ΠΡΑΞΙΣ <i>nf</i>	deed, act
(ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ, -ΟΝ)		πράξις	
πνευματικός, -ά, -όν		ΠΡΕΠΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to suit, be
ΠΝΟΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	poet	πρέπω	fitting
(for ΠΟΗΤΗΣ)		ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ <i>nm</i>	priest
ποιητής		πρεσβύτερος	
ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to fight,	ΠΡΟΖΗΡΕΣΙΣ <i>nf</i>	purpose, plan
πολεμεί	quarrel	προαίρεσις	
ΠΟΛΕΜΕΩ		ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ(Ι) <i>vb</i>	to advance
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ <i>nm</i>	war, quarrel	προκόπτω	
πολέμος		ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ <i>nm</i>	ordinance,
ΠΟΛΙΣ <i>nf</i>	city, town	πρόσταγμα <i>nm</i>	command
πόλις		ΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ <i>nf</i>	donation,
ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	ascetic labour	προσφορά	Eucharist
πολγία		ΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ <i>nm</i>	person, mask
πολιτεία		πρόσωπον <i>nn</i>	
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to perform	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	prophet
πολγτεύε	ascetic	προφήτης	
πολιτεύω	labours	ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ <i>nf</i>	gift of
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	patrician	προφητεία	prophecy
πολιτευτής		ΠΥΛΗ, ΠΥΛΗ <i>nf</i>	door, gate
ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i>	worthless,	πύλη	
πονηρός, -ά, -όν	evil, wicked	ΠΩΣ <i>adv</i>	how?
ΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to prostitute,	πῶς	
πορνεύω	fornicate		

(2)P

ΖΡΕΠΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	officer
ῥιπάριος (lat. <i>riparius</i>)	
ΖΗΤΩΡ <i>nm</i>	public speaker, advocate
ῥήτωρ	
(2)ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	Roman
ῥωμαῖος	
С	
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩΝ <i>nm</i>	Saturday
σάββατον <i>nnt</i>	
ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ <i>nf</i>	trumpet
σάλπιγξ	
ΣΑΡΞ <i>nm</i>	flesh
σάρξ	
ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ <i>nm</i>	Satan
σατανᾶς	
ΣΗΜΑΝΕ <i>vb</i>	to indicate,
σημαίνω	declare, notify
ΣΚΑΝΤΑΛΩΝ <i>nm</i>	trap, offence,
σκάνδαλον <i>nm</i>	scandal
ΣΚΕΥΟΣ <i>nm</i>	vessel, tool
σκευή <i>npl</i>	equipment,
σκεῦος <i>nn</i>	property
ΣΚΟΠΟΣ <i>nm</i>	aim, end, goal
σκοπός	
ΣΚΥΛΗΝΟΣ <i>nm</i>	annoyance,
σκυλμός	vexation
ΣΟΦΙΑ <i>nf</i>	wisdom
σοφία	
ΣΟΦΟΣ <i>nm</i>	wise (man)
σοφός	

ΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΣ <i>nm</i>	knight
σπαθᾶριος	
ΣΠΕΡΜΑ <i>nm</i>	sperm, seed
σπέρμα <i>nn</i>	
ΣΠΥΛΑΙΟΝ <i>nm</i>	cavern
σπήλαιον <i>nn</i>	
ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΕ <i>vb</i>	to be zealous,
σπουδάσω	diligent
ΣΠΟΥΔΗ <i>nf</i>	haste, speed
σπουδή	
ΣΡΟС <i>nm</i>	cross
(СТАΥΡΟΣ)	
σταυρός	
СΡΟΥ <i>vb</i>	to crucify
σταυρόω	
СТΕΡΕΥΜΑ <i>nm</i>	firmament
στερέωμα <i>nn</i>	
СТΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	commander,
στρατῳλλτης	general
στρατηλάτης	
СТΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ <i>nm</i>	soldier
στρατιώτης	
СТΪΧΑΡΙΟΝ <i>nf</i>	variegated
στιχάριον <i>nnt</i>	tunic
СΥΝΑΓΕ <i>vb</i>	to attend
συνάγω	Mass, receive the Eucharist
СΥΝΑΞΙC <i>nf</i>	Mass
σύναξις	
СΥΓΧΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to meet,
συγχωρέω	gather
СΥΓΧΩΡΗΣΙC <i>nf</i>	agreement,
συγχώρησις	consent

СΗΝΗΔΙC <i>nf</i>	conscience
συνείδησις	
СΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ <i>nf</i>	completion,
συντέλεια	end
СΦΡΑΓΙC <i>nf</i>	seal, signet
σφραγίς	
СХИΜΑ <i>nm</i>	monkish
схима	garment
σχῆμα <i>nn</i>	
СΦΕΝΔΟΝΗ <i>nf</i>	sling
σφενδόνη	
СΩΜΑ <i>nm</i>	body
σῶμα <i>nn</i>	
СΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ <i>adj</i>	physical
σωματικός, -ή, -όν	
СΩΤΗΡ <i>nm</i>	Saviour
σωτήρ	
Т	
ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟC <i>adj</i>	miserable
ταλαίπορος	
ταλαίπωρος, -ον	
ΤΑΡΑCCE <i>vb</i>	to trouble,
ταράσσω	upset
ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟC <i>nm</i>	Tartaros
Τάρταρος	
ΤΑΦΟC <i>nm</i>	tomb
τάφος	
ΤΑΧΑ <i>adv</i>	perhaps,
τάχα	maybe
ΤΕΛΙΟC, -ΟΝ <i>adj</i>	perfect
τέλειος, -α, -ον	
ΤΗΗ <i>nf</i>	price, wage
τιμή	
ΤΙΜΩΡΕΙ <i>vb</i>	to avenge,
τιμωρεί	punish
τιμωρέω	
ΤΙΜΩΡΙΑ, <i>nf</i>	revenge,
τιμωρία	punishment
ΤΟΛΜΑ <i>vb</i>	to dare,
τολμάω	undertake
ΔΩΜΟC <i>nm</i>	roll of papyrus,
τόμος	tome, volume
ΔΟΞΕΥΕ <i>vb</i>	to shoot with
τοξεύω	the bow
ΤΟΠΟC <i>nm</i>	(holy) place,
τόπος	shrine
ΤΟΤΕ <i>adv</i>	then, next, at
τότε	one time
ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟC <i>nm</i>	tribune
τριβούνος	
(lat. <i>tribunus</i>)	
ΤΡΟΦΕΥC <i>nm</i>	bread-winner
τροφεύς	
ΤΡΟΦΗ <i>nf</i>	nourishment,
τροφή	meal, food
ΤΡΥΦΗ <i>nf</i>	delicacy,
τρυφή	luxury, delight
ΤΥΠΟC <i>nm</i>	pattern, image,
τύπος	model
Φ	
ΦΑΝΕΡΟΝ <i>adj</i>	visible, evident
φανερός, -ά, -όν	
ΦΑΝΟC <i>nm</i>	light, bright,
φάνος	torch, lamp
ΦΙΛΟCΟΦΟC <i>nm</i>	philosopher
φιλόσοφος	

φορε(ι), φωρει <i>vb</i> φορέω	to bear, wear	χωρα <i>nf</i> χώρα	region, county, land
φυλη <i>nf</i> φυλή	tribe, clan	χωρις <i>prep</i> χωρίς	without
φυσις <i>nf</i> φύσις	origin, nature	φ	
φγci <i>adv</i> (έν φύσει)	verily, truly	φαλλει <i>vb</i> ψάλλω	to sing psalms
χ		φαλλος <i>nm</i> ψαλμός	psalm
χαρις <i>nf</i> χάρις	grace, favour	ψυχη <i>nf</i> ψυχοογε <i>pl</i> ψυχή	soul
χαριζε <i>vb</i> χαρίζομαι	to grant, donate	ω	
χαμων <i>nm</i> χειμών	winter, tempest	ω <i>interj</i> ὦ	oh
χιροδονει <i>vb</i> χειροτονέω	to elect, appoint	ζ	
χιρα <i>nf</i> χήρα	widow	ζαγιος, -α <i>adj</i> ἅγιος, -α, ον	holy
χρεωσται <i>vb</i> χρεστέω	to be in debt, owe	ζαμην <i>interj</i> ἀμήν	Amen
χρια <i>nf</i> χρεία	need, want	ζαπαξ <i>adv</i> ἄπαξ	briefly, in short
χρ(ε)ιστιανος <i>nm</i> χριστιανος	Christian	ζαπαως, ζαπαος <i>adv</i> ἀπλῶς	briefly
χρημα <i>nm</i> χρῆμα <i>nm</i>	property, capital, thing,	ζαρμα <i>nm</i> ἄρμα <i>nm</i>	chariot
χc (χριστος) <i>nm</i> χριστός	Christ	ζεβδoнас <i>nf</i> ἐβδομάς	week
χωρηγει, χορηγει <i>vb</i> χορηγέω	to lead choir, provide	ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἔθος	custom, habit
		ζελλην <i>nm</i> ζελλην, ζαλλην ἑλλην	Greek, pagan

ζεπιζε <i>vb</i> ἐπιίζω	to look for, hope	ζομολογει <i>vb</i> ὁμολογέω	to admit, agree
ζεπις <i>nf</i> ἐπίς	expectation, hope	ζορομα <i>nm</i> ὄραμα	vision, dream
ζερμинеγε <i>vb</i> ζερμинеγε ἐρμηνεύω	to translate, explain, interpret	ζυπορα <i>nf</i> ὀπώρα	fruit
ζερμинеγτης <i>nm</i> ἐρμηνευτής	interpreter	ζορη <i>nf</i> ὄρμη	onrush, assault
ζεγεμων <i>nm</i> ἡγεμών	general, governor	(ен) ζοcon <i>conj</i> έν ὅσον	as long as, while
ζεδoни <i>nf</i> ἡδονή	pleasure	ζотан <i>conj</i> όταν	as soon as, when
ζεθος <i>nm</i> ἥθος	custom, habit	ζελη <i>nf</i> ύλη	forest, matter
ζε(ε)ικων <i>nf</i> εἰκών	image	ζεμинеге <i>vb</i> ὕμνειω	to sing hymns
ζελκια, ζελκια <i>nf</i> ἡλικία	age, youth	ζεπερετης <i>nm</i> ὕπηρέτης	servant, attendant
ζεπαρ <i>nm</i> ἥπαρ <i>nm</i>	liver	ζεποграфе <i>vb</i> ὕπογράφω	to sign
ζεδιωτης <i>nm</i> ζεδιωτης ιδιώτης	unsophisticated person, layman	ζεπομине <i>vb</i> ὕπομένω	to endure, be patient
ζεπεγс <i>nm</i> ἵππευς	cavalry man	ζεπομονη <i>nf</i> ὕπομονή	endurance, patience
ζετοριзе <i>vb</i> ιστορέω	to record	ζεποпτεге <i>vb</i> ὕποπτεύω	to suspect, guess
ζεолокотинос <i>nm</i> ὀλοκόττινος	holokottinos (golden coin)	ζεποтассе <i>vb</i> ὕποτάσσω	to subdue, make subject
ζεωс, зωлос <i>adv</i> ὅλως	wholly, entirely	зωс <i>prep</i> ὥς	like, as, that, as if
зоμεлeи <i>vb</i> ὀμιλέω	to address, deal with	зωсте, <i>conj</i> зωсae ὥστε	so that, in order that

Glossary of linguistic terms

- Adjectives** In Coptic, there is no special word class of "adjectives". To ascribe properties to individuals, the attributive construction is used, where property-denoting expressions may appear as head or dependent nouns. §3.1.3
- Adverbs** Adverbs are modifying expressions which bear a close semantic link to the verb; they locate the state of affairs that is described in space and time, or provide additional information about the way in which it came about. §3.3
- Allomorphs** Allomorphs are two alternative realizations of one and the same morpheme. §2.2.1
- Appositions** Appositions are extra-clausal noun phrases, which have the same referent as the proper name or pronoun they modify. §3.1.6

Aspect	Aspectual distinctions present a situation from an external point of view as a single, unitary whole. It makes no reference to the internal development of that situation. Anterior (Perfect) aspect has an additional meaning and implies that the result of some event is observable at the present moment. Perfective and anterior aspects work in the opposite direction of imperfective aspect, which is associated with the present tense and implies the ongoing state of the situation that is described.	§6.2.1, §7.3.4
Case	Case is the morpho-syntactic encoding of the syntactic dependency between the verbal predicate and its arguments.	§6.3.1.3
Causatives	Analytical causatives are complex predicates consisting of two verbs, which share one argument. The shared argument functions simultaneously as the direct object of the causative verb and as the subject of the lexical verb.	§6.4.3
Cleft sentence	Cleft sentences are focusing constructions, which are formed by dividing a more elementary clause into two parts, viz. an initial focus and a relative clause construction that contains the backgrounded proposition.	§11.3
Conditional sentences	Conditional constructions of the form IF P THEN Q are expressed by a hypothetical clause (the protasis) and a full consequence clause (the apodosis).	§12.2.1

Cognate objects	Cognate objects constitute a subclass of manner adverbs that contain a copy of the main verb, e.g. <i>to laugh a mirthless laugh</i> .	§3.3.4
Control	The notion of "control" describes a special case of anaphoric relation between the missing subject of an infinitival construction and a noun phrase it is co-referenced with. In Coptic, control by the matrix subject is clearly the predominant pattern, but cases of object control also occur.	§12.3.2
Dependent	The non-head or dependent constituent of a phrase is the element with a more peripheral function: it can often be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the entire expression.	§3.1.1
Determiners	Determiners are grammatical prefixes that indicate the information status or identifiability of the referent of the determined noun. Coptic makes a three-way contrast between definite, indefinite and zero-determined noun phrases.	§2.2
Expletive pronouns	Expletive pronouns have no referential role, but are rather used as purely grammatical fillers of the subject position.	§5.1.3.3
Epenthesis	Epenthesis is a phonologically driven readjustment procedure that adds extra phonological material to the stem to create a prosodically optimal form.	§6.1.4

Eventive-Stativ alternation	Eventive sentences describe dynamic situations, involving some state of change. Stative sentences, on the other hand, describe time-stable situations that do not change over time.	§6.2.1
Evidentials	Evidentiality is a grammatical concept that refers to those inflectional elements or functional words that indicate both the evidence type and the reliability of the information contained in a sentence.	§8.2.4
Factive verbs	When formulated in the affirmative, factive verbs like <i>know</i> presuppose the truth of the assertion expressed in the complement clause.	§12.1.2.1
Focus	The focus of a sentence is the element of information that is unpredictable from the preceding discourse.	§10.1
Free-choice pronouns	Free choice pronouns like <i>any</i> are indefinite pronouns that refer to any representative member of a given category.	§4.3.4
Free relative clause	A relative clause that occurs without a pivot in all nominal positions of the clause.	§11.2
Generic interpretation	The referent of a generically interpreted noun phrase is not a particular entity or object, but rather a class or type of entity or object.	§2.2.2.1
Head	The head of the phrase is the element that determines its syntactic category.	§3.1.1
Iconic ordering	Iconicity is a discourse-oriented principle of syntax, according to which the linear order of clauses reflects the chronological order of events.	§8.1.1

Indefiniteness restriction	Existential sentences impose a strict selection restriction on the postverbal subject, which must be a referentially indefinite expression.	§10.2.3.1
In-situ	A term that refers to the clause-internal position of a question word or focus constituent	§7.2
Left-dislocation	Left-dislocation is a syntactic operation in the course of which a nominal expression (noun or pronoun) is moved to the left periphery of the clause. The grammatical role (subject, object) of the left-dislocated constituent is indicated by a resumptive pronoun in the associated clause.	§2.4.3.2
Light verbs	Light verbs derive their name from the fact that the verb lacks a fully specified lexical structure, while its direct object, the event or state nominal, represents the semantic predicate.	§6.4.1
Mandative constructions	Mandative constructions (from English <i>command</i>) typically occur with verbs, nouns and adjectives that have the same directive meaning and function as imperatives.	§12.1.1.2
Modality	Epistemic modality is concerned with knowledge, truth, and belief in relation to what is said. Deontic modality, on the other hand, involves actions by the speaker or others.	§8.2
Negative scope	Negation may be semantically sentential (wide scope) and provide a negative description of an event without specifying the grounds, or be more specific and narrow in its scope, in which case only certain aspects of the event in question are denied.	§9.2.2-3

Open vs. remote conditionals	Open or realis conditionals are non-committal with regard to whether the condition put forward in the protasis clause has been met or not, but attribute to the fulfilment of that condition a high degree of likelihood or probability. Remote or hypothetical conditionals, on the other hand, present a condition whose actualisation is considered to be relatively unlikely or even impossible.	§12.2.1
Possession	Possessive noun phrases consist of a possessed and a possessor noun, the latter being marked by a linkage morpheme. A variety of different semantic relations fall under the rubric of possession, ranging from ownership in the narrow sense to the expression of kinship.	§3.1.4
Prefix	Prefixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the right of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Pronouns	Personal pronouns express person deixis, i.e. the reference to participants, present or absent, of the speech situation.	§2.4
Proximal vs. distal deixis	Proximal and distal demonstratives are deictically contrastive: the former refer to items close to the speaker and the latter to items located at some distance away from the speaker.	§4.1.1
Reduplication	Reduplication is a morphological process in the course of which a full or partial copy of the consonantal root is added to the base.	§6.1.4

Restrictive and non-restrictive relatives clauses	Relative clauses can be divided into restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, depending on whether they provide information that is necessary for referent identification, or whether they provide thematically backgrounded information that is less central for the main thrust of discourse.	§11.1.5.3
Reported speech	Direct reported speech purports to give the actual wording of the original utterance, while indirect reported speech only gives its content.	§12.1.3
Resumptive pronouns	Resumptive pronouns are pronominal placeholders inside a clause that occur in the syntactic position from which a nominal constituent has been extracted, e.g. the pivot of a relative clause.	§11.1.3
Rhetorical questions	Rhetorical questions are emphatic assertions or negations that come in the guise of a question.	§4.2.3
Roots	Roots represent an abstract lexical item which is smaller than a word and consists of an ordered sequence of consonants.	§6.1.2
Scrambling	Scrambling is a syntactic reordering process in the course of which postverbal constituents switch their position. Coptic dative shift may be analysed as an instance of scrambling.	§10.1.2
Second Tenses	Coptic uses special inflectional morphology, traditionally referred to as "second tense", in relative clauses, questions and focus constructions.	§7.2

Subject-verb inversion	Inversion involves a reversal of the canonical subject-initial order: the focalised subject is placed after the verb and the direct object, the result being verb-initial V-O-S order.	§10.1.5
Suffix	Suffixes are bound morphemes that are attached to the left of their host words, e.g. bound pronouns.	§2.4.2
Specific and non-specific indefinites	Both specific and non-specific indefinites involve reference to an individual or object, which is not identifiable to the addressee. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to a particular entity, it has a specific reading. If, on the other hand, an indefinite noun phrase refers to any arbitrary member of a particular class, it adopts a non-specific interpretation.	§2.2.2.2
Stem pattern	The surface form of the root is called the stem. In Coptic, verbal stems are associated with a particular formal category or stem pattern with relatively stable morphosyntactic and semantic properties.	§6.1.3
Switch reference	Switch reference designates a shift from one discourse participant to another in a series of subject-different clauses.	§8.1.4.2
Tense	Tense is a deictic category which describes the location of events in time. Absolute tenses relate an event with respect to a fixed temporal reference point (the present moment), while relative tenses relate an event with respect to another event.	§7.1, §8.1

Topic	The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about. Topichood is a relational category, which concerns the information structure of the clause with respect to the preceding discourse.	§10.1.3
Universal quantifiers	Universal quantifiers like <i>all</i> in <i>all birds fly</i> are associated with an exhaustive interpretation and make reference to the entirety of some discourse domain.	§4.3.2
Unergative vs. unaccusative intransitives	Intransitive verbs fall into two classes, namely unergative verbs with agentive subjects (e.g. <i>MMHBe</i> 'to swim') and unaccusative verbs with non-agentive subjects (e.g. <i>NECE-</i> , <i>NECW</i> 'to be beautiful').	§6.3.4
Wh-questions	<i>Wh-</i> or constituent questions are questions that address the validity or the truth of some statement.	§4.2.2
Yes-no questions	A question in which the truth of a proposition is at issue. Yes-no questions require "yes" or "no" as an answer and lack question words.	§4.2.2

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